THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

XIX– –XX

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JANUARY

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LONDON: CONSTABLE & COMPANY LIMITED, 10 & 12 ORANGE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE, W.C. 2.

PARIS: MESSAGERIES HACHETTE, 111 Rue Réaumur. NEW YORK: LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

XIX XX

No. DLXXXVII—January 1926

BRITISH INDUSTRIES AND THE INDIAN MARKET

It is generally agreed that, whatever obstacles there may be to an increased demand for British goods in foreign countries, the various parts of the British Empire should concentrate upon the reciprocal supply of Empire commodities, and that while each country included within the Commonwealth is justified, if it desires, in protecting its own local industries, it should in that case give preference to the other countries of the Empire over goods of foreign production. The great self-governing Dominions are prepared to accept this principle, and this is the lesson which Wembley was designed to teach. But speakers and writers on this subject, while they enlarge on the development of the Dominions, the great market for British goods and the wide field for British colonists which they offer, pay insufficient attention—so it seems to the writer—to the very special position of India and

to the paramount importance of conserving to the United Kingdom an increasing Indian demand for British goods. Inasmuch as India contains three-quarters of the total population of the British Empire, it is surprising how little she seems to figure in the picture.

Is it that the Indian market is regarded as reasonably secure? Or is it that it is felt that a preference for British goods under the Reforms is unattainable?

These questions are well worth examination.

In 1922, shortly before I relinquished the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, I submitted to Lord Inchcape's Committee a note on Indian finances which also contained certain suggestions upon this subject of preference for British goods. That Committee held the latter subject to be outside their terms of reference. Now, however, with the general depression of industry and the grave unemployment from which this country is suffering, I venture to revive these suggestions for the consideration of those best qualified to form an opinion on them. I quite recognise that there is a risk of their being rejected on a cursory reading, but closer examination may show that they offer some amelioration of the present ills, with important potentialities beyond the immediate future.

India, as judged by European standards, is, of course, a poor country, but numbers tell. An addition of 3*d.* per head to the purchasing power of 320,000,000 people aggregates 4,000,000*l.* sterling, and an addition of 1 rupee per head with the exchange value of the rupee at 1*s* 6*d* represents 24,000,000*l.* In 1923-24, the latest year for which Indian trade statistics are available, India took 228 crores worth of imported merchandise exclusive of Government stores Of this total 147 crores represented imports from the British Empire and 81 crores imports from foreign countries Out of the 147 crores, 132 came from the United Kingdom, equivalent at the current rate of exchange to 100,000,000*l.*, and in the boom after the war the exports from the United Kingdom to India were 50 per cent. larger than this. The average normal demand may be reckoned to be at least 120,000,000*l* The table shown on page 3 is of interest.

Of 'Manufactured Articles' in 1913-14 the percentage of foreign goods was about 20. Now, with the largely increased post-war prices, the foreign percentage is approaching 30. In 1909-10 the foreign proportion was only 12 per cent., so that in fifteen years the British proportion has declined from 88 per cent. to 70 per cent. There is no guarantee that the decline will not be progressive.

These figures take no account of increased Indian production; they deal merely with India's imports from overseas. It is obvious that British industry cannot expect to be favoured in any way at

VALUE OF IMPORTS (in millions of pounds: 1 rupee = 1s. 6d.).

Year.	*All Private Merchandise.*			*Manufactured Articles only.*	
	British Empire, including U.K	Foreign Countries	U.K alone.	British.	Foreign
1920-21 .	166	86	153	146	59
1921-22 .	132	67	114	106	36
1922-23 .	117	57	105	98	36
1923-24 .	110	61	99	94	37

the expense of India's own manufactures, and must be prepared for a greater industrial output from within India herself. The imposition by mandate to Lord Elgin's Government of an Excise duty on Indian cloth manufactures was a great blunder. In the result it has conferred more benefit upon Japan than upon Lancashire, and it was a blot on the British record of fair dealing towards India. The general charge made by political Indians that Great Britain of set purpose destroyed Indian industries and then proceeded to exploit India for the benefit of England is not true, but the only weak point in the defence against the charge lies in the Excise duties on cotton goods, which have given India a genuine grievance against British fiscal administration. The removal of these duties [1] is an antecedent condition to better feeling on this subject. The ancient industries of India were all hand industries, and they have declined, not on account of political aims or fiscal policy, but on account of machinery—British and foreign as well as that imported by Indian capital. Indians have not refrained from erecting mills and factories in order to preserve their own hand industries. That may be the ideal of the dreamer Gandhi, but not of any modern practical Indian legislator. The past history of industrialism in India has been a history of Indian apathy, lack of enterprise, and want of confidence, and the greatest and most successful enterprises are in their origin European or Parsee. Capitalists of other classes have now followed this lead, but, with the exception of the cotton industry in Bombay, indigenous enterprise has been extremely timid. It is not surprising, therefore, that British enterprise and British capital have filled the breach, and that British goods have found their way into every corner of the Indian sub-continent, as indeed they have penetrated to the four corners of the earth. Certainly British

[1] They have now been suspended preparatory to removal.

commerce and British industry owe law and order and improvement of communications to the British Government in India—an inestimable benefit—but, save for the Excise duties on cotton goods, they owe very little else by way of special favour.

British administrators in India have always laboured to stimulate local industries, and the Government of India have been anxious to promote industrial development by technical scholarships and by the establishment of technical schools and institutes. The Industries Commission appointed by Lord Hardinge's Government put forward an ambitious industrial programme, but serious financial difficulties which synchronised with the Reforms put a stop to these activities. During the last twenty years, however, since *Swadeshi* and boycott movements were started, partly as political leverage and partly as a genuine movement to stimulate Indian industry, it has been the fashion to charge the Government of India with culpable inertia and to give little or no weight to the backwardness of Indian enterprise itself. Indians who genuinely hold this opinion are too apt to forget the enthusiasm for arts colleges and the apathy regarding, and even opposition to, science and technical training which marked a previous generation. The fact was also overlooked that the multiplication of impecunious technical scholars is of little use until the capital to finance industries in which they can be employed is forthcoming. India up to the war was a Free Trade country in which the rising generation of politicians was showing strong leanings towards Protection in order to stimulate India's nascent industries; and now that a large measure of fiscal autonomy has been granted with the Reforms these leanings to Protection have taken definite shape in the case of iron and steel. Before the war the import duties (apart from such special cases as liquor, tobacco, drugs, and arms) were imposed solely for revenue purposes, and were on a light scale. Since the war, however, financial necessities have compelled so substantial an increase in these duties as to make them protective in the case of all commodities which can be manufactured in the country. Higher Customs duties have come to stay; Protection for Indian manufactures where they are liable to be undersold by foreign goods (British included) must be regarded as an accepted policy, and a return to complete Free Trade is no longer practical politics. There remains, therefore, only the possibility of Preference.

Any hope that India will fall in with a scheme of Imperial Preference is doomed to disappointment. India might be induced to give preference to Asiatic Colonies where there were numerous Indian settlers, but she will never give preference to the self-governing Dominions where Indian immigrants are not welcomed

or where Indians already settled suffer from any disabilities. It would indeed be unreasonable to expect Indians to grant preference in such cases unless these disabilities were removed.

But preference to the United Kingdom stands on a different basis. There is not any grievance on account of racial disabilities which would make such preference impossible. Indians visiting the United Kingdom are not subject to any humiliating restrictions. If successful in winning the votes of British constituencies, they can sit in the British Parliament. They are free to trade as much as they desire. The best education that British citizens can enjoy is also open to them. It is, of course, possible to argue that if one country in the world should give preference to any other it should be India to England, in recognition of the security, peace, and prosperity which British rule has conferred upon India. There is abundance of good-will in India towards British officers and British merchants, but there is not much political gratitude in the world between different peoples and races. In the case of the Dominions it is not political gratitude, but kinship, that operates to induce preference. To them England is the mother land. They have a common religion, common language, common traditions, common literature, common blood. But to Indians it is India, not England, that is the 'mother land,' and the congeries of races of which the Indian population consists have their own religions, their own languages, their own traditions, their own literature, and are alien in blood to England. The factors that make for preference in the one case tell most against it in the other.

In addition there are strong political influences on the other side. Even though among conservative Indian politicians there might be found individuals who favour preference to the United Kingdom, the weight of opposition among the more modern section would be too strong for them. Men who have persuaded themselves, no matter how wrong-headedly, that British rule has been directed towards the enrichment of England and the impoverishment of India are not likely to extend preference to British goods merely as a mark of good-will. It is thus clear beyond all question that if British goods are to enjoy preference in India it must be as the result of a free bargain by which India receives some substantial and tangible benefit from England in return for the preference; there must, in fact, be a valuable *quid pro quo*.

What are the chief fiscal complaints of political Indians? India's contribution to the Navy is very small—only 100,000*l*. a year; but they complain that, in addition to the cost of an Indian Army, India has to pay approximately 20,000,000*l*. a year for the British garrison, in the cost and strength of which she has no

voice. They complain that she was compelled to levy Excise duties on her most promising industry, and they complain that the 'Home Charges' constitute a serious annual 'drain' upon her resources. So far as the Excise duties on cotton are concerned, the Indian case is perfectly good.[2] As regards the British Army in India, it can be argued on the British side that that Army is so essential to Indian peace and security that the charge is proper and not excessive; and it can be argued on the Indian side that India is paying for troops which, however beneficial their presence and protection to India may be, are maintained there for the protection of British lives and British interests, and that the British recruit after a short sojourn in the country returns to England a trained soldier (a fresh recruit being sent in his place at great expense) and becomes an asset of value to Great Britain and to the Empire at large, but not exclusively, or even mainly, to India. The cost for British troops as compared with an equal number of Indian is a perpetual cause of complaint. They have to be brought to India and taken back, a large proportion of them go to the hills in the hot weather. Their barracks cost much more, so do their feed and clothing. A British unit costs four times as much as an equivalent Indian unit. It is not, however, necessary to attempt an exact appreciation of the relative benefits to Great Britain, the Empire and India of the British garrison in India. The point at issue is to find what valuable consideration can be offered to India in return for the guarantee of a preference for British goods, and I know of no better consideration than that Great Britain should bear half the cost of British troops who are employed in India in the joint interest of herself, India and the Empire, leaving India, of course, to bear the cost of the Indian Army proper, which has also rendered admirable service to the Empire.

Incidentally, such an arrangement would make up for the loss due to the removal of the cotton Excise duties, and would go some way to balance that so-called 'drain.' India's 'Home Charges' are all for good value received, and a denial of this by some Indian politicians is without substance, but where the shoe pinches is that a large sum of Indian money is annually spent outside the country instead of being spent in India. This would be largely discounted if 10,000,000*l.* of British money were spent in India in part payment of the cost of the British Army there. Naturally, in return for this, Great Britain would expect a very substantial preference, not less than 50 per cent. off the import duties leviable on goods imported from all other countries.

There would be nothing derogatory to India in such an arrangement. It would be a bargain between equals—not a mandate

[2] Their suspension removes this grievance.

from a suzerain to a dependent. It is purely a question of fact whether this sum is worth the grant of a preference to the United Kingdom by India, and whether th s preference is worth the payment of so large a sum by Great Britain. No offhand answer is possible, for the proposition would naturally require detailed scrutiny. All that I can attempt is to put the case on each side with such observations as my Indian experience suggests, leaving it to those interests which are most deeply concerned, if they so desire, to apply the necessary scrutiny and to form their own conclusions.

On the Indian side hesitation might be felt lest the preference to British goods should seriously prejudice the development of India's own industries. To this there is a complete answer. If the duty is a revenue duty only, a half preference means some loss on Customs revenue and some benefit to the Indian consumer without any loss to an Indian producer, the commodities in question *ex hypothesi* not being produced in India If, however, the commodity is one that is produced in India, the preference can be given either by halving the present duties in respect of goods from the United Kingdom or by maintaining the present duties against the United Kingdom and doubling them against goods from other countries. This latter method would give Indian manufacturers the same protection as they enjoy at present in regard to British goods, but double that protection in regard to goods imported from other countries. If the Indian is reassured that the arrangement is not going to keep back India's own industrial progress, there should be no further obstacle on her side to a preference to the United Kingdom in return for which she will receive so valuable a help to her finances as half the annual cost of the British troops. A saving of 10,000,000*l*. on her annual Budget means the abolition of the cotton Excise duties (a little over 1,000,000*l*) and the complete remission of the provincial contributions to the Central Government (about 7,000,000*l*), thus leaving at least 1,500,000*l* at the disposal of the Central Government to set against any loss in Customs duties entailed by the preference. There can thus be no question about the advantage accruing to India from the bargain. The entire remission of all contributions to the Central Government would confer an immense benefit on the Provinces if wisely used by them.

The British side of the bargain is naturally not so easily demonstrable in hard cash. At a time when the British taxpayer is overburdened, and when the cry is for drastic economy, a suggestion involving an annual addition to his burden of 10,000,000*l*. sterling is one which at first sight it might seem sheer lunacy to put forward. But for a bargain to be successful both parties to it must be substantial gainers as compared with

their respective positions if the bargain were not made. Which of them gains most is really not relevant so long as neither of them is a loser. Nor is it necessary to demonstrate that the direct profits from Indian trade due to the preference will be in any particular ratio to the sum paid in exchange for it, for an enlarged market in one country may enable goods to be cheapened sufficiently to ensure larger markets in other countries as well. No outsider is qualified to judge what the effect of a given preference will be to a given British industry, but each of the industries and trades concerned should be able to form a shrewd opinion as to the benefits, direct or indirect, likely to accrue to itself from a preference of the kind indicated.

The Indian Trade Reports and the recent 'Survey of Overseas Markets' by the Committee on Industry and Trade present valuable and interesting material. Even before the war foreign countries were encroaching slowly but surely on the British proportion of Indian trade, and since the war the process has been accelerated I do not propose here to make a detailed statistical analysis of the variations of trade. The vagaries of exchange, the great rise in prices, and the post-war boom followed immediately by slumps have confused comparisons Still, a few salient facts and figures will indicate the direction in which the Indian demand has been moving, and will show that the situation cannot be regarded with equanimity from the point of view of the British producer.

Cotton, Twist and Yarn.—Imports of these goods from the United Kingdom for five years preceding the war averaged 37,000,000 lb in weight, as against 5,000,000 lb. from foreign countries. In the four post-war years ending 1924 they averaged 29,000,000 lb, as against 18,000,000 lb. from foreign countries. In the last year of the series the ratio had reached 22 British to 23 foreign.

Cotton Piece Goods—In 1909–10 India imported over 2,000,000,000 yards from the United Kingdom, while the foreign contribution was only 49,000,000 yards. In 1913–14 she imported 3,000,000,000 yards from the United Kingdom, as against 90,000,000 foreign. In 1923–24 British imported goods had fallen to 1,319,000,000 yards, but foreign had risen to 163,000,000 yards; the foreign proportion had thus risen during the whole period from 2 per cent. to 11 per cent.

Iron and Steel—Under the heads 'Iron and Steel' and 'Steel' taken together foreign imports have risen gradually, until they now amount to over 50 per cent. of the total imports, stated in thousands of tons; but under the separate head 'Steel' the ratio of foreign to British was 4 to 1 even before the war, and is nearly 6 to 1 now. The report on overseas trade gives interesting details

of the extent to which the British steel industry has been eclipsed by Belgium and other countries.

Motor Cars.—Before the war British cars largely exceeded foreign cars. In the boom period after the war foreign (mostly American) were double the British. The British ratio after that improved a little, but is now again on the wane, 555,000*l.* British to 952,000*l.* foreign.

Woollen Piece Goods.—Before the war imports were 22,000,000 yards. They were only one-third of this in 1923–24, and of this amount the United Kingdom can claim only about one-half.

Cutlery and Hardware, including Instruments and Implements — The United Kingdom has steadily lost ground. Before the war it enjoyed two-thirds of the value under this head. In the last year the proportion had fallen below a half.

Railway Plant and Rolling Stock, and Machinery and Mill Work.—The United Kingdom has for many years enjoyed almost a monopoly in the Indian market under these two heads. America and Germany are now beginning to make their presence felt. These are very valuable markets for the United Kingdom, and, with increased industrial enterprises and increased activity in railway construction in India, are likely to expand rather than to contract, provided that Germany and the United States do not continue to undersell British manufactures. The duty on machinery is still very low, only 2½ per cent. On railway plant and rolling stock the present duty is 10 per cent. A small preference in the case of machinery, and a substantial one in the case of railway plant, would greatly benefit the manufactures of the United Kingdom.

Included among the major heads there are many articles falling under sub-headings in which a substantial preference to the United Kingdom would be of much benefit to British trade Though each singly may not be of much importance, in the aggregate they may mean a good deal. I note a few of these from the Indian Trade Returns.

Buttons (duty 15 per cent.) —The United Kingdom trade is insignificant. Foreign countries supply 90 per cent of the demand.

Clocks and Watches (duty 30 per cent.).—The United Kingdom is cut out by Germany and Switzerland.

Under *Dyes* (duty 15 per cent.) Germany has a complete ascendancy.

Under *Glass Bangles* (duty 30 per cent.) the United Kingdom does not even attempt to compete, and under all kinds of *Glass Ware* (duty 15 per cent.) is losing ground steadily.

Under *Typewriters* (duty 15 per cent.) the United States enjoy almost a monopoly.

Under *Paper* (duty 15 per cent.) about half the trade is with foreign countries; and the United Kingdom enjoys less than a half in the case of *Manufactured Rubber* (duty 15 per cent.). The duty on rubber tyres is 30 per cent.

Under *Hosiery* (duty 15 per cent.) the United Kingdom has a very low position, Japan being specially prominent.

Under *Toys* and *Requisites for Games and Sports* (duty 30 per cent.) the United Kingdom comes only fifth.

In these cases, and they are merely specimens of a number of trades, a half preference on existing duties would represent an advantage to the United Kingdom of from 7½ to 15 per cent. over its rivals. The Trade Returns show that under all the most important heads there has been shrinkage in the demand, but in almost every case the proportion of foreign goods has increased or is tending to increase. It seems highly probable that further ground is being lost in the current year.

The following are the rates of Customs duties levied on imports into India before the war and now, and on some of the most important classes of goods which are exported from the United Kingdom to India. The selections are made from the recently published 'Survey of Overseas Markets':

	1914	1925.
Pig Iron (forge and foundry) . . .	1 p.c. *ad valorem.*	13*s.* 4*d.* per ton.
Rails . . .	Free.	1*s.* 0½*d.* per cwt.
Galvanised Sheet (corrugated . . .	1½*d* per cwt.	1*s.* per cwt.
Tin Plates . . .	1 p.c. *ad valorem.*	4*s.* 5*d.* per cwt.
Section Steel . .	1 p.c. *ad valorem.*	2*s.* 1½*d.* per cwt.
Motor Cars . .	5 p.c. *ad valorem.*	30 p.c. *ad valorem.*
Electric Wire or Cables.	5 p.c. *ad valorem.*	13 p.c. *ad valorem.*
Cotton Piece Goods .	3½ p c. *ad valorem.*	11 p c. *ad valorem.*
Woollen Piece Goods .	5 p c. *ad valorem.*	15 p.c. *ad valorem.*
Boots and Shoes .	5 p c. *ad valorem.*	15 p.c. *ad valorem.*
Chemicals—Soda Crystals . . .	5*s.* per ton.	35*s.* 6*d.* per ton.

The general principles upon which the Indian tariff is framed are all-round percentages of 15 per cent. on general utility articles and 30 per cent. on luxury articles; but there are special duties, either high or low, on particular articles—*e.g.*, 75 per cent. on tobacco and 2½ per cent. on machinery.

If the proposals I have put forward as a possible bargain were to be pursued, this tariff would have to be subjected to scrutiny and revised with reference to several important considerations.

First, the interests of Indian producers and Indian consumers must be balanced.

Secondly, the duties must be sufficiently high in the case of articles which are, or can be, manufactured in India itself to prevent injury to indigenous industry.

Thirdly, the duties must be maintained at such a figure as to satisfy revenue requirements.

Lastly, if the British taxpayer undertakes to bear half the cost of the British garrison, it will be necessary to satisfy the British Government that the preference obtained is substantial enough to be of real benefit to British industry.

I have suggested that the preference shall not be less than 50 per cent off the general tariff, but there might be special exceptions; for example, where the goods are not produced in India at all it might suit the Indian Government better, in the interests of the Indian consumer, to admit British goods free while imposing a moderate tariff on goods from foreign countries. Thus, in the case of machinery, instead of 2½ per cent. on machinery from the United Kingdom and 5 per cent. from other countries, it might be considered better, in the interests of Indian industry, to allow British machinery in free and to impose a tariff of, say, 10 per cent. on foreign; or again, in the case of luxury articles, now scheduled at the 30 per cent. rate, it might be considered better, in the interests of the Indian revenue, to raise the duty to 40 per cent. and give British goods half preference.

The solution which I have suggested for British preference will have another advantage.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company complained that the 10 per cent. duty did not sufficiently protect the local iron and steel industry, but the Government hesitated to increase that tariff generally. They could not have put higher duties on Belgian steel without subjecting British steel to the same handicap, and if they made the all-round tariff substantially higher they would be making a highly essential commodity unduly expensive to the consumer, for the local ironworks cannot meet all Indian requirements. They have therefore been obliged to resort to a bounty on the products of the Tata furnaces.

At this moment the Indian cotton-mill owners are complaining that they are being ruined by Japanese competition, which, as it relates to the coarser counts, is really more injurious to them than it is to Lancashire, for if the Government raise the duties against Japan they will be also obliged to raise them against Lancashire,

which they might be reluctant to do; but by abolishing the Excise duties on cotton cloth and raising the import duties from 11 to 22 per cent. on goods of non-British origin they could obtain a very important measure of protection for the Indian cotton mills and leave the Lancashire position untouched.

There are thus clear possibilities for variations from a rigid 50 per cent rule which would make it possible to protect deserving industries while conceding a preference to the United Kingdom which would be of substantial value.

British commerce might, however, conceivably take the line that, inasmuch as, *ex hypothesi*, any bargain made must adequately secure Indian industries, the value of a British preference now may in the future become a diminishing quantity. Such fears are, in my opinion, groundless. By all means let India develop her industries, but she can never become an industrial country as the term is understood in the West. If anyone takes the trouble to look at a map of India and to mark on it the industrial areas they will be small islands in a vast ocean of agriculture. It is unthinkable that she should ever be dependent on foreign countries for her food She is a country of small farming: her people are wedded to the land; 71 per cent. of her huge population are engaged in agricultural pursuits, and only limited numbers of her industrial population are industrialists all the time. After spells at work in mines and factories they drift back again to the land There are, of course, congested agricultural areas, principally in Behar and Madras, and some districts in the United Provinces, from which surplus labour migrates to other parts of India and, to a limited extent, overseas. Many of these movements are largely seasonal—*e.g*, to Burma, Ceylon and the Straits —and the vast majority of these migrants keep in touch with their villages and return in the off season. In busy times when agricultural labour is in great demand factories and mines lose many of their workers. The spirit of India is against Western industrialisation; only 10 per cent. of the whole population live in towns, and a fourth of these belong to small towns scarcely distinguishable from villages. The last Census Commissioner wrote: 'Industry supports 10 per cent. of the population, but the bulk of these are engaged in unorganised industries concerned with the supply of personal and household necessities and the simple implements of work. Organised industries occupy only 1 per cent. of the population.' The Bengal coalfields support about 200,000 workers. In some of these areas only 15 per cent. are described as 'settled,' the highest proportion in any coalfield being 50 per cent., and a 'settled man' means that the miner has been given land to cultivate on the spot and has built his own house upon it. The rest of them are either living in neighbouri

'illages on their lands, or temporarily migrate from more distant gricultural areas.

Then take the cotton industry. The whole total of employees ver India is less than half a million, and three-fourths of these re concentrated in the Bombay Presidency. About an equal umber are employed in the spinning, pressing, and weaving of ute in Bengal. To the workers in the mines and factories a large ontribution is made by the aboriginal tribes, induced by their canty subsistence in their own hills and jungles to seek an industrial life. In the managerial, supervising and technical staffs, xcept in the cotton industry in the Bombay Presidency, where 'arsees are mostly to be found, there are very considerable European and Anglo-Indian elements. Even in the 345 cotton pinning and weaving mills of the Bombay Presidency (employing 53,000 workers) there are as many as 244 Europeans and Anglo-ndians on the supervising staff. In all the organised industries aken together there are 12,500 Europeans and Anglo-Indians to 8,500 Indians on the superior staff. India, therefore, has a long 'ay to travel before her own industries, managed, staffed and 'orked by Indians alone, can become a rival to the industrial ountries of the West. But in truth, though every lover of India, British and Indian, is right to be enthusiastic about the develop-ment of industries in India, it has to be recognised that she is a ast agricultural country with a vast agricultural population, and hat the improvement of her agriculture must be her first and reatest object. The Bengal coalfield is the only one which can ield coal good enough for smelting purposes. The entire output f coal for the whole of India is at present only 20,000,000 tons a ear, and you can travel a thousand miles in India without ncountering a coalfield or any mining of importance; even factory reas are often separated by hundreds of miles. A great deal is 'ritten about the possibilities of water-power, but the most likely chemes from the point of view of the power are, with a few xceptions, in most inaccessible places, and their most profitable se will be in lifting water for irrigation and supplying power for gricultural machinery. India is so vast a country that the xistence in this or that part of iron or coal means much less than seems to people who do not appreciate its size. Take Europe 'ithout Russia, with which India is so commonly compared, and ssume petroleum only in Roumania, good quality coal only in reece, jute and jute factories only in Southern Italy, cotton ctories only in Spain, and only a few factories and mines over the est of the Continent, this would not go far towards making urope as a whole an industrial country.

I come back, therefore, to the proposition that, while every ncouragement should be given to Indians to develop industries

in India, the development of her agriculture is of the first importance. Her own industries can only progress if her own agriculture is flourishing. She must grow her rice, her wheat, and her millets to feed her huge population; she must produce her oil-seeds, her cotton, and her jute as the raw material for her staple industries, but a very long period indeed must elapse before she can possibly supply the entire needs of her own population in respect of manufactured articles. The growth of the market that she offers for overseas trade, and of her population itself, is dependent upon the steady improvement of her agriculture. Although great progress has been made in irrigation, there are still potentialities in the increase of irrigation by canals, storage reservoirs, and, in special areas, the multiplication of small pumping plants. In a country where the dry wheat crop produces only about ten to twelve bushels an acre the increase obtainable by irrigation is obvious, while better conservation of manure, improved seed, and improved methods can be made to add a large percentage to her yield. The Indian Agricultural Department has only about twenty years' experience behind it, and in that short time it has done some splendid work, but it has scarcely crossed the threshold of its possibilities. Since the Armistice India has suffered many vicissitudes. She lost about twelve millions of her population in the great influenza epidemic of 1918. She has endured two severe crop failures, prices higher by far than in the great famines, acute political agitation, and a rupee exchange which jumped up to 2*s* 10*d*. and fell to 1*s*. 3*d* within the space of less than three years. With more stable conditions her recovery will be greater than her decline, and, provided only that internal and external peace are ensured, her demand for imported articles will most certainly expand. It is most essential that foreign competitors should not snatch away that market from British industry, and it is to secure that objective that I put forward these suggestions.

According to the 'Survey of Overseas Markets' the proportions of the exports of the United Kingdom to the various parts of the world in 1923-24 were as shown in the table on p. 15.

In 1913 the Indian proportion of the total was 13·38 per cent. It has thus fallen two points since the war, but even now it represents 27·7 of the trade with the countries of the British Empire, or 32 per cent. if the Irish Free State is excluded. Australia's share of 7·64 per cent. represents 11*l*. per head of her population, and India's share of 11·39 per cent. represents 6*s*. per head of hers; but 3*s*. per head extra in India would mean 48,000,000*l* added to British trade, whereas a similar addition would require additional exports in the case of Australia of no less than 9*l* per head. There is ample scope for expansion of the Indian market for goods on account of increase in cultivation,

Part of the World.	Percentage of Exports from the U K.	Largest individual Importing Country.	Amount imported per Head of Population of largest Importing Country
	1. *Foreign Countries.*		
			£ s d.
Europe	31 p c.	France 5·6 p c . .	1 1 3
Africa	3·92 p c	Egypt 1 90 p c . .	1 3 9
Asia	8 67 p.c.	Japan 3 37 p c .	0 9 6
America (North and Central) and West Indies	7·91 p c	U.S A 6·68 p c. .	0 10 1
South America . .	7·38 p c.	The Argentine 3·42 p c	2 17 10
Polynesia . . .	0 01 p c	—	—
Total . . .	58·89 p c	U.S.A. 6 68 p c .	0 10 1
	2 *British Empire*		
Self-governing Dominions (including the Irish Free State) . .	23·11 p c.	Australia 7·64 p c .	11 3 7
India	11·39 p c	India 11 39 p c	0 6 0
Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates . .	6 61 p.c	West Africa 1·32 p c	0 9 6
Total . . .	41 11 p c	India 11 39 p c .	0 6 0

increase in production, increase in wealth, increase in population, and by the recovery, with the aid of preference, of markets lost to foreign countries since the war. The expansion of Indian imports during the last twenty years has been remarkable. From 1904 to 1924 India's annual demand for overseas goods has risen by 108 per cent., while the increase in imports from the United Kingdom during the same period is represented by 88 per cent. The increase of population in India during that period has been less than 10 per cent., and the difference represents the increase in wealth and purchasing power during those two decades, which increase has been obtained in spite of a large development in India's own industries. The Indian market for overseas goods of 150,000,000*l.* a year might easily rise to 300,000,000*l.* twenty years hence. The important question is, How much of this expanding market can the United Kingdom secure, and what is it worth her paying to secure preference in that market ? I venture to believe that the price which I have suggested is not an unreasonable price to pay.

But there is still one very important side of the question to be considered. The British industries concerned may be very much pleased to see the general taxpayers pay 10,000,000*l.* for the preference, but the taxpayer must also be satisfied that he is going to receive good value for his money. In the first place, every taxpayer is interested in a prosperous India, and if India were to become a prey to anarchy the results would be disastrous to British trade and British credit, and every taxpayer would

soon find the consequences to him unpleasant. The maintenance of an efficient British garrison in India is therefore an object in which every taxpayer is interested. In the second place, the general taxpayer is vitally interested in the improvement in the trade of the United Kingdom. He does not, for example, complain of the cost of the Consular Services, and within reasonable limits he does not object to the cost of the Navy. These expenses and the additional expense which I suggest are all in the nature of insurance. An assured preference for British goods in a market which takes a larger proportion of them than any other single country in the world, and which offers chances of continuous expansion which few countries can equal, is an asset of great value The general taxpayer may be a working man to whom the result of improved trade means more regular employment and better wages He may be a person living on a fixed salary either in private or public service, but he is still deeply concerned in the stability of British trade and British finance He may be a professional man, in which case his professional earnings are largely dependent upon trade being in a flourishing condition He may be a property owner or a capitalist with investments in land, industry, railways, mines and banks, and the prosperity of general trade is of great value to him. Furthermore, it is by no means certain that the general taxpayer will in actual fact be required to pay more in taxes than he does at present on account of this 10,000,000*l* contribution to India, for improvement in trade and the reduction of unemployment will tend to reduce the burden of rates and taxes by even more than the cost of the British Army in India adds to it—if not immediately, at all events in the very near future

It is not suggested that in this very year the extra burden should be placed on the British taxpayer. The proposal is conditional on its free acceptance by both countries, which would not be possible without a close examination on both sides. This would take time, during which financial adjustments at the moment impracticable might be arranged without extra taxation on the British taxpayer. A long view is necessary in this matter. The arrangement must be put on the basis of a treaty obligation, if mutual advantage is to be secured; it is not a matter to be left at the mercy of a vote.

The British taxpayer may say that he ought to have preference without paying for it, but the question is neither what he might have had, nor what he ought to have, but what he can get. How many Governments, commercial concerns, and individuals might have secured valuable land for little or nothing at one time which they cannot get now without paying heavily? But unless the price is prohibitive they buy it now rather than lose the

advantage. The advantages of preference are undeniable; but is the price prohibitive? It is an annual premium for insurance in which the sum assured will progressively expand without any proportionate increase in the premium. On the Indian side it is a certain annual gain, not obtainable in any other way.

Much has been said about the loss of the Russian market, but in 1913 this market only represented 3½ per cent. of the total exports from the United Kingdom, or less than one-third of the Indian market now, and a little more than one-quarter of it before foreign competition began to encroach.

Lastly, the point of view of the British Government itself must be remembered. That Government is faced with an ever-increasing liability for expenditure on social services concurrently with a serious decline in trade, a grave degree of unemployment, and industrial unrest. It is pledged to a policy of safeguarding industries, and it has been driven into the dangerous position of subsidising one particular industry. If the Government were to adopt the suggestion which is the subject of this article it would be giving a subsidy in a sense, but not directly to any particular industry or trade. It would be undertaking certain known responsibilities limited by definite tests which have the effect of securing assistance to all trades, large and small, which are directly interested in India without any of the objections which exist against direct subsidies to private enterprise. The extent to which any particular industry would benefit would be entirely dependent on its own particular enterprise and business capacity. Incidentally, many other industries and trades less directly concerned with India would also benefit, such as coal, shipping and railways, while unemployment at home would be proportionately reduced. If the British Government by paying 10,000,000*l*. a year for the British Army in India would be enabled to ease itself of some of its burdens the sacrifice would be worth the making. Five shillings per head of the population of India represents 2*l*. per head of the population of the United Kingdom. Even if immediate benefit in hard cash could not be demonstrated by the transaction, there is such a thing as moral strategy, which is worth a good deal of money. If you can raise British exports to a single country from 11 per cent. to 16 per cent., or from one-ninth to one-sixth, of its total exports at the present time, you may be giving a measure of confidence of the utmost value at a time of intense depression.

It is possible that other objections will be taken on other grounds to the proposal I have made. It might be said, for example, that a preference to the United Kingdom not shared in by the Empire might offend the rest of the Empire. To this there would be a convincing answer. If the British Government

undertakes to bear half the cost of a British force in India, it has a right to a special return for that service, to the cost of which the rest of the Empire would not be contributing. If, on the other hand, foreign but friendly countries should raise a protest that increased tariffs would injure their trade with India, even if it be supposed they can protest in a matter of domestic policy, the answer would be that they have no cause of complaint against a tariff which applied to all parts of the British Empire except the United Kingdom. No one complains if American goods enter the Philippine Islands free, or if French goods in Algeria and French Indo-China pay no duties, although all other goods are charged with a tariff, and as a matter of fact military charges in the Philippines are charges on the American, and not on the Philippine, budget

The following quotation from the Report of the Committee of Industry and trade in the 'Survey of Overseas Markets' (page 592) is very apposite. They write.

> We have no commercial treaty with Cuba, and the United States Government have consistently refused to recognise the Most Favoured Nation clause in the Anglo-American Treaty as applicable in respect of reductions from their tariff rates accorded to another country in consideration of concessions which that country may have granted to them

The facts are that the reciprocal tariff concessions provided by the Reciprocity Convention between Cuba and the United States are not extended by either the United States or Cuba to other foreign countries.

Another objection might be raised on the administrative side, that if the British Treasury paid half the cost of the British troops in India there would be undesirable interference from home with the authority of the Commander-in-Chief in India with regard to those troops If the British Government were to be bearing that cost without a *quid pro quo*, the case might be different; but India would be giving good value for the contribution received, and there is no reason why any alteration should be made in the constitution of the forces under the Commander-in-Chief in India, their dispositions or their discipline. The British Government would still not be the direct paymaster of the troops, but would be receiving a good consideration in return for an assignment to the Government of India, which recouped it for half its expenditure on those troops.

Another objection of detail might be made by the Indian financial authorities, namely, that under several heads of the military budget it would be most difficult to extricate the proportion of the cost which represented the British element in the Army from the proportion which represented the Indian Army proper. Under a great many heads there would be no difficulty at all in discriminating this expenditure, and under mixed heads

it should surely be possible to find a formula which enabled the extra expenditure due to the British element in the Army to be approximately ascertained. At any rate, it is inconceivable that if the major policy were of great national value to both the United Kingdom and to India it should be abandoned on account of mere account difficulties which careful discussion should overcome. It surely cannot be beyond the wit of man to devise adjustments of finance which would satisfy reasonable men seeking to ascertain the share in the Indian Army budget which could fairly be taken as the cost of the British troops.

To sum up, it will, I think, be readily conceded—

(1) That a substantial preference for British goods in the Indian market representing in numbers three-fourths of the population of the British Empire would be an asset of great value to British industries;

(2) That such a substantial preference cannot be secured out of mere good-will, but only in return for a valuable consideration;

(3) That the value given must be as acceptable to India as preference is to England;

(4) That the rejection *in limine* of such a proposal on the ground that such a preference should be given for nothing would be a short-sighted policy to adopt.

If these cardinal points are accepted, then I venture to urge that the solution put forward is worthy of careful consideration by all the interests concerned before it is rejected. The arrangement would hurt neither India's self-respect nor India's own industries. It would remove some of her chief causes of complaint and lighten greatly her financial burdens; while, on the other hand, it would be of immense value to Great Britain if it secured to her, as it is hoped it would do, a greatly preponderating share in the market for overseas goods amongst a sixth of the population of the world.

Surely an assured preference in a market of this magnitude is worth the cost of 30,000 British troops! And to India it is equivalent to the remission of 200,000,000*l.* of her National Debt.

REGINALD CRADDOCK.

THE AWAKENING OF ASIA

THE cradle of races and nations, the fatherland of mighty conquerors, the source of legends and mysteries, the inheritance of Sakkia-Muni, Confucius and Lao-tse, the vast graveyard of bygone civilisations, the refuge of sorcerers and paganism—all this is Asia. It is a continent enshrined in that never-to-be-unveiled mystery, guarded by seas surrounding the land of the Rising Sun, by mountains hiding the country of the Sad Morn, and by the Great Wall beyond which murmurs the ocean of 450,000,000 people who have not forgotten the mysteries of the Temple of Heaven and the Forbidden City. Beyond sky-high mountains, beyond vast deserts, treacherous jungles and marshes, lies Asia, the ocean of a milliard men.

As if in a mystic dream, Asia has lain for centuries awaiting the 'day of deed.' She has awakened now—awakened to lift the veil of her eternal mystery.

The awakening of that vast and powerful continent began at the close of last century. It was slow and gradual, and even the victory of Asiatic Japan over Russia, the representative of the white races, did little to accelerate the process. The Great War, however, that convulsive struggle of European nations, gave a stronger impulse to the Asiatic movement. The collapse of European influence in Asiatic colonies and the Communist revolution in Russia became the signal for the revival and self-assertion of Asia.

I am far from asserting that the Communist Government of Russia should bear the sole responsibility for inciting the hostile psychology of the Asiatics against the white races. It would, indeed, be difficult to estimate the extent of Communist or anti-Communist influence in this pernicious work. The fact, however, remains that Asiatic races, incited by ideas and doctrines which have hitherto remained in the sphere of their obscure dreams, have been drawn into the political struggle raging throughout the vast territory of Russia. The Great War and the successive revolutions have forced entire Mongolian tribes and races to migrate from their adopted fatherland—Russia. These tribes have carried with them into their exile an elemental hatred of all

European races and a new ideology which, by rapid evolution, has already changed the psychical physiognomy of Asia and of her people. The Bolshevist Government realised this contingency, summed up the position, and spares no efforts to secure mastery and control over the Asiatic movement.

Let us examine the present political situation of Asia. Turkey is passing through a period of reforms, transferring the centre of gravity from Europe to Asia. In her desire to secure allies she threatens some, cajoles the others. There is, however, no doubt that the spell of her religious supremacy continues to influence the minds of the children of the Prophet, not only in Arabia, Persia, India and Afghanistan, but also in China, Egypt and French Africa—*i.e.*, even beyond the Asiatic continent.

The followers of Buddha and Lama in India, Tibet and Mongolia, are stirred by a movement which is hostile not only to Europe, but also to China, which, in the opinion of the Buddhists, has, by abolishing her monarchy, entered a state of anarchic decay which will sooner or later result in a disaster and lead China into eternal slavery.

China, torn into separate parts ruthlessly spoiled by ambitious adventurers, is, indeed, in a pitiful condition—little short of complete anarchy. Already during my visit to China in 1921 I formed an opinion as to the future political developments in that one time most powerful country of Asia. Another civil war, more complicated than the one between North and South, was imminent. Such war would force China's political leaders to seek for new forms of political existence and to unite the country torn into separate territories. I personally observed the increasing influence of Soviet envoys which has culminated in the establishment of Soviet control over Chinese wireless stations, and in the presence of semi-official Russian 'advisers' at Chinese Government departments. Even at that time I regarded the possibility of a Russo-Chinese alliance as a political certainty, the realisation of which was but a matter of time. That such an alliance should be concluded only in 1925 was due to the untiring efforts of the Japanese, who possessed considerable influence and knew how to employ it to their best advantage. Now we are witnessing the latest political creation—a Russo-Chino-Japanese Alliance!

British India is in a state of political unrest, verging on a severe revolutionary crisis. The movement has so far striven in two apparently independent directions. One is of national and Mohammedan tendencies; the other aims at the moral revival of India by means of passive resistance. The latter, though nominally aiming only at the intellectual resurrection of India, advocates methods which must prove dangerous to the white

races. I am referring to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and his followers—efforts aiming at the abolition of caste, both racial and religious, and at the union of 300,000,000 men inhabiting a continent stretching from the Afghano-Persian frontier to the Himalayas, and perhaps further east to the Pacific. It is well known that the position of France in the Indo-Chinese peninsula is wholly determined by the success or otherwise of her 'psychological' policy, which will, however, be found inadequate to counteract the joint efforts of the Indian continent.

The Philippines assert in no uncertain voice their right to independence, and claim it persistently from the United States. A movement of liberation is on foot in the Dutch Indies.

Persia proclaims her independence and freedom from foreign interference in her internal affairs. The recent assassination of the American consul, though doubtless provoked by a blunder of the official, must be regarded as a grave warning that the Government of Teheran intend to carry through their policy of national integrity. Afghanistan is astir with energetic anti-British activities, ably conducted by Soviet envoys. King Hussein and his sons dream of an Arabian empire which would regain its supreme position in the Islamic world Syria and Palestine are restive, and the neighbouring Egypt, infected with the Asiatic fever of freedom and liberation, begins to spread that epidemic, so characteristic of the present era, throughout the African continent.

Two more Asiatic countries must be considered. These are Japan and Siberia. Japan was always regarded as a 'pupil of Europe'—a diligent pupil who has copied faithfully France, England, Germany, and the United States, and offered no criticism and no resistance. Such is the predominant opinion in Europe, and this opinion Japan herself is wont to maintain and to encourage. Her attitude during the Boxer War was characteristic. The Japanese staff placed their troops deliberately in close proximity to European detachments, and the eyes of the entire Japanese army, from the general in command down to the last private soldier, were fixed on these detachments so that they could see and learn the European art of war. For Japan it was an object-lesson in European organisation and strategy. It could have, and should have, been noticed by the Marshal Waldersee and by other European commanders that the personnel of officers and N.C.O.'s was constantly changing, for the Japanese General Staff desired to demonstrate this unique object-lesson to as many of its members as possible. There was also a moral lesson to be derived from this punitive expedition despatched by white races against a country boasting the highest and oldest Asiatic civilisation. The circumstances following the capture of Peking

were noteworthy and instructive. Whilst foreign soldiers were plundering the ancient capital and robbing its palaces and temples, Japanese troops stood passively aside. The Tokio Government fully realised its responsibility for participation in a war against China—its responsibility towards Asia. It is not surprising, therefore, that they wished to dissociate themselves, at least in this way, from the activities of the foreign expeditionary force. It is true that the Imperial Museum of Tokio contains many beautiful specimens of Chinese art, but these were not 'captured,' but purchased from foreigners during and after the outbreak.

In spite of these overtures the Japanese policy of capturing the sentiments of Asia was only partly successful. The 'mailed fist' introduced into Corea and the south-eastern districts of Manchuria provoked indignation throughout Asia; the Japanese were regarded as renegades and traitors to the cause of Asia. In consequence, the slogan 'Asia for the Asiatics' propounded by Japan had little or no response. Only small groups of Corean and Chinese youths began to gather round Japan and form branches of the 'Society of Friends of Asia.' The Government of Tokio emphasised it over and over again that Japanese troops took no part in the plunder of the Chinese capital; nevertheless, the sincerity of their policy was doubted by the Asiatics.

The external, or rather mechanical, introduction of European civilisation into Japan was responsible for a series of blunders of European diplomacy. Japan, seeing the constant penetration of white races into Asia, lost no time in following their example. New land for emigration and colonisation was indispensable for her physical existence. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Japanese expansion soon extended to China and culminated in the capture of Shantung and the valley of the River Hwang-ho.

When 'Japanese imperialism' is being discussed in Europe and America I cannot refrain from evoking my memories of the land of the Rising Sun. I perceive large fields tilled by the ceaseless labours of Japanese farmers; I see hosts of small townships, villages and hamlets, overcrowded cities, and the rapidly increasing population of a country which has not even the 'geological certainty' of its future, a country where a single earthquake can destroy the tedious labours of generations. Let us be fair, and let us admit that for Japan the problems of colonisation and emigration are vital, while the shortage of land explains her desire for expansion.

The new Japanese ingress into Chinese territory in co-operation with European imperialists provoked a wave of indignation and contempt throughout the Asiatic continent. This state of affairs did not abate till before the close of the Washington Conference, where the persistence of the Prince Togukawa and Admiral Kato

in refusing to withdraw Japanese troops from Shantung and the Yellow River produced a complete deadlock in the negotiations. I heard the prophecies of prominent European and American statesmen that the Conference would result in an absolute failure, for a solution of this most important problem was thought to be out of the question.

I was during the Washington Conference in close contact with the members of the Chinese delegation, who were staying at the same hotel. Officially the delegation was led by 'Americanised' neo-Chinese, Messrs. Alfred She and Wellington Koo, who, in spite of their Americanisation and Europeanisation, had many unpleasant truths to tell the representatives of non-Mongolian Governments. During the last few days of the Conference meetings were held continually between the Chinese delègation and their supposed bitter enemies, the Japanese. As a result of these pourparlers a sudden change in the attitude of the Japanese delegation took place. They suddenly agreed to everything and made numerous 'disinterested' concessions to China. The Europeans and Mr. Hughes were triumphant; they were under the impression that the contingency of a white fleet cruising the Pacific waters was more than the Japanese were prepared to risk The truth of the matter was different. Japan had suddenly realised that the proposed Treaty between the United States, England, France, and Japan was nothing but a disguised gag on Japanese freedom of policy and action. The Tokio diplomats realised that Britannia, that supreme ruler of the waves, regarded Japan alone as a dangerous rival and possible enemy England, for the sake of removed interests, has modified its traditional policy of undivided rule over the seas and agreed to share her supremacy with three other Powers. Monsieur S. Lausanne was right when he wrote in the *Matin* that the British naval hegemony ended at the moment when Mr. Secretary Hughes declared the equality of naval powers between Great Britain and the United States

Tokio saw through these overtures of the white races; they were immediately counteracted by two moves, viz., the diplomatic concessions to China and the secret negotiations with the republic of the Far East in Chita, which was then the ante-chamber of the Soviet Government.

During my sojourn in Tokio I had the opportunity of an interview with a prominent member of the House of Representatives, Mr. Zumoto, and with the old military commander of the capital, General Fudzi. Both men could not refrain from expressing their sympathies in favour of Russia, be she Tsarist or Bolshevist, although at that time there was no sign of a coming Washington Conference. It mattered little who ruled Russia so long as

she had a Government capable of entering into political agreements.

There is no doubt that from the moment when Prince Togukawa and Admiral Kato placed their signatures under the Washington Protocol the Russo-Chino-Japanese alliance was a foregone conclusion. Its realisation was only a matter of time, and the selection of the most opportune moment, which arrived at last in 1925.

Russia, which is now coming again to the helm of the Asiatic movement, has always aimed at the establishment and strengthening of her influence throughout the continent of Asia. The efforts of the Tsarist Government were sometimes peaceful, as in China, Mongolia, Tibet and Persia, or armed, as in Turkey and Corea, which provoked two wars in 1877-78 and 1904-5 respectively. Russia of old aimed at the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. On the Pacific she met with the resistance of Japan; on the Indian frontier Great Britain soon realised the true value of the Russian attempts The Soviet Government introduced not the slightest change into the Asiatic policy of their Tsarist predecessors. The anti-Soviet organisations on the shores of the Pacific Ocean were promptly and ably dispersed. Thus the attempts of Generals Siemionoff and Baron Ungern-Sternberg were frustrated. The Soviets have no fear of Japan, since their security in this respect is safeguarded by the triple alliance between Russia, Japan, and China.

Soviet propaganda, conducted from Tashkent in Turkestan and spreading southwards, is being carried on vigorously. This propaganda brings better results than that directed by the former empire—a statement which England will not be slow to confirm. In Afghanistan alone England is being seriously threatened by the attitude of native tribes incited by Soviet propagandist teaching The riots in the North-Western Provinces of India are the direct results of Bolshevist activities.

Russia has always claimed the right of control over the political life of Asia, and, though devoid of colonising abilities, she was able to capture the hearts and sentiments of the Asiatics. Her success in this direction may be explained by various circumstances, such as her kinship with the Asiatics, the 300 years' slavery under the Tartar yoke, and the assimilation with Mongol tribes. There are also historical reasons. The last representatives of the Djengis dynasty have vested the Empress Catherine the Great with various mystic Asiatic titles. In the eyes of Asia the same prerogatives are now enjoyed by the Soviet commissars, and there is no doubt that now, after they have captured Mongolia and secured peace in the Far East, their propagandist activities will be extended to Afghanistan, India and Persia. There is also another road to Asia, viz., through Mongolia and Tibet. It is not

a new road. The famous Russian traveller Colonel Przewalski was already commissioned to explore and describe this route. His attempts were frustrated by the Chinese. But the Government of St. Petersburg was not taken aback by this failure. Two secret expeditions were sent, headed by Russified lamas of the Buriats. These reached Lhassa and thence the Himalayas. The 'pundits,' bribed by the lamas, supplied the topography of the Himalayas, the valley of Kabul, and the territory of Sikkim. The Bolsheviks follow the steps of their Tsarist mentors. Envoys are being hastily despatched to the Dalai Lama, nuclei of propaganda are being formed at numerous points in Tibet, and through these outposts Communist teaching is being spread throughout the 'country of countries' The character and system of Bolshevist propaganda is illustrated in the latest book of the famous traveller Sven Hedin. There appears in that book a joint photograph of the author himself and Tschicherin against a map representing that part of Asia which was the subject of the traveller's lecture delivered at the invitation of the Soviet Government, which is still dreaming of exploring new roads to Asia.

The Russian Imperial Government aimed at the engulfing of China in their omnipotent influence. When and as soon as the Chinese Imperial Government showed signs of resistance, a war for the independence of Mongolia and Tibet was promptly staged, and Russia appeared to the indignant world as the friend of 'enslaved Asia.' Influenced by the Government of St. Petersburg, Mongolia raised the banner of independence, which was claimed for all Mongolian tribes and races. Such independence could, of course, be possible only under the sceptre of the White Tsar of Russia. Russia awakened in the souls of the Mongolians of Central Asia dreams of a Mongolian dynasty for the throne of China. After the collapse of the Manchurian dynasty Dao Tsin the monarchists of Peking seized this idea and developed it by advocating a union of all Mongolians, with the exception of the renegade, Japan, under the sceptre of the old Manchurian dynasty. The thus created 'Central Mongolian Empire' could then combat the Republican Government of China. Thus the idea of Pan-Mongolism was brought into life.

The Japanese were soon attracted by this new scheme, and Russia, seeing the enthusiasm of Japan, set herself to stem the Asiatic movement and to annihilate the growing influence of Japan. I well remember how in 1912-13 the political circles of St. Petersburg were astir with the news of this latest Japanese intrigue. It was rumoured that a Pan-Indian treasure consisting of gold, pearls, and precious stones was being formed in Tokio for the purpose of realising the Pan-Mongolian policy. These were, no doubt, fantastic rumours, more especially since the

Japanese Pan-Mongolian overtures never had any chance of success. All the same, their existence proved the fears of Russia at that time.

In the years 1920-21 Pan-Mongolism attracted the attention of anti-Bolshevist leaders, Generals Siemionoff and Ungern-Sternberg, who intended to form a Central Asiatic Empire as a base for anti-Soviet operations. This scheme was of great interest to Japan—of greater even than the doubtful economic and territorial concessions which were being vaguely promised by the Russian monarchist leaders. The Japanese Government lost no time; Japanese officers were attached to the staff of General Siemionoff. I could feel the eyes of the Japanese intelligence service on me constantly during my travels throughout Mongolia, and even further south.

In the meantime the Soviet Government attempted the wholesale Bolshevisation of Europe. Europe must admit that this unholy attempt was frustrated by the brave effort of Poland, which turned the Red army into flight and thus performed her mission as a barrier between Christian civilisation and the East. After this unsuccessful attempt the efforts of the Soviet commissars were directed towards the 'political education' of Asia. Since 1918 this problem continues to engage the attention of Leningrad and Moscow. The propagandist schools in Russia have amongst their students such a number of Asiatics of so many different races and tribes that they can truly be regarded as a veritable ethnological museum, and a gloomy *memento mori* to the policy of white races on the Asiatic continent. Frequent conferences and congresses of Asiatics are held, and these are to supplement the theoretical teaching. The results, from the Bolshevist point of view, are excellent. We need only mention the recent establishment of two new Soviet republics in Chita and Buchara, and later in Mongolia, also the growing influence of the soviets in India, Persia, Afghanistan, and even in Angora.

The ideals with which the Bolsheviks approach and tempt Asia are not Communistic. They go into Asia preaching the fallacy of materialism, positivism, and of Christianity as taught by the white races. The whites, they say, have divided nations into conquerors and vanquished, and mankind into workers and those benefiting by their toils. These burning words have been known to be used before. The same lesson was preached by the Christian Buddhist Leo Tolstoy, the Indian Rabindranath Tagore (*Nationalism*), and the Chinese Professor Ko-hoo-ming (*The Soul of the Chinese People*).

These words can have but one meaning and one consequence—a war for freedom from the white yoke. There can be no doubt about this, although various Asiatic nations might think of

different methods to be employed in the coming conflict. The Chinese believe in diplomacy, the Mongolians in the extermination of Russian colonists, the Tibetans in the influence of the dignitaries of the Dalai Lama, the Indians in the passive resistance of Gandhi and an armed insurrection of Mohammedans, the Afghans in a war with England, and the Arabs in the re-establishment and strengthening of the Caliphate. If we were to seek for further symptoms of the coming struggle, we should no doubt find them in Egypt, amongst the Spanish Riffis, in Abdel Krim, and in the districts of Taza and Agadir.

In 1922, during the Washington Conference, there was on the tables of the Conference a map which I have brought with me from the staff of General Ungern-Sternberg. This map, found on an arrested Bolshevist commissar, illustrated the proposed routes of Bolshevist propaganda in Asia :—From Moscow, *viâ* the Caucasus, Asarbeidjan, Teheran, Angora, Smyrna, Brussa, El-Dzuaf and Sibam to Egypt ; from Tashkent, *viâ* Meshed, Kirman, Lar, Kabul, Kalat, to Delhi ; from Irkutsk, *viâ* Kobdo, Uliassutaj, Urga, Kuldja, Khotan, Barkholo, to Gartoh ; from Chita, *viâ* Charbin, Vladivostok, Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Seul and Japan ; from Peking, *viâ* Korat and the Philippines.

The policy of the Soviet Government brings it into co-operation with the policy of Japan ; it forms a common ground for the two nations and for the two Governments.

Thus the two traditional enemies, Russia and Japan, have undertaken a joint work. Their aims are different, but they are acting together in the initial stages of the great task which is before them. We must remember that geographically Russia is 80 per cent Asiatic, ethnographically and intellectually she is also Asiatic—Mongolian. This sad truth was admitted by the old philosophers of the Tsarist school.

It is also admitted by the Bolshevist leaders. It is not surprising, therefore, that they can so ably sneak into the hearts and souls of the Asiatics and sow in them the seeds of dissension and revolution Could they achieve this by mere cunning ? No ; for the naturally suspicious and unbelieving Asiatic would soon see the stratagem. That mysterious sense of understanding of the human soul so peculiar to the children of Asia cannot be deceived.

We observe, therefore, that Pan-Mongolism and Pan-Asiatism has two leaders at its head—Russia and Japan. The former is its outpost in the direction of the European front, the latter is that *vis a tergo* which will give the power of organisation and the impetus in one direction or another. Two new independent and opposed elements appear on our globe, one the 'European-American' world, the *status quo* of which cannot be altered—

nothing added to or taken away from it; the other, the Pan-Asiatic world, with Soviet Russia as its supreme leader. The latter must sooner or later ripen into Pan-Moslemism, which will claim freedom and liberation for all coloured races—a task so dear to the heart of Moscow. It cannot be doubted that the Pan-Asiatic movement, led by Russia and Japan, will become a giant enemy of Europe, which, apart from its technique, has nothing to counterbalance the Asiatic ideology. History has taught us that cannons and machine-guns are a poor weapon against ideas and principles. We are on the threshold of a new era, of an era when European ideology must undergo some drastic changes or perish. To meet Asia in the battlefield would mean perdition for Europe. We must therefore change our ethics, our politics and our diplomacy, and thus avert the cataclysm. It is often said that Judaism is the driving force of Communism; but this does not alter the position, and does not prove anything beyond that which is expected and only natural. For are not the Jews themselves Asiatics, nursing for centuries the idea of revenge for their sufferings? Is it surprising, therefore, that Judaism should become the fermenting and destructive element in countries which have always despised and persecuted it? That peculiar facility for intrigue, stratagem, conspiracies, and that patient, almost uncanny waiting for the hour of never-failing revenge, are all characteristics not only of the 'chosen people,' but those of the children of Buddha, Confucius, Lao-tse, Mahommed, and others who were brought to life by the land of Asia. One cannot be surprised that the Jews are more active and more resourceful than the others. For centuries they have inhaled the civilisation of the West; they have realised the extent to which Christ's teaching has been polluted by the nationalism and imperialism of Europe. Besides, is there a nation or race which has more keenly felt the yoke of armed or 'peaceful' conquerors? They have inherited the psychology of Asia. Other Asiatics will sooner or later arrive at the ideology expressed in the phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat' by different methods—more slowly, perhaps, but the phrase will remain, though the word 'proletariat' may have not only a social but a racial meaning.

It is ghastly and terrifying to find that Russia, a country of Christ-loving people, has joined arms with the awakened giant of Asia, a giant clashing his armour and threatening to become a modern 'Sword of Destiny' which is to carve out new forms of existence and of human development. It is, indeed, an appalling spectacle, but one which can be easily explained. The rust of Asiatic psychology has corroded the souls of 150,000,000 people. In *The Shadow of the Gloomy East* (London, 1925) I have quoted examples of Russian Asiatism from Russian literature and from

my own observations made during my long travels from th Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea and from the Polish frontier to the Pacific and the Chino-Mongolian border. Let us read deeply into the works of Tolstoy, Dostoyewski, Gonczarow, Turgeniew and Sollohub, and we will soon find there the true characteristics of Asiatic ideology drawn from Byzantium, Buddhism, Islam, and indeed, from heathenism. We will find in this literature a logic a sensitiveness, which is not European, but a philosophy which had its origin in Asia and in its mysteries.

These Asiatic peculiarities of the Russian people were responsible for that deep abyss which existed between the plebeians o Russia and her refined and gifted aristocracy. The aristocracy o birth and mind could not understand the soul of the people, with which they had nothing in common. How could that fine body o men and intellects understand the primitive Asiatic plebs? This tragedy of non-understanding was shown by Tolstoy, who thought of his people as of a nation nursing the Word and Spirit of God in their humble souls Bolshevism dispersed these illusions. It showed the Russian soul in its nakedness, with its unsatisfied lust for destruction, blood and revenge, a soul which has torn into rags the idea of God and religion. It has shown the Russians as a nation of heathens murdering the priests of God, plundering churches, defiling and burning the temples. Only famine epidemics, and even more terrible persecution and hopelessness have drawn the Russians back to religion, and to almost ascetic gloomy worship, similar only to that which has overcome Russian dissenters during the reign of the first Russian revolutionary— Peter the Great.

And this sudden change in the psychology of the people, that facility from going from one extremity to the other, is another trait of the Asiatic soul. The events which took place in Centra Asia during the year 1920-21 fully confirm this statement. Though usually indifferent to religious problems, Mongolians, including the civilised Chinese, have suddenly become victims of an untempered paroxysm of passionate worship. The change was wrought by despair and misery following the abuses of the Chinese revolution, the Great War, and the Bolshevist outrages which have deprived the East of food and necessaries. The anti-Bolshevist and Asiatic leaders have soon taken advantage of this growth o religious passion amongst the Buddhists, Lamaists, and Shamanists

I have seen sorcerers, clairvoyants, and prophets calling Asia to her mission of revenge and war. The soviets have wrung the control over this outbreak from the hands of the Asiatic and anti Bolshevist leaders. They knew how to turn religious worship and passion into action and into deeds which would bring about their aim—the conquest and destruction of Europe.

The Communism of Russia, which originally advocated great and clear principles, has soon degenerated by flinging the burning slogan of ' dictatorship of the proletariat.' This dictatorship has been expressed in the wholesale assassination of the intellectual classes, Socialism, aristocracy, science, arts and talents, which were thus for ever removed from the forces which were to work for the establishment and maintenance of such dictatorship Famine, terror, lawlessness, and materialism were born from the polluted teaching. The ' dictatorship of the proletariat ' became an absurd phrase, but the Russian Government would not retreat. It preferred to swim down the gigantic stream of released passions and released desires. The absurdity of Communism must therefore go through all its stages, and must give the world all its possible consequences. Then, and only then, after it has exhausted itself, it will fall off the wheels of history, like a speck of dry mud falls off the steel band of a cart-wheel. When this takes place Bolshevism will go under. It will, in accordance with the recognised Asiatic practice, be drowned in blood flowing down the streets of Moscow, and Russia, exhausted, terrified by the deeds of her own hands, will witness her eternal shame. Maybe there will come worse leaders and guides, but not for long. Russia will become the spoil of Asia, of China and Japan, unless she recovers and seeks for guidance amongst her exiled sons—refugees dispersed throughout the civilised world.

What attitude will be taken up by these new men, whose advent is but a matter of short time ? How will they influence the fate of the Western world or the development of Pan-Asiatism ? Between the two spheres, between the East and the West, lies another world—Russia. If she joins Asia, whence she is being dragged by the commissars with Tchicherin at their head, will she become a barrier defending the Christian West from the onslaught of Pan-Asiatism ?

This is a matter of prime importance for all civilised nations of the world. Have Europe and America ever considered seriously the political and psychological results of their policy towards Russia ? Have they thought of the consequences of leaving Russia, destroyed by Communism, to her own fate ? Have they considered the danger of the weakness of their policy towards Bolshevism and of their readiness to enter into agreements with the Soviet ? Do they realise that the bacilli of that ghastly disease which is eating up Russia might spread in the East, if not in the West ? How are they prepared to face the gloomy Angel of Revenge and Punishment which will appear in the Orient ?

The tendencies and activities of the young Russian emigrants are noteworthy and instructive. Their sympathies are with the East ; they deny Socialism and strive to strengthen the Eastern

Church. They will abandon politics and turn to worship a religion. By way of a complicated evolution of minds which hav suffered painful disregard from Europe they will turn against th West, which has despised them when their country was torn an bled by the Asiatics.

The new Russia will reappear from the Russian inferno wit a revived mystic and powerful ideology of Russian Messianism Europe cannot afford to allow that this new ideology shoul become a forerunner of Asiatic thought which threatens the ver existence of modern civilisation. The civilised nations of Europ should go to Russia, not with bankers' cheques, currencies an economic commissions, but with the missionary cross, witl Christian ideals and teaching. They must help that downtrodden nation to rise from its misery; they must call it back to work, to science and to civilisation. In this way, and in this way alone we can help to assuage the bitterness of those neo-Russians who now, in a paroxysm of disappointment, turn their eyes from the West to Asia and to the East.

Asia has awakened. She not only dreams and hopes, but begins to act and work for her liberation from the supremacy of white races. Her traditional and historical leaders are again directing her movements. There is no doubt that Japan will remain at the helm of Pan-Asiatism, but Russia—what road will she take? Will she, in spirit and deed, go back to Asia and send a new Jengis Khan or Tamerlane to lead her sons to shatter the decayed West? Or will she, with her intellectual classes, remain amongst the nations of Europe and work for the revival of Christian civilisation? Will she help us to forget the cataclysm of the Great War and the misery of the present time, when in the turmoil of our petty quarrels and disputes there can be heard the heavy footsteps of the Asiatic giant? The giant has risen. I perceive and feel, as I did there in the heart of Asia, in China and Japan, that for Europe, torn into shreds of dissension, the problem of Asia is one of existence or perdition.

F. A. OSSENDOWSKI.

THE REVOLT IN SYRIA

Few administrators have been faced with such a difficult task as that which confronts M. de Jouvenel, France's new High Commissioner in Syria, who finds himself in a country seething with revolt, full of conflicting interests, racial, religious and political, and suffering from the effects of an inefficient administration. At the moment Syria is in the limelight of the world stage, and whatever policy is adopted for the pacification of the country will have to stand the test of many critics.

At this point in the history of events it is advisable to review the whole position, in order to appreciate the features of the situation and the difficulties with which it is surrounded.

Since the French received the mandate for Syria they have divided up this territory into four separate States—the Great Lebanon, Syria, the Alaouites, and the Jebel Druse. The two latter States are small compared with the former, but their turbulent potentialities bear an inverse proportion to their size. While the people of the Jebel Druse were the originators of the present revolt, those of the Alaouites are the only inhabitants of the Mandated Territory who are not thereby affected.

The Druses are a mountain race quite distinct from their neighbours, having their own country, their own religion and their own customs. For many years they have maintained a distinct religious and political independence ; their religion is a secret rite containing many of the elements of both Christianity and Mohammedanism, and they are by nature a warlike people, in marked contrast to the greater part of the population of Syria. Ever since the French took over the mandate the Druses have been in possession of large quantities of arms and ammunition, and the Sultan Atrash and his family have resented the presence of the mandatory Power as interfering with their independence. The country has therefore been for some time in a distinctly inflammable condition, and only required a torch to set it ablaze. This was supplied in July this year.

The French governor, Capitaine Carbillet, had succeeded in making himself an object of personal hatred among the Druses, and the autonomy of the Jebel Druse had become nothing but a

name. A delegation was accordingly sent to General Sarrail, High Commissioner for Syria, for the purpose of stating the grievances of the people and requesting the recall of Capitaine Carbillet. It is unnecessary to go into the details of how these delegations were received, but their reception was most abrupt and very unsatisfactory from the Druse point of view. It also entirely lacked the courtesy which is a time-honoured custom of the East. The direct result of General Sarrail's action was the immediate outbreak of open rebellion in the Jebel Druse.

From the very outbreak of the insurrection the whole affair was shrouded in mystery, and General Sarrail spared no effort to enforce the strictest secrecy about the situation, with the result that even the French Government in Paris was in ignorance of the serious state of affairs in Syria until the French Press reproduced a despatch from the *Daily Mail* correspondent in Damascus. At this time, towards the end of August, the French had received a serious reverse, and in part as a result of this the internal situation throughout the whole of Syria became very critical indeed. At first the seriousness of the matter did not seem to be realised in the least, and it was not until France received the news that the whole of Syria was at stake that reinforcements were dispatched to Beyrout.

For some considerable time there had been general discontent against French rule in Syria, and this had been accentuated by a phenomenally bad harvest. The people in the towns were suffering financially, while the Beduin of the desert were enduring physical suffering. Both blamed the French for their misfortunes, and the anti-French feeling in Damascus ran very high. Damascus, the ancient capital of a large area, practically controlled the whole position. Syria looked to Damascus to take the lead, and anything in the form of a rising amongst the Damascenes was calculated to have serious consequences elsewhere. Damascus was also the advanced base for the French troops operating in the Jebel Druse, and a vital point in their communications with the coast at Beyrout. Realising that the city was the key to the French strategical position, the Druses hoped by means of attack to effect a rising of the Damascenes and to carry all before them.

In accordance with this plan, two attacks were made on Damascus. The first was a complete failure, but the second attack was a great deal more serious. On October 18 bands of Druses entered the city from the south of the Meidan quarter, and, receiving the support of the lower elements of the population, became masters of considerable areas, which they looted and pillaged without restraint. Most of the inhabitants, disappointed at the small numbers of the Druses, failed to take part in the rising, but those who did take up arms were sufficient to create

rm and panic. French troops were at once dispatched to the :cted areas, but the streets of Damascus are such that anything he form of street fighting is a very difficult operation. As the ıation became more serious, the troops were accordingly withwn, and it was decided to bombard the quarters concerned. ; bombardment lasted until October 20, and great damage was ıe to the city, including the partial destruction by fire of the ais Azm, recognised as the most beautiful building in Damascus.

Much criticism has been levelled at General Sarrail, the High ımissioner, for his action in bombarding a city under mandate, it seems that the fault lay not in the actual artillery action f, which had become a military necessity, but in the fact that, ›ursuing a thoroughly inefficient policy, he had allowed the ıtion to become such that bombardment was necessary, and he had taken this drastic action without delivering an ultiım or giving any warning to the foreign consuls. Instead of :cting Damascus and other towns from attack by the rebels, 'ral Sarrail left the Druses an almost free hand to go where pleased, and then destroyed the towns and villages in which were found. The natural result of this was that hundreds ›meless villagers, with no occupation left, swelled the ranks ıe rebels and brought about a situation of general anarchy ıghout Syria.

[eanwhile General Sarrail was recalled to Paris, and the tion round Damascus, and throughout Syria generally, me little short of chaotic. Large brigand bands created c to lives and property on all sides, and the whole area een Damascus and Aleppo was practically in their hands. road communications were suspended, and anyone who ıred outside the towns took his life in his hands. The French ıry authorities were unable to cope with the situation, which ›ecome entirely out of control, even though troops had been ;ht from the Jebel Druse, where operations were practically standstill. The shortage of troops was so acute that the :h were compelled to raise Kurdish and other levies for the ce of Damascus, while ex-brigands in Government pay were ›yed as armed guards for the trains running between ıscus and Beyrout. The defences everywhere were quite 'quate, and it was only want of organisation and leadership prevented the Druses and their brigand allies from sweeping efore them. Reinforcements were always expected from :e, but they took a long time to arrive, and when they did Syria they proved in most cases to be mere handfuls of men. ıscus was almost entirely at the mercy of the rebels, and t 25,000 people left the city. The only policy open to the :h in the circumstances was to take every possible step to

prevent the situation from getting worse until such time as conditions became more favourable for determined action.

At this point another dangerous element was introduced, which transformed the Druse insurrection into a more general Syrian revolt. The question of independence, which was one of the chief factors in the Druse conflict, is now a dominating ideal in the Arab mind, and any struggle for independence, however small, rapidly attracts a volume of sympathy. This is what happened in Syria.

In order fully to understand the Syrian attitude on the subject of independence, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the Great War At that time there existed an Arab nationalist movement throughout the Arabian peninsula and that part of the old Ottoman Empire which lay to the south of the Taurus Mountains and the highlands of Kurdistan. Its defining factors were community of language and dislike of the Turk. The movement had to a great extent been kept in check by the 'pro-Islam' policy of Sultan Abdul Hamid; but when the Turkish constitutional reforms, setting up a definite 'pro-Turkish' *régime*, were introduced, Arab nationalism took a new lease of life. At the beginning of the war it was a factor to be reckoned with, although it had no recognised leader. When Great Britain took Mesopotamia she found it to her advantage to make use of this Arab national feeling, and in order to strengthen that feeling and make it still more useful it was necessary to make certain promises to the Arab-speaking peoples. It was also necessary to find a leader for the movement, the choice eventually falling on King Hussein, the Grand Sherif of Mecca, who conjured up wild dreams of an independent Arab empire. The nationalist spirit grew and grew with British encouragement, and certainly gave substantial assistance to the Allies in the war against the Turks. The war is long past, but the nationalist spirit still remains, and the Arab peoples are clamouring for independence. These facts are at the bottom of most of the trouble in Syria, and the Druse rebellion has stirred up the embers which have been smouldering since the war.

In Syria Arab nationalism takes the form of a strong dislike of the French mandate, which is intensified by the low value of the franc compared with the currencies of the British mandated territories of Irak and Palestine.

With the country practically at the mercy of the Druses and several large brigand bands, the Syrian nationalists thought that the opportunity had now come for them to join in material opposition to the French, in the hope of ridding the country of an exceedingly unwelcome guardian, from whom no material gain could be extracted and who was responsible for bombarding one

of the sacred cities of Islam. Numbers of nationalists, therefore, joined the rebel bands and thereby established a liaison with the cities and everything that went on within their walls. This made the French position still more precarious.

The French have maintained throughout that the cause of the Syrian revolt (including the Druse outbreak) is entirely due to Pan-Islamic influence and anti-European feeling in Asia. That this antagonism to European influence exists seems to be beyond doubt, but it appears more likely that the Druse insurrection with its results is being exploited in the interests of Pan-Islam than that Pan-Islam is the cause of the turmoil in Syria. Since the outbreak in July the Arab craving for independence has been stimulated by a local Press, which expounds the desire of the people to govern themselves, although they are utterly incapable of doing so. Anti-European propaganda floods the newspapers of Palestine and Syria, where everything possible is being done to sow dissension between France and Great Britain. In Syria the propaganda takes the form of attaching the blame for the Druse rising to the Prime Minister of Transjordania, who happens to be a Syrian, on the ground that he is backed by British influence. Rikabi Pasha is certainly supported by the British authorities for the execution of his task in Transjordania, but precautions are taken to ensure that he does not interfere with matters outside that area. In Palestine, on the other hand, a violent attack has been made on the French for their action in bombarding Damascus; the worst atrocities are attributed to the French troops, the Syrian losses and damage in the city have been exaggerated out of all proportion, and imaginary rebel victories are vividly described. The Executive Committee of the Palestine Arab Congress even went to the length of requesting the High Commissioner to give them permission to hold a demonstration of sympathy with the Druses, and asked Lord Plumer to receive a deputation of protest against the French action in Syria. All this is part of an organised plan to cause a split in the Allied front stretching from Alexandretta to the Suez Canal.

These considerations must be remembered when following the next phase of the military situation, when the movement of the main theatre of operations from the Damascus area to the Southern Lebanon created a new situation full of dangerous possibilities. The Druse penetration into the Lebanon had three serious aspects. First, there was the danger of a general rising of the Lebanon Druses and Metwalis (a Moslem sect of the Shiah rite), who at the moment were merely waiting to see which way the 'wind would blow.' Such a rising was calculated to rake up a very considerable following among the more discontented elements of the Lebanese population and those compelled to take up arms by

intimidation. Should the rebels ever succeed in penetrating further west than their present position in the region of Hasbaya, this danger might easily be transformed into a *fait accompli*. Secondly, the rebels, by again entering a mountain area, were trying to force the issue in a theatre of operations suitable to their own tactics and very disadvantageous to the French, who had no scope there for the employment of aeroplanes and machine-guns, which were the strongest weapons in their hands. Thirdly, the rebel advance into the Lebanon has very nearly succeeded in separating the two mandatory Powers of Great Britain and France, as the rebel area extends from the Jebel Druse in the east to the source of the Jordan on the west, and the only missing link is the line of the Damascus-Haifa railway, which is held by French troops. To the west of the Jordan source there are only twenty-five miles between the rebels and the sea.

As the Druse rebellion has become a national Syrian revolt, it will be seen that the anti-European policy of separating Great Britain from France is no mere newspaper *canard*. On the contrary, it is a very real and formidable fact that a great effort is being made by our political adversaries, and France's real enemies, to break up the regular chain of European influence stretching from Egypt to the Persian Gulf. It may be argued that this recent move of the Druse chiefs—who form the nucleus of the rebel bands—has no serious significance, and that it is merely by chance that events have taken this turn. Were the revolt purely a Druse affair, one would be inclined to share this view, but now that Syrian nationalist sentiments are playing an important part, the mental machinery behind military action must be judged on a different plane altogether. The Druses have no particular policy governing their operations except the desire for independence, while the Syrian Nationalist Party hopes to attain its ends, and those of Pan-Islam, by forcing a breach between the two mandatory Powers.

Although the French are making every effort to dislodge the rebels from the Lebanon, the military authorities continue to be greatly embarrassed by the shortage of troops, which makes it impossible to carry out any major operations. What troops there are at the disposal of General Gamelin, commanding the French forces in Syria, have to confine themselves almost entirely to defensive tactics and to holding defensive positions in insufficient strength. Against an enemy greatly superior in mobility, as the rebels undoubtedly are, and one which is only to a small extent dependent on communications, it is necessary to employ a force of considerably superior numbers. The fact is that, unless the French troops in the country are very strongly reinforced, the adequate superiority of numbers cannot be attained. Although

there are about 35,000 troops in Syria, the situation is such that the French cannot concentrate sufficient superiority of force at any decisive point without incurring grave risk elsewhere. The consequence is that the rebels are leading the French a regular dance all over the country. Wherever the Druse chiefs choose to appear the French have to send troops, with the result that there is a continual rushing of troops in one direction and another.

When the invasion of the Lebanon first took place the French resorted to the expedient of arming some of the Christian villagers and raising a corps of volunteers for the defence of the mountain districts, and these people, stirred with resentment and religious enthusiasm, introduced a new element of danger into the situation. By this rather unwise action the French were literally sowing the seeds of a bitter religious struggle. Fortunately the services of these volunteers have now been dispensed with, but unfortunately the Christians of the Lebanon have developed a bellicose attitude now that the French position is becoming stronger. It seems quite certain that the Moslems in Syria have no evil intention whatsoever towards the Christians,[1] and it is fairly safe to assert that any murder of Christians which has taken place has largely been the result of provocation, and that if any religious struggle ensues it will be at the instigation of the Christians and not of the Moslems. At the present moment the Maronites of the Lebanon are doing everything in their power to urge M. de Jouvenel to carry out ruthless warfare for the extermination of the Druses and rebel bands, which is scarcely conducive to the maintenance of a religious peace

M de Jouvenel is therefore faced with three situations—military, administrative, and religious. Until the military situation is properly handled and peace secured, it is useless to attempt any administrative reforms , and not until the administrative machinery has been renewed can religious questions be settled so as to conform to the general policy of government.

Reviewing the military situation as it exists on the arrival of the new High Commissioner, it seems that the French authorities are faced with much the same conditions, on a smaller scale, as those which confronted the British commanders in the latter part of the South African War. Rebel bands are scattered all over the country, concentrating their efforts on periodical attacks, followed by rapid retreat on encountering resistance in any force. The suppression of large numbers of marauders of this nature is no easy matter. Before an organised force of cavalry they merely vanish, until on the next favourable occasion they reappear else-

[1] During the attack on Damascus the Christian quarter owed its safety entirely to Moslem protection, by arrangement between Mr. Smart, the British Consul, and the Emir Said, grandson of Abdul Kader.

where and launch another attack. In South Africa it was only by means of the blockhouse system that the guerrilla warfare of the Boers was finally brought to an end, and at the moment it looks as if some similar expedient will be necessary before these rebel bands are overcome

In the meantime, pending the arrival of further reinforcements, a foundation of security must be established in the country. Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo must be held with sufficient strength to render these centres safe against any attack on the part of the rebels Communications by rail and by main roads must also be protected, and absolute security re-established between Aleppo, Hama, Homs and Damascus on the one hand, and between Damascus and Beyrout on the other. The line between Damascus and Haifa is already held in considerable force. Until such a fabric of security is established it seems useless to consider the question of restoring peace in the intervening spaces.

What effect the rains will have on the spirit of the rebels it is difficult to say, but there is a likelihood of the wet season having a somewhat cooling effect on the ardour of the many homeless villagers who have been turned out into the open without any clothing except what they wear and compelled to fight in order to gain a livelihood and escape murder. During the winter the mud is so bad that many roads are rendered quite impassable, while movement across country is out of the question. It therefore seems advisable to concentrate now on the foundations of security and prepare a general round-up in force for the spring, hoping that the hardships of the winter, combined with extensive military preparations, will have the effect of producing a more peaceful attitude on the part of the rebels. Meanwhile, it is hoped that M. de Jouvenel will take the opportunity of clearly stating his intentions in this respect as soon as he has at his command sufficient military power to give weight to his words. The Druses and people of Syria must fully be made to understand that, until peace is restored, there can be no question of administrative reform, and that therefore the amelioration of their position lies entirely in their own hands.

With regard to the administrative situation, there is little doubt that M. de Jouvenel's appointment as the first civil High Commissioner is welcomed by all sections of the community, but a civil administration composed almost entirely of military personnel is scarcely worthy of its name. Reform in this direction would remove many grounds for complaint, and preliminary action on these lines in the unaffected areas would act as a guarantee for similar changes elsewhere as soon as the situation permitted.

In religious matters, the policy of General Sarrail in diminish-

ing the Maronite political influence in the Great Lebanon was undoubtedly sound in principle, but the sudden and drastic methods employed were not conducive to tranquillity. Only a slow and methodical process can finally reduce to its proper proportion a force which has been predominant during hundreds of years. Throughout the Great Lebanon clerical influence must of necessity play an important part, but political power in the hands of ecclesiastical potentates should be reduced to well-defined limits in such a way as to avoid clerical hostility to the mandatory administration.[a]

Above all, France should realise—and M. de Jouvenel certainly does realise—that in the Near East she should sink her individual nationality and become an integral part of the European whole. Great Britain, as mandatory Power in Palestine and Irak, should do the same, and the two representatives of the same League of Nations should work hand-in-hand in the closest co-operation and with the same end in view—the good and welfare of the peoples entrusted to their guardianship. The task of the League in the Near East is not easy, but if its emissaries are united, and firmly so, the difficulties should be greatly reduced. If, on the other hand, the Asiatic can see his way to sow dissension between the French and British elements of the League's influence, he will most assuredly do so. He lives by intrigue and is a past-master in the art.

. . . . . .

In the course of a speech just delivered to the Representative Council of the Great Lebanon granting full constitutional powers M. de Jouvenel made the following pronouncements :—

> Paix à tous ceux qui veulent la paix ! Guerre à tous ceux qui veulent la guerre ! J'ai défini par ces deux phrases une ligne de conduite dont ni les évènements ni les hommes ne me feront départir. . . . Si les autres Etats veulent participer au bénéfice des institutions libres ils savent désormais le moyen Il est tout à fait inutile que les rebelles me proposent des conditions ou me demande des promesses L'acte que j'accomplie ici leur répond. J'ai maintenant retiré à la guerre toute excuse. Ceux qui ne cesseront pas les hostilités contre nous tous auraient prouvé devant le monde entier que ce n'est ni l'amour de la patrie ni celui de la liberté qui les guide, mais la passion du pillage et du meurtre J'assure le Conseil Représentatif . . . qu'ici, comme en Europe, le dernier mot restera à la France, à ses allies et à ses amis.

E. W. POLSON NEWMAN.

BEYROUT, SYRIA,
4/12/25.

[a] The clerical influence in the Great Lebanon is largely due to the fact that the population is scattered throughout a large number of isolated mountain villages, in which the local priests have become small potentates. The advent of the motor car, however, is gradually having its effect, and should go far to helping the solution of this difficulty.

FINLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY

FINLAND, though from the point of population a small country, may play an important part in helping or hindering that peaceful settlement of Europe which has made an auspicious beginning at Locarno. Natural position makes her the strategic centre of the Baltic Sea, as has been recognised in the past by the military and naval leaders of Sweden and Russia. Her population, stubborn, courageous, intelligent, has proved on more than one occasion the possession of a high degree of military virtue, and is to-day progressing rapidly in the development of those manufacturing industries which are part of the necessary equipment of a modern nation's defence system

Admittedly, Soviet Russia, committed by its social and political creed to the overthrow of all existing Governments, is at present the most serious potential menace to European peace. That creed in its full vigour is certainly preached mainly for home consumption and cannot be put into practice abroad for lack of power. If the attempt ever were made to impose it abroad, Finland would probably have to meet the first onslaught. Thus a Finnish foreign policy which involved either subservience to Soviet Russia or a tendency to irritate Soviet Russia would be a danger to European peace—in the one alternative by giving up a key pass to the enemy; in the other event by precipitating a struggle which is not actually inevitable and may be avoided if it can be delayed. It may be of interest, therefore, to the British Empire to record the results of recent observations of the temper of the Finnish people regarding foreign policy, observations gleaned not so much from official sources, but from leaders of industry and of finance, and from the general population.

The best method of defining what I judge to be Finnish public opinion on foreign policy will be by beginning with certain negative conclusions. In the first place, it may be confidently said that Finland is not afraid of Soviet Russia. I went to the country with the idea, more or less clearly formulated, of a somewhat forlorn and frightened little community doomed to exist near a powerful ogre's castle and living in constant dread of his power. That was very soon dissipated. The Finns have no affection for

the Russian Government of to-day, and no confidence in its goodwill. But also they have no very high estimate of its power for mischief. The attitude towards Russia of the average Finn—the man in the street, or rather the man in the office or counting-house—is of careful precaution, but not of craven fear. He is inclined to point out, apparently very sensibly, that if the Russian revolution, which put the Bolsheviks in power, had been a national movement, representing an angry Russian people rising against an intolerable tyranny, it would almost certainly have produced some men of genius as soldiers, administrators, organisers; and, with their leadership, a new Russia might have been as formidable a menace to the rest of Europe as was post-revolutionary France. But, my typical Finn will point out, the Russian revolution was not such a national movement. It was a sordid episode of the Great War, having its origin, not in the desire of a people eager for freedom to achieve the rights of self-government, but in the design of a foreign Power to destroy the military capacity of Russia. It was not a spontaneous uprising of the Russian people, but the imposition on the Russian people of a foreign organised tyranny in place of a domestic tyranny, and destroyed much Russian genius without evoking any. A real Russian revolution might have produced a Napoleon. The *ersatz* revolution which Germany was able to promote in Russia, once it had fulfilled the task of destruction for which it was organised, showed no capacity for reconstructive organisation. For the leaders of Soviet Russia their Finnish neighbours (accustomed to measure things by a Western European standard) have something like contempt. The 'genius' of a Lenin or of a Trotsky may be acclaimed among a certain section of British Labourites, founding their estimate either on ignorance or on some interested motive, but in the eyes of the Finn the Bolshevist revolutionary 'giants' appear very small folk indeed.

Thus the feeling towards Russia is not of fear, but of stringent precaution against either open attack or furtive conspiracy.

Against open attack Finland has recruited, under a system of universal, compulsory, short-term service, an army which, so far as I can found a judgment on a necessarily limited observation, is competent. It is certainly free from that mistake in tactical policy—of which older armies are often more or less justly accused—of imagining that the next war will be exactly like the last war. The governing principle of the Finnish military organisation is that if it ever had to take the field it would be under conditions quite unlike those of the last war, and it is trying to arrive at as intelligent an anticipation as is possible of what may be the future conditions of warfare in Northern Europe.

Against furtive conspiracy (which is regarded as the more likely danger) Finland has the ingenious precaution of the Civic Guard. The Civic Guard at a first glance would appear to be a mere duplication of the regular army, kept in existence as a kind of compliment to the old White Guard which withstood the Red revolt in Finland But there is something more behind its organisation than that The Civic Guard, as regards military organisation, is a replica of the army, but to join its ranks there is, in effect, a political test. No one with 'Red' views in politics can join the Civic Guard. It is confined to absolutely dependable citizens 'Red cells' might be formed in the conscript army by revolutionary agents. The work would be in vain, as the Civic Guard is the first line of defence of domestic order and the Civic Guard is safe against Red infection.

But Finland does not seem disposed to adopt towards Russia any attitude of aggression. Like many countries since that Treaty of Versailles which M. Clemenceau is said to have described as 'a stern and just peace which will rage for many years,' Finland has frontier grievances She claims that the Karelian provinces of Soviet Russia should be Finnish, and not Russian, but, so far as I can judge, is content to let this question rest indefinitely, and certainly does not dream of any aggressive action to establish the claim. The national pride of Finland is very assertive, but it is a pride combined with prudence.

Finland is not willing to commit her national destinies to any combination of Baltic States. Indeed, she resents very strongly being classed as a Baltic State—professes a great deal of friendly sympathy with Latvia and Esthonia; but is inclined to fear that, since they have been permeated so much by Russian influence, their ultimate destiny may be to become absorbed again in a future Russian Empire. Finland would admit a sentimental desire to help them to avoid this fate, but (I judge) would not do anything on their behalf which would compromise Finland.

There is evidence of a great deal of influence having been directed lately towards bringing Finland into the orbit of what was French foreign policy before Locarno; but Finland has steadily refused any suggestions that she should link up her fate with that of Poland. Sharing with Poland a resolution to resist Russian aggression, she is not nearly so confident of Poland's discretion and good sense as she is of her own. It would not be at all in accordance with her determination to make a good place for herself in the world to bind herself to join in a Polish quarrel against Russia. If Russia were to attack Poland without provocation, Finland would probably feel that her interests were attacked and act accordingly. But she will not bind herself to Poland.

One more negative. Finland has no intention of becoming in y sense an appanage of Germany. During the Red troubles in nland Germany gave valuable help to the White forces and isted materially to quell the Communist revolution. When Germans showed an inclination to regard a German protecate of Finland as the logical sequence of this help the Finns at ce took alarm. *If the result of the World War had been a erman victory the Germans would have found Finland not the east troublesome of their new responsibilities.* .*As it was, when* the German power was broken the Finns took scrupulous care to eliminate German influences. What gratitude there had been for German help during the Red troubles was cancelled out by the evidence the Germans gave that they intended to exact as a reward for their assistance a political and economic exploitation of Finland.

So much for what Finland does not intend. On the positive side, Finland during the last couple of years has followed the attitude of a prudent young lady who is not without wooers—who does not intend to marry for money, but who has a natural distaste for men without means. She has carefully surveyed the international position, and has concluded that there are two pillars of security in the post-war world on which a young, ambitious nation starting in life can depend, and that they are Great Britain and the United States. To keep good friends with them, politically and financially, seems to be the guiding principle of her foreign policy. At the same time, in spite of a national pride which does not err on the side of modesty, Finland appears to ink that her own position may not be quite important enough erit the degree of consideration that she wishes to enjoy, and etting her thoughts towards some form of close *entente* with eden, Norway, and Denmark. Such a Scandinavian *bloc*, she ks, would carry appreciable weight in international councils would be regarded by both Great Britain and the United tes as a valuable agent for peace.

These conclusions about the trend of Finnish public opinion matters of foreign policy are founded chiefly on talks with ivate citizens. The average Finn is keenly interested in foreign litics. He has a highly developed national consciousness—is ager to see his country 'make good' in her new career as a lly independent nation, but is intensely cautious. There is ood reason for confidence that this 'Switzerland of the orth' will play her part in the Baltic both with courage and rudence.

Frank Fox.

ECONOMY IN THE CIVIL SERVICE

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL recently, in a very illuminating speech, ascribed the increase in public expenditure to the fact that he was surrounded on the Treasury Bench by Ministers all 'animated by a laudable desire to make a reputation for themselves at the public expense.' Valuable as these splendid reputations are, the trade of the country is finding a difficulty in paying for them; and the Chancellor is only voicing the general opinion when he tells us that the time has come to call a 'decided halt' in spending—not an ordinary halt, it will be observed, but a 'decided halt.' The problem before him is how to do so without frustrating the 'laudable desires' of his colleagues. Social services which cost 223,000,000*l.* a year must at all costs be preserved 'because they are *intimately interwoven with the whole life of the people* and ntimately concerned with the advanced standard of culture of the whole people.' Put in language of less majesty but greater simplicity, this means that the public revenue issues in a golden shower in money or in kind to forty million recipients; and if it is difficult to take one bone from one dog, it is infinitely more unpleasant to take forty million bones from forty million dogs. Those splendid reputations, built up with so much assiduity at the public expense, would get irretrievably tattered in the process. In the circumstances, the prospects of the 'decided halt' can scarcely be described as rosy; and it is a matter for speculation at what point the mountaineer who is hurtling down the mountain-side, overwhelmed by an avalanche, at ever-increasing speed, thinks the time has come to call a decided halt and what good he thinks will result from so doing. A 'decided halt' was called by Sir Eric Geddes, and few listened. A decided halt was called in the King's Speech of last year, and progress was only accelerated. Who will obey the calling of the Chancellor? Certainly not those colleagues of his who are animated by such laudable desires.

The spendthrift, when forced to economise, naturally turns to those economies which are least unpleasant to himself. He puts his servants on short commons, reduces their number, and makes them work harder. A bailiff who has incurred unpopularity in promoting his master's interests is a Godsend to a landlord who

desires to divert unpopularity from himself. It is therefore not surprising that popular rumour, and in fact something more than rumour, credits the Government with a desire to make its economies at the expense of the Civil Service.

The British Civil Service, while it is the envy and admiration of foreigners, on the whole has little honour in its own country. Early in the nineteenth century the Government had, in the words of Lord John Russell, 'completely organised and adapted this kind of patronage to the purpose of parliamentary influence,' and the result was, as Sir Charles Trevelyan pointed out in 1849, that 'the dregs of all other professions are attracted towards the public service as to a secure asylum in which, although the prospects are moderate, failure is impossible, provided that the most ordinary attention is paid to the rules of the department.' The public relies mainly on works of fiction for its historical facts, and a long list of writers, from Trollope and Dickens onwards, have branded the Civil Service as idle, overpaid, incompetent, and bureaucratic. Many newspapers which ought to know better foster this belief; and there is a current idea that enormous economies could be effected by weeding out of the Civil Service all its unprofitable members and by reducing the pay and increasing the work of the remainder. As a matter of fact, the entire abolition of the Civil Service would of itself only reduce the national expenditure by 7 per cent., and that would involve the disappearance of our postal service. If we retain our postal service and disband the rest of the Civil Service, the saving would be about 2½ per cent. Silence in the face of criticism is the tradition of the Civil Service, and it is a pity that that silence should be broken; but the best-disciplined troops cannot be persuaded to withhold their fire in the face of continual attacks by snipers, and last November it was found that the Albert Hall was not large enough to contain the host of civil servants of all grades, who met to protest against the attacks which are made on them.

The public finds it difficult amidst the shower of invective to arrive at a sane appreciation of the facts. The main obstacle to doing so is that there is no measure by which the Civil Service can be estimated. A business organisation, to which critics are fond of comparing the Civil Service, is judged by its capacity to earn a profit; but no such test can be applied to the Civil Service, and a judgment on it must necessarily lie within the realm of personal opinion. The value of such an opinion depends, first, on the possession of wide knowledge, and, secondly, on the absence of prejudice. External opinions on the operation of a complex institution are of little value; and certainly no one can pretend to form a judgment of the Civil Service except one who has seen its working from within over a long period of years, and

such a person is open to the accusation of partiality. As an illustration of the difficulty inherent in an external appreciation of the problem, it may be mentioned that in 1914 a Royal Commission reported on the Civil Service after an inquiry extending over two years It included a duke, a bishop, civil servants, business men, schoolmasters, and politicians. The Chairman was the only member who found himself able to sign the majority report without reservation, and three members of the Commission were unable to accept the majority report at all.

The first fact which has to be borne in mind is that the Civil Service, exclusive of industrial workers, consists of 302,551 persons. No knowledge or experience can be wide enough to cover so large a body of persons, and a writer who attempted to attribute identical merits or defects to all the members of this vast organisation would merely be revealing his own shallowness. The number, however, at once provokes the criticism that the Civil Service is 'swollen.' Of course it is swollen, and if the present policy is maintained, must continue to swell. If we add to the industrial staff, costing about 16,000,000*l.* a year, the many thousands of persons who are the servants in one capacity or another of local government throughout the country, we find a proportion of public officials to population which is eminently unhealthy, and which may soon become beyond the resources of the country to maintain But it would be as unreasonable to blame the Civil Service for its swollen condition as it would be to blame the camel for the last straw which breaks his back. Critics treat the terms 'Civil Service' and 'Whitehall' as if they were synonymous, ignoring the fact that a distribution of 223,000,000*l.* in social services throughout the country involves a corresponding horde of almoners The Geddes Committee pointed out that the size of the Civil Service depends largely on the policy of the Government, and there is little evidence that the growth in the Civil Service has kept pace with the growth of policy. The year 1914 is generally treated as the standard year for purposes of comparison, and since that year the Civil Service has increased by 23,251, or about 8 per cent. The increase is really more nearly 16 per cent, because since 1914 about 24,000 civil servants have been transferred to Ireland. On the other hand, since that date the number of taxpayers has increased by 400 per cent., the amount collected in inland revenue by 800 per cent. New Ministries have been created, such as the Ministry of Pensions, which alone numbers nearly 15,000 employees; and the work of all the domestic branches of government, more especially that of the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Health, has been vastly increased No one who surveys the problem dispassionately can come to any other conclusion than that the increase in the Civil Service staff

is very much smaller than might have been anticipated having regard to the great additional burden of work which is required to be performed. The Anderson Committee came to the conclusion *that the average individual output in the Civil Service is certainly not less than in 1914. It is clear, therefore, that the blame for a swollen Civil Service rests with the swollen policy of the Government, and not with the Civil Service.*

The second accusation often levelled against civil servants as a class is that they are idle—an absurd accusation to level against 300,000 persons. It appears to be based partly on the observations of loiterers in West End clubs who have sufficient leisure on their hands to note the comings and goings of the higher officials of the Civil Service, and partly on a war-time observation of repasts in Whitehall during a period when the advent of a number of business men into Government departments undoubtedly did something to corrupt the asceticism and industry of the permanent servants. Idlers there are, no doubt, in the Civil Service—they are even to be found elsewhere ; but the vast majority of the Civil Service are occupied purely in routine duties in which idling is simply impossible. The output can be accurately measured and compared. The possibility of promotion is a stimulus to energy, and restriction of output is unknown. About 185,000 civil servants are engaged in the Post Office ; and anyone who fancies that civil servants are idle may be recommended to spend an hour or two at the nearest post office and then be asked to explain how idleness is possible under the conditions which prevail.

The third accusation levelled against the Civil Service is that they are overpaid, and the blundering policy which was adopted with regard to the payment of war bonus did much to foster this conclusion, and provoked angry debates in the House of Commons. The average pay of a civil servant in 1914 was about 91*l.* a year, and the rise in the cost of living made it quite plain that some form of war bonus would be necessary if the average civil servant was to be paid on a subsistence level. There was, however, no sufficient justification for paying war bonus to persons whose salaries were very far above the subsistence level, and large numbers of persons in the professional classes, who had been unable to adjust their incomes to the rising cost of living, considered it unfair that civil servants occupying comparable positions should be protected, and were unable to appreciate the necessity for giving at their expense a war bonus of 500*l.* a year to officials already in receipt of 3000*l.* a year. Matters were made worse by the discovery that officials were being pensioned on their inflated salaries, based on the high cost of living, without regard to the probability that the cost of living would decline. A Committee over which Mr. Asquith had presided had recom-

mended in July 1920 that the salaries of about twenty of the highest officials in the Civil Service should be increased from (generally) 2000*l.* a year to 3000*l.*, or, with war bonus, to 3500*l.* The change was made retrospectively in a somewhat surreptitious manner, and a painful impression was produced by the discovery that the number of high officials to whom the increase was extended had been considerably enlarged, and that in one case the increase was directly contrary to Act of Parliament.

Parliamentary criticism cured many of these errors, but the impression remained that the whole Civil Service was overpaid, when at most only a minute fraction of it was open to that reproach: how small a fraction is shown by the fact that in 1914 50 per cent. of the Civil Service received less than 35*s.* a week and 88 per cent received less than 200*l.* a year. Only 6000 received salaries in excess of 500*l.*, and only 770 received more than 1000*l.* At the present time the average salary of a civil servant appears to be about 184*l.* a year, a sum which is less than the average cost per head of the industrial staffs of several Government departments in 1923. The general conclusion of the Anderson Committee was that on the whole the pay rolls of civil servants had been carefully and wisely arranged.

It is true that the increase of the average salary from 91*l.* in 1914 to 184*l.* in 1925 represents an increase which is greater than is explained by the increase in the cost of living, but it is a much smaller increase than many other wage-earners, such as teachers, have been able to secure for themselves.

The question, however, whether a staff is overpaid has a double aspect, and we have to ask, not only what the value of the person is, but what is the value of the work he does. If we employ an expensively educated university graduate to educate a child under five years of age the graduate is worth the salary appropriate to a graduate, but the employer fails to get value for his money, because he is wasting the material he has bought. The State has an incurable propensity for using expensive steam-hammers to break nuts, and right through the service men are set to tasks far inferior to those of which they are capable. In all grades the civil servant is a picked product, mostly selected by an elaborate system of examinations. It may be doubted, however, whether the work of the Civil Service, especially in its clerical branches, is of such difficulty as to call for the services of a picked product. The ordinary argument is that the picked product is required, not on account of any duties to be performed in the earlier periods of service, but because at a later stage in his career the civil servant may be promoted to a position in which exceptional intelligence is necessary. There is, however, much reason to fear that a long preliminary period of routine is apt to

deaden the intelligence long before the higher position in which it is required is attained.

An attempt has been made to show in the foregoing paragraphs that the denunciations which are so commonly levelled at the Civil Service as a whole can scarcely be true with regard to any but a minute fraction of it. In other words, *if there is ground for blame, it is to be found not so much among the large body of civil servants scattered throughout the country as in that small part of the Civil Service which is centred in Whitehall*, and in only a small part of that part, namely, the portion of the staff generally known as the higher staff. In this region judgment is especially difficult; but many persons who are familiar with the conditions would be of opinion that in the matter of higher staff many departments are unnecessarily swollen, some persons are idle, some persons are incompetent, and some persons are overpaid, while, on the other hand, some persons in the higher staff are underpaid and many are overworked. The entrance to the higher staff is mainly by means of examination, and, unfortunately, proficiency in examination is no guarantee of administrative ability. There is probably no satisfactory alternative to examination as a method of entrance to the Civil Service, but no one can hold that it represents a perfect method of selection. If the method of entrance is imperfect, it becomes of the first importance to devise a satisfactory method of egress; but no attempt has been made to devise such a method. From the moment the civil servant enters the Civil Service he begins to accumulate pension rights which cannot accrue till the age of sixty. However unsuitable he may find the Civil Service to his capacities, he cannot escape without forfeiting pension rights, which become greater and greater the longer he remains. Consequently the State has to carry the burden of paying and pensioning a man whose capabilities might have enabled him to render great services to the community in other departments of life, but who does not possess the very special qualities requisite in a successful administrator.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that such men, though useless, are necessarily idle. When first I entered the Civil Service I found myself placed in a room with another civil servant now long since dead. It was a time of great pressure of work, and this servant was the first to arrive in the morning and the last to leave, often working far into the night. Throughout the day he seldom raised his eyes from his desk, he never talked, and his interval for lunch was most exiguous. This excessive application undermined his constitution, and he died, mainly of overwork, after a few months. After a few days of observation I ventured to inquire of my superior officer what this man was doing. I

was told that everyone who came into the room asked that question sooner or later, and the answer was, 'Nothing.' The complete causes of this negative result I never fully ascertained. Probably it was that passion for perfection which prevents so many learned professors from writing books, and which, coupled with an insufficient appreciation of the value of time, is responsible, more than anything else, for much of the waste which occurs in the higher branches of the Civil Service. The opportunities for wasted effort in these higher branches are, in fact, considerable. Anyone can discover without difficulty how long it ought to take to count a given number of postal orders or to typewrite a letter of a certain length; but no one can say how long it ought to take to solve an administrative problem except the person who has solved it, any more than an outsider can say how long it should take to write a particular book. Anyone who has any familiarity with the work will testify that it is quite as easy to spend four hours over a problem as one hour, that at the end of either period the result is apt to be the same, and yet that the four hours have by no means been spent in idleness.

In order, however, to understand these results which are not entirely desirable, it is necessary to examine rather more closely the system by which they are produced. The staff and the remuneration of Government departments are determined almost entirely by the Treasury, and can be effectively determined by no other body. The cost is voted by Parliament; but Parliament is no more capable of determining the staff which is required for carrying out its commands than an amateur is capable of determining the proper complement of a battleship. The method by which the staff of Whitehall is determined by the Treasury can best be appreciated by studying the manner in which the Treasury has determined its own staff.

In 1914 the estimate for the Treasury was 108,263*l.*; in 1925 it is 315,807*l* In 1914 there were two permanent officials, with a salary of 2000*l*; in 1925 there are seven officials who get more than 2000*l.* and four who get 3000*l.* or over. In 1914 the permanent officials above the rank of first-class clerk were eight, with salaries of 10,953*l.* in all.; in 1925 the permanent officials above the corresponding rank of principal are twenty, with a combined salary of 34,638*l.* In 1914 the total staff was 141; in 1925 it is 345. It will be observed that the increases are mainly at the top, but the increases at the top involve some increase right through the department. Three controllers of supply services, establishments, and finance respectively have been created at a salary of 3000*l.* a year each. The creation of these august officials of course imperatively requires the creation of three deputy controllers at salaries of 2200*l.* each. Lower down we find in place

of twelve first-class clerks costing 8627*l.* thirty-two principals costing 26,228*l.*, and in place of fourteen second-class clerks costing 3774*l.* thirty-two assistant principals costing 12,965*l.* The increase of staff involves an equivalent increase in the cost of office accommodation, which has risen from 9020*l.* to 22,975*l.* The subordinate departments of the Treasury have also expanded. The Committee of Imperial Defence, which cost 5130*l.* in 1914, has been converted into the Offices of the Cabinet and the Committee of Imperial Defence at a cost of 17,085*l.* No less than forty-one persons are engaged at an annual cost of 17,651*l.* in writing the history of the War, an expenditure which would have made Gibbon green with envy.

Such a scale of expenditure robs the Treasury of all its prestige as the guardian of economy. There was a time not so long ago when (but for a possible difference in sex) the Treasury were the Vestal Virgins of the body politic. Serene, incorruptible, autocratic, inviolable, they sat throned in their Grecian temple, the custodians of the sacred flame of finance, which is the Palladium of the State. Like the Vestals, they were the fruit of careful selection, of blameless character, warranted by the public doctor to be sound in limb and by the public examiners to be sound in their heads. Like the Vestals, they were dedicated to the sanctities of their awful office for the period of their working life, during one-third of which they were learning its mysteries, another third practising them, and during the remaining third instructing neophytes. They were secluded from contact with the outside world, though the Governor of the Bank of England, the financial Pontifex Maximus, was admitted to their intimacy, and from behind this veil their august edicts (technically known as minutes) were issued and received by an awestruck world with reverence and submission. Like the Vestal Virgins, they preserved as an example to a luxurious and extravagant generation the austerity and simplicity of the antique world. When others were using typewriters, they still adhered to the quill pen, and the use of blotting-paper in place of sand was their sole concession to modernity. It was almost an irreverence for the public to mention them by name, and such allusions as were to be found to them dwelt on the mysterious, enormous, and sacrosanct powers which they wielded behind a curtain of impenetrable secrecy.

With the increase in the staff of the department this atmosphere has vanished. Whether they be dukes, kings, bishops, commissionaires, or Treasury officials, it is impossible to add greatly to the numbers of a select body without diminishing its prestige. The Treasury has emerged from the seclusion which surrounded it and has mixed freely with less dedicated mortals, who are permitted to study, if not to understand, its mental

processes. Cheap hand-books are published which have revealed its mysteries; and Mr. Arnold Bennett has published an irreverent novel in which a Treasury official appears as anything but a hero in his domestic relations. On his retirement the Treasury official no longer vanishes into a pregnant seclusion to emerge shortly before his death with a volume on 'Chancellors I have known,' the official reticence of which alone accounts for its incomparable dulness. He goes into the city instead and amasses money in competition with his fellows in the outside world. The veil has been rudely torn aside. The capacity of the human mind for reverence is great, but, even so, it finds it impossible to revere 345 persons at once.

It is not surprising, in these circumstances, that exhortations by the Treasury to other departments to reduce their staffs are met with a smile, or that the number of posts in the Civil Service carrying salaries of 2,000*l.* or over have increased by 155 per cent. in the last ten years. In fact the increase in Treasury staff not only sets a standard for other departments, but directly leads to their increase. No one can grapple successfully with that formidable Treasury official the Controller of Establishments except a proportionately formidable Director of Establishments in every other department. No one can bear the fierce light which beats around the throne of the Controller of Supply except a highly-paid Accountant-General fortified by a swollen staff of financial subordinates For major issues even these defences are insufficient, and a second secretary with 2000*l.* a year is necessary to encounter a controller with 3000*l.*

A prominent cause of over-staffing is over-specialisation. The administrative officer is advised by a host of technical experts, the number and nature of whom vary in different departments. The greatest sin a civil servant can commit is a failure to consult the appropriate expert; and his responsibilities are reduced and his worries increased by the fact that he must needs disinterest himself in favour of the expert in many matters which should come within the normal range of his activities. The simplest problem of mathematics becomes a matter for the accountant, the most notorious truism of the law a matter for the legal adviser. This necessity increases the delay which occurs before deliberation results in action, and involves the expenditure of much time on consultations of all kinds. The official of the higher staff works about 1800 hours a year, and his salary with bonus may be 1800*l* or more. It becomes easy to realise how expensive a consultation between a few of these officials may become.

Undoubtedly, however, the main cause of a costly administrative staff is the failure to assign important business to important persons and unimportant business to subordinates. The Minister

r other political head of the department is the queen bee of the ive; and it is the function of the department to provide for his ustenance, to protect him from criticism, and (often a difficult ask) to see that he does not get into trouble. Parliament has ittle sense of proportion, and a trifling departmental error may ause the Minister as much trouble as a blunder in policy of the first nagnitude. It is the business of the Permanent Secretary to preerve the Minister from such errors, and the responsibility filters lown through him to the lowest officer in the departments. The ermanent Secretary, who, in these days of large departments, an seldom have a complete acquaintance with the capacities of he various members of his staff, is naturally anxious that no ecision should be taken without his knowledge and assent, which night conceivably weaken the position of his Minister. The ubordinate official is unwilling to act on his own responsibility or fear he should involve his immediate superior in disaster. The ivil Service hierarchy is most elaborate, but it entirely fails in its urpose if the subordinate members are deprived of all responsiility. The system results in a pitiable waste of good human naterial. The best brains of the country enter the higher ranches of the Civil Service, but its officers during a large period f their official life (a period the duration of which depends more on ccident than merit) are doing work which could be performed qually well by men of much inferior attainments. At an age hen a sailor is commanding a battleship a civil servant is often ot allowed to sign the simplest official letter.

It is little wonder that in these circumstances the sword often usts in the scabbard. During the years of drudgery the civil ervant looks for interests outside the service; and it may well be hat by the time promotion comes a long course of routine has nfitted him for the performance of more important duties.

There may therefore be in the higher branches of the Civil ervice some ground for reducing a few salaries, reducing some affs and getting rid of a few servants, who either have very little ork to do or else do not do it with efficiency; but anyone who agines that such an operation would have any appreciable ect on the total cost of the Civil Service is under a complete usion. It would affect an inconsiderable proportion of the al staff, and if it is to be carried out with justice it requires a nute examination of particular cases which is quite beyond the mpetence of a Cabinet Committee on economy.

Rumour is busy with stories of a percentage reduction of the aries of all civil servants coupled with a drastic reduction of ff. The first proposal is merely a confession of incapacity to justice. If any civil servant is overpaid, by all means let his ary be reduced; but no one can believe that all civil servants

are overpaid by an equal percentage, and the suggestion merely amounts to a proposal that civil servants should pay a larger tax on their incomes than other members of the community, a course for which there is no conceivable justification. With regard to the second proposal, by all means let incompetent servants be dismissed; but dismissals should be confined to cases of incompetence, and should not be dictated by a mere desire to reduce staffs. The permanent as distinguished from the temporary establishment of the Civil Service is recruited on the footing that the services of a competent officer will be permanently required. It is this security of tenure which attracts able men to the Civil Service in preference to far more lucrative though more precarious employments, and it affords the great argument which is constantly adduced for the moderate scale of salaries which prevails. If the principle of security of tenure is infringed, the immediate result will be an economy which is trifling in comparison with the vast expenditure involved to the country by the laudable desire of Ministers to make a reputation for themselves. The ultimate result will be a deterioration in the quality and a great increase in the expense of the Civil Service.

W. R. BARKER.

INDUSTRY'S RIGHTS AND WRONGS

INDUSTRY is the breadwinner of the nation. The term 'breadwinner' is not much heard in these complicated days, which have given us such phrases as the 'hegemony of the proletariat' and have introduced us to jazz bands, doles and subsidies, coupled with a sublime faith in the almost supernatural power of the 'Government' to supply every sort of lack for which our own improvidence or lethargy is responsible. Nevertheless, 'breadwinner' is a good old-fashioned expression which I find in my dictionary, and its application to our daily life can be restored with advantage. When I say that industry is the nation's breadwinner, I mean that in some way or another the means of livelihood of practically every citizen is directly or indirectly derived from industry. Lawyers, doctors, clergymen, civil ervants, bank clerks, merchants, pensioners, the idle rich and the idle poor, will find, if they follow step by step their income to its source, that originally it is derived in some form from productive industry, in which, of course, I include agriculture. The only exception which, perhaps, must be allowed is the man who derives his income from foreign investments, and even in his case the original capital to make those investments almost ertainly came from industry. Anyhow, remittance men are elatively few in number, and do not count for much in a nation's conomic problems.

If every man and woman could realise the truth of the statement which I have made, namely, their ultimate, although ssibly remote, dependence upon the prosperity of our industries, en the breadwinner of the nation would be by way of receiving at attention and consideration from all quarters which it has cked in the past and sorely needs to-day. In family life, what re is taken of the breadwinner! If he is ill, or otherwise in anger of being rendered incapable of fulfilling his function, what nxiety is felt, what means used to restore his power to provide r those dependent upon him! It is his right. Another right the domestic breadwinner is peace in his home. If his family e all combined against him his efficiency will be impaired and s income correspondingly reduced, or in extreme cases lost.

He further has the right to demand that his household shall be ordered with regard to the amount that he is able to provide by his labours, and that he shall not find himself, by reason of the extravagance of his family, put into a position where his means are insufficient to meet the obligations laid upon him.

The last point in the analogy which I desire to make is that, to the extent that it is possible, he is entitled to the support of his family in his efforts to supply their needs; for instance, if the breadwinner is a shopkeeper, he would not expect his wife and daughters to patronise his rival establishment and proclaim the superiority of his competitors' wares amongst their friends to the detriment of his own trade. Without pressing the metaphor too far, or attempting to show exact correspondence, I claim that the rights of industry—the national breadwinner—are precisely those of the domestic variety, and that, if those rights are withheld, the breadwinner first, and thereafter the whole family, which is the nation, must suffer accordingly.

And what a splendid family our national industries have brought into being and supported during the last century! In the hundred years before the war the population of England and Wales increased by 26,000,000. The whole of this population was built up and maintained by the nation's industries, and at the same time the standard of life of our people has been constantly improving, so that at the end of the period the conditions under which our working classes were living bore no resemblance whatever to those of a hundred years before.

These facts are the answer to the Communist parrot cry concerning the failure of capitalism. Capitalism, represented by industry, has not failed; on the contrary, it has shown its ability to feed, clothe, educate and set up in life our ever-increasing population, and to accommodate itself to progressive advancement both in its own conditions and in those of the people dependent upon it. It has kept pace with, or at any rate has not lagged far behind, the aspirations of the people, and has made provision for accidents, sickness, old age, and unemployment.

With such a record as this, industry can surely claim the breadwinner's rights. Deduced from what has gone before, these rights are as follows:

(1) That the well-being of industry and its ability to perform its functions shall be the first concern of the community.

(2) Internal peace.

(3) Freedom from all unnecessary or excessive burdens and expenses.

(4) *General support of all citizens.*

Now, if the deprivation of a right is a wrong, I venture to say that industry's wrongs are the converse of all the above. In

he first instance, how little regard we have had in the past of he difficulties which have overtaken British industry since the lays when Britain was the industrial mistress of the world. How callous we have been, even when the struggle became more and nore unequal. How difficult we have found it to believe that our great national industries, which have always so well cared for hemselves and us, had become in need of our thought and our care.

This attitude towards industry is not new; it is not a post-war phenomenon. In proof of this I do not think I can do better han quote from a speech which Mr. Lloyd George delivered in London in November 1918, when he reviewed the pre-war ndustrial policy of the Government in which he had taken so arge a part, and asked for the support of the electors to enable im to produce 'a land fit or heroes.' Mr. Lloyd George said:

> Four weeks from to-day the new electorate of this country will be called pon to elect a new Parliament, on the whole, I think, the most important 'arliament ever elected in the history of this country—a Parliament upon whose character will depend the fate and the destiny of this country, the Empire, and, through the Empire, of the world.
>
> We have to re-examine old problems This war has been a very revealng war. In its lurid glare all the defects of the old system stand out so hat everyone can see them.
>
> Industrially we were in an unorganised state Every industry had een told rudely by the State to mind its own business. And, just like ildren under the same circumstances, some did well and some did badly. nfortunately, among those who did badly were industries which we scovered during the war to be essential to national defence. We found any industries crippled by deliberately unfair competition, and the only swer we had was, 'That is their look-out.'

I think Mr. Lloyd George can be accepted as a reliable witness n the question of the Government's attitude towards industry pre-war days. In making the above statements Mr. Lloyd eorge was really attacking himself. He had probably done ore than any other living man to foster that of which he comained. His object in so truthfully appraising the consequences his own acts was to proclaim his repentance and change of rt and make promise of better things in the future. How erent things might be to-day if Mr. Lloyd George had fulfilled promise of his conversion—if, like St. Paul, he had lived build up that which he confessed to having persecuted; but, s, it must be recorded that, having obtained the new lease of wer which he sought, his regeneration of heart and mind was oved to have been superficial and evanescent (we will acquit n of the graver charge), and there is little more to be found in four years of post-war Premiership in the direction of better ditions than can be seen in the previous years, which he eared so profoundly to deplore.

For the past four years British industry has indeed been a sick man, and things have in many directions gone from bad to worse. To quote Mr. Wigglesworth in a recent article,

our industries are to-day bearing the heaviest burden of any nation in the world, and their tribulation can be measured by perusing the unemployment returns There is no nation in the world that can make a similar showing Neither defeated Germany, nor devastated France, nor broken and dismembered Austria, have anything comparable.

The breadwinner is sick—he is entitled to the solicitude and care of the whole nation in order that his functions may be restored. Does he get it ?

I think it must be admitted that questions concerning industry are receiving a great deal of thought at the present time, and, in particular, the social aspects of our industrial problem. But it is such questions as the relationship between capital and labour and the possibility of bringing into being a new spirit in industry which provide the centre of attraction rather than the practical question of the condition of industry and means to restore its prosperity.

On the ethical or ideal side of the case everyone feels competent to speak or write, but very few give any thought to the factors which alone can make the accomplishment of their ideals possible. As evidence of this I might mention the recent correspondence in *The Times*, which has called forth contributions from eminent noblemen, lawyers, doctors and divines, as well as from people whose names are well known in the ranks of social reformers. The one idea underlying all their contributions has been the advancement of the workers into the position of partners in some form in the industries in which they are engaged, with partnership privileges, namely, to share in the profits and have a voice in control. Very few of the letters showed any real appreciation of the parlous condition of industry or made practical suggestions for restoring vitality to it.

It is indeed extremely difficult to get people to show an interest in the question of the welfare of industry *quâ* industry. For some reason, while the social side of industrial questions and the possibility of idealising relations between employers and employees attracts almost every class of mind to its discussion, the even more important, and at least equally difficult, subject of the needs of industry and what is required to enable it to emerge from its present depression has little attractive power, and the introduction of the subject tends to dry up the founts of eloquence, whether of pen or tongue. I have proved this again and again. In *The Times* discussion above referred to I ventured to indicate that, while the new spirit in industry and better relations between employers and employed are in themselves eminently desirable

ıre are certain inherent difficulties in our industrial conditions ich have nothing whatever to do with the relations between ɔital and labour, but which must be removed before there can hope of success, and I ventured to point out that a successful partnership arrangement presupposed the ability to make ɔfits, which in many industries to-day does not exist.

My remarks were referred to by several correspondents in a ınner more grieved than angry. They rather resented that ir pursuit of an ideal should be interrupted by such a practical estion as that which I had raised, and when a manufacturer in : woollen trade came forward with a record of thirty years' ccess in the working of a profit-sharing scheme, notwithstanding ıt the uniform success of the business had been interrupted for ɔ or three years, during which the workers loyally stood by the ıcern, Sir Ellis Hume-Williams proclaimed that that disposed me. From an eminent lawyer I was rather surprised at this, the example given rather confirmed my argument than other-ie, being the record of a normally highly successful undertaking h profits to divide in twenty-eight out of thirty years. My nt was that there was no advantage in a profit-sharing scheme an industry which was not profitable, and had no means becoming so, for reasons totally outside the ability of either ployers or employees to alter.

The point that I am now trying to make is that if we could a fraction of the talent employed in the consideration of social tions within industry brought to bear upon the practical blem of the real disabilities under which industry itself suffers the devising of means for ridding it of its handicaps, we should quickly find ourselves on the road to the solution of both blems.

What are the factors that are interfering with the well-being ndustry and destroying its ability to perform its functions? ink there are five outstanding causes, and it will be observed they are the converse of the 'rights' which I have claimed. refore name them 'industry's wrongs':

) The stranglehold of the sheltered trades.
) The cynical cruelty of our financial policy.
) The handicap of internal dissension.
) The crushing burden of taxation.
) The foolish exposure of our home market to foreign ion.

irst and foremost among the handicaps against which try is labouring I place the wage anomalies that have n up as the result of the war, the ultimate effect of which e appears to have had the wit to foresee or the courage er.

It is not the wages paid directly in industry which are makii it impossible for us to compete in the world's markets ; it is tl excessive wages of the sheltered and service occupations, whi ultimately have to be shouldered by productive industry, and a as truly a charge upon it as are the direct wages paid to producti workers in industry. Sheltered employees are those in Gover ment and municipal service, postmen, policemen, school teache scavengers, dustmen, turncocks, overseers and those employed l public companies, railwaymen and transport workers, porters a dock labourers, and many others. The wages of all these peo are protected by their trade unions and public bodies elected l their votes.

Over these sheltered charges industry can exercise no contr They tend constantly to rise ; the people concerned in them a only remotely affected by competition, and they suffer little frc unemployment. They are the aristocrats of the working cla and, although perhaps they do not realise it, the industr workers are their slaves. I do not think this is too strong expression. They, the sheltered wage-earners, are demandi that their fellow-workers in productive industry shall proc for them more of the good things of life than they, the producti wage-earners, are able to obtain for themselves. While t sheltered workers have engineered for themselves increases whi average 114 per cent. over pre-war wages, and consequently enj far better conditions than in 1914, the wage-earners in t industries which really carry the burden have to be cont with an average increase of 56 per cent., or 20 per cent. less th the cost of living increase index ; so that while sheltered wa earners enjoy conditions infinitely better than pre-war, producti workers are condemned to conditions infinitely worse.

But it is not only a question of money. Fundamental relati ships which are axiomatic in any well-ordered community a attacked. Is the acquisition of skill and the learning of a tra worth while ? Our whole future, national as well as industri depends upon the answer to this question. Are the social val of a skilled engineer and of a dustman equal, and if not, h are you going to get a youth to exercise the self-denial and all tl it means to become a skilled engineer when you offer a hig reward to the dustman ? As an engineer I feel a deep professio injustice is perpetrated when I am compelled to pay my o skilled moulders, turners, and fitters less wages than are paid the municipal employees of the town where my works are situate

What is going to happen to this country's reputation for sk which is its greatest asset, if such a condition of affairs is allow to continue ?

Having regard to the attitude of the employees in shelter

ipations and to the gravity of the situation, I have no hesita-
in saying that the only remedy possible is to increase skilled
istrial wages all round in the same proportion to pre-war rates
he sheltered trades have advanced their wages, and by so
g set up again a sound relationship between the wages of
rent classes of workers based upon the proportions which
ial conditions pre-war have shown to be correct.

Within the compass of an article such as this it is not possible
race all the ramifications of such a step, which I have dealt
at length elsewhere,[1] but I admit that it would entail, tem-
rily at any rate, the abandonment of the Gold Standard.

brings me to the second item in my list of industry's wrongs
amely, the cynical cruelty, in its relation to industry, of the
icial policy which has been followed by successive Govern-
ts since the war.

pace will not permit of my repeating the arguments which
quite recently been presented to the readers of this Review in
articles that have appeared over the signature of Mr. Arthur
on,[2] and which are also set forth in Mr. Keynes' recently
ished book; but I state unhesitatingly that the premature
ration of the Gold Standard by manipulated currency defla-
has placed upon our industries a burden which they cannot
and has been, and is to-day, by far the largest factor in
nting bad relations between employers and workers.

the whole range of the operation from immediate post-war
of currency to Gold Standard value, manipulated deflation
ransferred into the pockets of a privileged class—financiers,
ylenders and those who live on what are known as 'fixed
es,' called by Mr. Keynes '*rentiers*'—the colossal sum of
,000,000*l*., equal to the whole cost to us of the war, and this
has been taken from the pockets of the employing classes
e money was invested in stock-in-trade, factories and
inery—in other words, in what is termed 'industry.'

is is a true indictment. I have read numberless articles and
es endeavouring to prove that the policy of the Cunliffe
ittee was in the interest of the country, but I have never
e statement contained in the last paragraph controverted
ied.

e truth is that British industry to-day is bearing the total
o us of the war plus all the loans of doubtful value made to
lies—the whole multiplied by two; and, without indulging
ective, I say this is the greatest injustice which one section
eople have ever in the whole course of history perpetrated

[1] *Disease of Unemployment and the Cure* (Hutchinson & Co.)
[2] *Nineteenth Century and After* for September, October and December
ditor).

upon their fellow-countrymen. Our war debts contracted, in currency value of 8s. or 10s. to the pound, have been fixed upon our shoulders at the full pre-war sterling value. If there had been a contraction of the total amount of the debt to correspond with the increased value of currency, the injustice would not have arisen; but as it is, with the policy pressed to its ultimate conclusion, and, from the point of view of those who have pursued it, successful, the country finds itself saddled with a National Debt twice that justified by the cost of the war. And, what has been one of the worst features of the case, employers of labour have been used as the agents and instruments of the Government, and those responsible for this policy, to force down the wages of their workers, which was part of the policy.

The worker has not seen behind the scenes. In most cases he has known little or nothing of the countless thousands, and in the aggregate millions, of pounds that employers have lost by the manipulated depression of their stock values. He only knows that his employer has reduced his wages to a level which he knows is unjust, having regard to wages that are being paid in sheltered occupations Is it any wonder that he is inclined to lend a listening ear to the street-corner tirades against the capitalist?—which, to his mind, always means his own employer.

If the post-war policy to secure deflation had been founded upon the basis of the prosperity of industry, and if industry had been placed upon a sound economic basis as regards the relation of its wages to sheltered wages, we should not have reached the Gold Standard stage to-day, but we should have been on a safe road towards it, without the losses, bankruptcies, unemployment, and attendant miseries which have marked our so-called reconstruction period

If you read the speeches of financiers and the writings of certain City editors you will find that all the losses which the industrial side of the community has suffered in the process of restoring the Gold Standard may be considered as nothing compared with the inestimable advantage of the retention of our prestige in international finance and our position as the financial centre of the world

The royal borough of Richmond is capable of housing every man, woman, and child engaged in, or dependent upon, the profession or business of international finance. If it is worth while that every other consideration should give place to the claims of that type of business, then we have no need of, and no occupation for, the teeming thousands of people in our industrial centres. A population one-tenth the size of ours will be sufficient to provide chauffeurs, gardeners, butlers, domestic servants, and all others necessary to minister to the needs and vanity of the favoured

ones. The rest of us had better emigrate, or by some other means obliterate ourselves.

I cannot do much more than mention the remaining factors to which I have referred as industry's wrongs. The handicap of dissension between employers and employed is, indeed, one of the wrongs which must be put right before industry in this country can resume its proper place. I have already mentioned the use which has been made of the employer as the instrument for forcing down wages as being one of the greatest factors in fomenting unrest. I think that trade union restrictions must take the second place. These restrictions, and the lack of fluidity and adaptability which accompanies them, are driving work out of the country and causing unemployment.

That these restrictions operate to the disadvantage of the workers as much as of employers is instanced by the state of affairs at the works of Morris Cowley, Limited, of Oxford, where many of the restrictions have been relaxed or abandoned by mutual consent of the workers and employers. As a result, trade union members are better off by 1*l.* or more a week than any other engineers in the kingdom.

The association of skilled trade unions with unskilled workers' unions is another factor which deprives employers in productive industry of the co-operation which they ought to receive from their own workers in contending for the claims of industry. This association is responsible to a large extent for the wages anomalies to which I have referred. It may be generous on the part of the skilled workers to support the unjust claims of the unskilled, but it is short-sighted generosity, and in the end it defeats its object.

Much of this ill-feeling of the past and present has been generated from without The fomenting of industrial strife has more often than not been the work of professional peace destroyers, who have had no personal connexion with industry. That apostle of hatred and preacher of class war, Karl Marx, whose work constitutes to-day the most baneful factor in the stirring up of industrial strife, was not himself an industrial worker, neither are, in the main, his followers to-day.

I do believe in the possibility of a new spirit in industry founded upon a new idea of industry, and the putting of industry in its right place in the life of the nation, which, from the point of view of material things, is the first place. Industry first; get industry prosperous, and all else will follow.

The crushing burden of taxation is my next point. The enormous burdens which are the aftermath of the war, and which press so much more heavily upon us than on any either of our former allies or enemies, are crushing our industries to the earth and rendering it impossible to compete in foreign markets.

Excessive taxation is also robbing those responsible for the management of industrial enterprises of the vitality which is more needed almost than anything else in the head of every great industrial undertaking. This is a most important aspect of excessive taxation, and one that is often lost sight of. In the great majority of cases, instead of finding the heads of our great manufacturing concerns overflowing with energy, and possessing that buoyant spirit and readiness for adventure which has characterised their class in the past, you will find jaded, tired men, harassed with difficulties over which they have no control, pestered by tax collectors, and utterly unfit to fulfil their function of working out new schemes for extending their enterprise and capturing fresh markets. Is there not some explanation here of the remarks of Sir Arbuthnot Lane, who wrote recently as follows :

> We boast this age as being the health age Yet there was never a time when disease, in the true meaning of the word, was more prevalent than it is now. Of ten people one meets, nine complain of more or less impaired health ?

There would almost seem to be some sinister influence at work to prevent any reduction in the burden of taxation which our industries have to bear. To begin with, our settlement with America has fastened an enormous burden upon our shoulders. We have to pay over a period of sixty-two years 11,106,000,000 dollars in repayment of an original debt of 4,600,000,000. Compare this with the Italian settlement. Over the same period the Italians have been let off with 2,407,000,000 dollars in repayment of an original debt of 2,042,000,000—that is to say, the Italians are paying in total interest 18 per cent., while 141 per cent. has been required from Great Britain. Why? Just as there seemed some chance of getting a little relief from taxation, an additional burden of at least 10,000,000*l.* per annum is placed upon industry to meet the requirements of the new Pensions Act, added to which we now have the coal subsidy—the best that can be said about which is that it singles out one industry for specially favourable treatment and provides the funds necessary by imposing increased taxation upon others, which are in many cases at least equally distressed, if not so noisy.

And, coming to my last point, it is hardly possible to exaggerate the injury done to industry by the exposure of our home markets to foreign invasion.

During the whole of this year we have spent from 6,000,000*l.* to 7,000,000*l* a week on the purchase of goods wholly or partially manufactured, although for making by far the larger proportion of these goods we have factories equipped and workers trained,

many of whom are unemployed. Can folly go further than this? If 50 per cent. of this trade could be kept in the country, and assuming only 60 per cent. of labour value in such manufactures, which is a low estimate, it means we are paying unnecessarily 100,000,000*l.* per annum in wages to foreigners while over a million of our own people, equally able to make the goods, are subsisting on the dole. Is there not some way by which this unfortunate question can be raised out of the ruck of party politics and dealt with solely from the point of view of our industries and those dependent upon them?

In the space at my disposal I have not been able to do more than draw attention to the wrongs under which industry is suffering and which are impairing its ability to provide for the nation's needs, and I have only been able to hint at the remedies, which are, however, fairly obvious. What we really need is a pro-industry Government, promoting a pro-industry policy and backed by a pro-industry people. We need a State department more narrow in its range of operation than the Board of Trade—namely, a Ministry of Industry, charged with the welfare of our industries as its sole object, and making its voice heard on every question from industry's point of view. We need that our people may be awakened to their individual vital concern, whatever their own occupation may be, in the welfare of the nation's industries, in fact, we want the same spirit running through our people as is found in the United States of America, where they recognise to the full the importance of their industries and act accordingly.

British industry, the breadwinner of the British people, makes its appeal for relief from the burden of the wrongs under which it groans, and the removal from its path of the obstacles which stand in the way of its prosperity. It has too long been inarticulate, but, having found its voice, its message to the nation is:—

> "Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day? What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me?"

ERNEST W. PETTER.

AMSTERDAM OR MOSCOW?

WHO shall control the destinies of the International Labour Movement, and, through this movement, direct the policies of European States ? Shall it be the council which sits at Amsterdam or the appointees of the Soviet Government ? Both organisations are based upon the same fundamental principles. Both aim at political as well as industrial predominance.

Amsterdam describes itself as Socialist, and Moscow as Communist, but the student of these doctrines knows that in principle they are the same, though in method they profess to differ. Selection as between the two may be influenced by errors committed or promises made. We may love them for their faults, or follow them on the strength of their professions. Amsterdam and Moscow have each blundered grievously, but in the case of Amsterdam it may be said that it has blundered of its own free will and with its eyes as wide open as they are intellectually capable of expanding Moscow may plead that its lapses from justice, from common-sense, and from real trade union principle have been the consequences of the political situation in which it finds itself ; of its subjection to a Government which is less concerned with trade unionism than it is with consolidating the consequences of a counter-revolution, and establishing itself in authority and internationally imposing its own particular political formulæ.

Each of these authorities, Amsterdam and Moscow, claiming to exercise directive control over the industrial and political affairs of both Eastern and Western hemispheres, asserts that it desires to act in the interests of the industrial workers. An analysis of their programmes and utterances and actions during the years of their existence will lead many to doubt the *bona fides* of these pretensions. It is difficult to study history since 1919 without coming to the conclusion that they have each sought to usurp the functions of government rather than to concentrate upon the primary functions of trade unionism and upon the essential and immediate needs of the trade unionist.

The Amsterdam Trade Union International—so called because its central office is situated in the principal city of Holland—is

the successor of the pre-war Trade Union International, which had its headquarters in Berlin. This was, in the main, managed and financed by the German *Generalkommission*, the governing body of the German trade unions. At its head, and consequently at the head of the International itself, was Carl Legien, who, in addition to being the most prominent trade unionist in Germany, was the member of the Reichstag for Kiel. Legien was a man of outstanding ability and of considerable personal charm. Under his guidance the old Trade Union International seldom attempted the impossible or committed itself to flamboyance which invited ridicule. The war disrupted this old Trade Union International as well as other institutions. With the end of the war came the desire to reconstitute a movement which had its altruistic attractions and its promise of industrial advantage, both for Great Britain and for countries which were less advanced in industrial matters.

In the reconstitution of the International Trade Union Movement much of the work of conciliating and bringing together, and drafting rules fell upon my own shoulders, unfortunately, the rules that were drafted and approved by the International Commission appointed were not the rules ultimately put into practice. There are important differences between the rules accepted by the preliminary commission and those ultimately printed and operated by the Amsterdam secretariat. The difficulties of putting right differences of this description are intensified by the fact that few of the British delegates ever possess any knowledge of any language but their own, and, further, Continental political practices are not always above reproach.

Had the original rules been adhered to, it is possible that the American Federation of Labour might have continued its connexion with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and by so doing have saved the latter body from some of the mistakes which its devotion to politics has induced It would be possible to enumerate quite a number of these mistakes, but the 1920 attempts to whitewash the notorious Bela Khun and the subsequent attempts to impose a world boycott on Hungary afford an example of ill-considered bias and bumptiousness which should suffice for every student of international affairs. For months this matter of the boycott was discussed at Amsterdam; for months it received my own unwavering opposition—unavailing in the end, because the officials, acting on their own authority, declared the boycott and reported the matter to the executive by telegram. The executive were met by *un fait accompli*. The order had gone forth, the folly was public, the damage was done.

The proposal to impose this boycott had always filled me with the greatest anxiety. The consequences I foresaw were

entirely different from those anticipated by the secretariat. Austria at that time was practically helpless; her people were starving, her nearest sources of supply were the rich plains of Hungary. To boycott Hungary meant closing the most convenient avenues of supply to the Austrian people. The more effective the boycott became, the sadder would be the consequences to people already suffering the greatest privation.

None of these considerations appeared to influence the secretariat at Amsterdam. They were out to impress the world with their power; they succeeded in intensifying the sufferings of the Austrian people and covering themselves with ridicule. They had been unable to believe that a boycott might cut both ways, and they had secured a measure of support by assuring the less informed of the national bodies which were affiliated, that the whole world would support the action taken. Some of the smaller nations did make more or less effective attempts to back the policies of the Amsterdam secretariat, but, generally, the workmen saw with clearer vision than the officials The railwaymen and the transport workers of Great Britain very quickly made it clear that they would not attempt to associate themselves with the trouble The boycott fizzled out; some Austrians had their sufferings intensified; some Hungarians who had sympathised were in danger of serious punishment, for Hungary was at that time greatly disturbed. Representations from private sources were made to Admiral Horthy, the Regent. One letter I have before me as I write:

June 11, 1920.

Grave reports concerning Hungary are reaching the International Federation of Trade Unions, and through this organisation, the peoples of all countries

What is described as the 'White Terror' is said to exceed in severity and extent that 'Red Terror' which preceded it. Statements are made and figures are issued in support of these statements which indicate terrible conditions and deplorable travesties of justice

In happier days, I spent a little time in Buda-Pest and there received many courtesies from Hungarians It is, consequently, very difficult for me to believe all the stories of atrocities and torture which come to hand. It is, however, impossible to escape the conclusion that there have been lapses from the high standard of culture and humanity enunciated by the Hungarians with whom I came in contact.

You, and those on whose behalf you act, may honestly believe that harsh severity is absolutely necessary You may also feel that you are responsible to Hungary and not to the world Legally, this contention may be justified, but a civilised nation has moral as well as legal obligations, and these moral obligations usually extend to humanity.

Whatever outrages humanity concerns the whole world, even though what is regarded as the outrageous act comes within a nation's penal code. During the past five years humanity has suffered deeply; every new shock adds to the cultural dangers which exist and to the unhappiness of

the poor souls who know little of politics, but who sometimes become the victims of politicians.

It is because of my sympathy for the helpless, the foolish, and even the erring that I ask you and your colleagues to be magnanimous If you must punish offenders, do punish in such a manner as to leave Hungary free from the reproach that she lacked that courage without which no nation dare be merciful.

Such representations indicate the then state of Hungary and emphasise the stupidity of aggravating, by international boycott, an already embittered situation.

The pre-war International, which had its headquarters in Berlin, was economically managed; the same cannot be said of Amsterdam. Indeed, the lavishness of its expenditure and its appointments have occasioned both heartburning and adverse criticism amongst those affiliated unions which have had to find the money. Amsterdam has, however, greatly strengthened its position by its association with the International Labour Council of the League of Nations; indeed, it may be said to dominate this body, for it is only on rare occasions that any trade unionist succeeds in obtaining a place on this council, or even at the Geneva Conferences, unless he is nominated or indorsed, officially or unofficially, by the Amsterdam International. These appointments are not unprofitable, and it is their existence and the hope of securing them which keeps so many of the officials in other countries in complacent subservience upon the Amsterdam executive.

Amsterdam has never ceased to advertise itself the printed and typed matter would fill many books; whether the advertisements have all been wise or based upon intelligent conceptions of the industrial conditions and possibilities in different countries is another matter. That its officials have never sought to confine their activities to the primary functions of trade unions is certain. They have indeed issued manifestoes on trade union subjects, even on the subject of unemployment, but these have not contained any serious indications of economic understanding. They have been denunciatory rather than helpful, and have aimed at overthrowing systems rather than at restoring industries and opportunities for remunerative employment.

Since the formation of the Red International Federation of Trade Unions there has been war between the two sections—war which has had for its primary objectives power and patronage. If, incidentally, trade and employment and wages were improved during the struggle, so much the better; but these appear to have been secondary considerations, and it may, with some justification, be assumed that the Labour Council of the League of Nations would have done as much if the Amsterdam institution had not existed.

Of the Red International, no one but a blind partisan or a *peculiarly* interested advocate would ever dream of suggesting that this in any sense represents either the British, the American, or the German conceptions of trade unionism. In these countries there is at least maintained the possibility of democratic conception, selection, and election. In Russia this is not so. There never has been, and there is not to-day, any possibility of that freedom to criticise, to act, and to elect which obtains in the countries enjoying democratic institutions In that country of many sorrows trade unions exist in name only, and nothing so much reflects upon the credulity of the British delegations to Russia as their published evasions of this fact In some of their private reports, and very frequently in conversation, they do admit that the Russian trade unions are without power, that they accept rather than negotiate, that conditions are imposed rather than agreed, and that the methods employed and the wages paid are such as would provoke immediate revolution amongst the workers of America or Great Britain

In such circumstances, and in spite of the interested advocacy of members of the British and other trade union movements, the idea of accepting the trade union dominance of Moscow is grotesquely inconceivable If the truth concerning Russian trade unionism were known to the rank and file of this country, the excursions to Russia would cease to run and the British trade unionists who patronise them would be compelled to remain at home, where they would find problems not complicated with language difficulties, whose solution demanded the highest forms of intelligence and moral courage.

An analysis of the pretensions and the positions of these two Internationals does not impress the non-trade union investigator with any favourable opinion of their claims to direct the world's industrial and political destinies. Both adopt as the fundamental plank in their platforms the doctrine of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The Socialist International has not yet made up its mind whether it would secure these ends by purchase or confiscation. Its oscillations between these two methods are influenced by the state of the political barometer. In its favour it may be said that its leaders profess a desire to maintain at least the principle of democratic control Apparently the people should elect their governors rather than encourage their governors to appoint themselves. Herein lies the main differences between the parties. The Socialist might purchase, but the Communist would frankly confiscate all wealth and the means of producing wealth. He talks, not of democratic institutions, but of the autocracy of the proletariat. Latterly, finding this phrase less popular—that

autocracy has an unpleasant sound in British ears—he has spoken of the hegemony of the proletariat, a distinction, as any student of English knows, which is, in practice, hardly a difference.

The pretensions of Moscow to predominance would hardly have made any progress but for the insistent backing of members of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress. Whatever home interests they may have neglected, they have been faithful to those of the soviets Apart from their advocacy, the Red International would have found little favour in countries which possessed a reasonable percentage of decently educated people, or a fairly extensive experience of, and devotion to, democratic practices and institutions.

Sympathy with the sufferings of Russians there is, and always has been, but nothing could be further from the thoughts of the workers of this country than the acceptance of Russian dominance or guidance in matters of government, whether that government is concerned with communities or trade unions. It has not been lack of sympathy, but appreciation of the absurdity involved in placing the affairs of the more widely educated and the better experienced in the hands of crude experimentalists, which militated against the General Council's advocacy of the Soviet's pretensions.

The average British workers, male and female, have never been favourably stirred by these attempts to involve them in support of the doctrines or the practices of the promoters of the second revolution. That they have avoided the deep end, in spite of the many invitations to dive off, is not a matter of surprise to those who know them. They possess to the full the national capacity for ignoring the unessential things. It is this capacity which has kept them out of those awkward situations which have been arranged for them and which also keeps them quiet when excited criticism of some of their would-be leaders might be expected.

Even in internal affairs this *insouciance* is marked. Their attitude towards the political levy affords an interesting example. Here they do not trouble to vote unless the question to be decided immediately and particularly affects them Thus the Boiler-makers' Union, with a membership of 88,267, only raises a total vote of 9156 on such an important question as the political levy—4752 for and 4404 against deciding that the whole 88,267 shall pay the levy, which thousands of them must actively dislike. If these thousands thought there was anything to be made by political action they would probably follow the example of the Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association or the National Farmers' Union. Here the figures are. In the first instance—for the political levy, 11,215; against, 1277. In the second instance—for the levy,

15,683; against, 1671. The telegraph clerk and the farmer evidently expect to get more out of political action than the boilermaker, and are interested accordingly. The Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies, 1924, offers many illustrations of interests stimulated or weakened in political action by the probability or improbability of personal gain or loss.

Had the British worker been more interested in the vagaries of Amsterdam, or in the attempts to involve him in Russian politics and adventures, he would have been much more critical of both, and would have demanded that more attention be given to the things which concern his own employment and his own working conditions. His answer to the question of Amsterdam or Moscow? would probably have been: 'Neither; let us conserve our effort and save our money for our own folk and problems.'

The conceptions of the old internationalist trade unions were more limited and much more practical than the modern. Their movement was based upon the conclusion that low wages, long hours, and inferior working conditions abroad threatened the standards attained at home. They assumed that to maintain conditions at home they must aim at improving those obtaining in more badly situated countries, and that each time they succeeded in encouraging betterment in foreign industries they relatively strengthened the standard achieved in their own. There was no thought of interfering in the political constitution or practices of other countries. The aim was to improve existing conditions, not to overthrow existing Governments or systems for the purpose of retesting age-old theories.

It is within the province of the critic to suggest alike to Amsterdam and Moscow that they might accomplish more if they attempted less: that their first task should be the one of reducing nebulous conceptions of political and economic unity to understandable and applicable terms. It is not sufficient for them to live, both the sincere and the insincere, in an atmosphere of unreality which is more absorbing and bewildering, and infinitely more dangerous, than the unreality of Alice in Wonderland. The changes incidental to, and following on, the basic policies which each existing centre of internationalism advocates are of tremendous import and involve the well-being of many millions of people. To dream weakly and indeterminately, as some of them do, that fortuitous concurrences of circumstances will very gently, and quite safely, determine their economic and psychological difficulties is asinine.

Those who represent Great Britain at these international pow-wows either do not understand or deliberately ignore this country's economic dependence upon America. They shut their eyes to the certainty of food shortages the moment the United

States, the Argentine, and even the British Dominions, find that institutions are overthrown and credit destroyed. True, they talk heroically of the distributive capacities of the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, acting in collaboration; but this talk only sickens the heart of the intelligent and thoughtful, who know that at the end of the second week of their adventure, if not sooner, there would be nothing left for them to distribute, for the incoming flow of food and raw materials would have been effectively arrested.

Those who are asked to subscribe to and to support the pretensions of Amsterdam or Moscow to industrial and political dominance have the right to demand as a condition precedent to action adumbrated in their speeches and manifestoes that a clear, precise, and inclusive programme for feeding and employing the people shall be submitted. Unless this is done and acceptable provision made for payment for all imports from outside countries, these neophytes in government may have to feed their foodless people upon promises made concerning another year's crops. In the absence, too, of raw materials they might, in order to find employment for the workless, be compelled to reintroduce the treadmill, or some equally uneconomic subterfuge.

When listening to or reading the superficial emanations from these institutions which claim to run the trade unionist both economically and politically it is difficult to avoid recalling the words of Solomon that 'A wise man feareth and departeth, but the fool rageth and is confident.'

If I had to choose between Amsterdam and Moscow, I should choose Amsterdam conditionally upon its confining itself to policies and programmes within its capacity, if these would help the Britisher by raising wages in other countries. Should this be impossible, then a new International independent of either, and under bond to eschew political adventure, is what the trade unionist—certainly the British and the American trade unionist—should demand.

In effect, the American worker already says, 'A plague upon both your houses.' We also might desire to get free from international entanglements, save our money, and concentrate upon our own affairs. These affairs are, in all conscience, serious enough to invite concentration, but the task of escaping financial and administrative responsibility for the existence and operations of Amsterdam and Moscow will be very great. Uniting them, if internal experience is any guide, will neither reduce the difficulty nor decrease the cost.

W. A. Appleton.

SLAVERY, FORCED LABOUR, AND THE LEAGUE

THE public is aware that the League of Nations set up a Committee in 1924 to investigate the question of slavery and conditions analogous to it. This Committee presented a report last July, which was considered by the Council and Assembly in September. A resolution was passed adopting a draft Convention ; and, since it is probable that few have any precise knowledge of the points at issue, it is proposed to set them out as clearly as may be possible in the limited compass of a review article. It is a matter worthy of half an hour's study if (as its author claimed for it) 'this Convention . . . will constitute one of the greatest advances towards human freedom which have ever been made, . . . and will free tens or hundreds of thousands of unhappy beings from conditions which closely resemble slavery, and which now exist, and will be of untold advantage to humanity in general.'

The official report, however, adds that 'It is hoped that no States will be satisfied with the minimum now proposed.' The Convention comes up for discussion next June, and England must then declare the principles for which she stands in regard to slavery and forced labour That she can count on the support of France in her advocacy of something more adequate than this 'highest minimum' seems evident from the remarks of the French delegate, M. Montigny, who in seconding the resolution made the following declaration · 'France fully concurs in . . . the total abolition, once and for all, and throughout the whole world, not only of slavery, but of all intermediate states between slavery and freedom.'

The Slavery Committee consisted of eight 'experts' of different nationalities. It investigated the slave trade, the status of slavery, and practices analogous to slavery, such as the acquisition of girls as concubines, the so-called 'adoption' of children, debt slavery, and forced labour. Its report contained a large number of proposals for the suppression or the amelioration of these conditions, and for facilitating the transition to free labour or independent production. A report on conditions in Abyssinia (which had originated the investigation) was attached

to the published Minutes. These documents should be read by those interested.[1] A majority of the Committee proposed that all States, whether members of the League or not, should be invited to subscribe to a new Slavery Convention, and those of its recommendations which were suitable for inclusion therein were distinguished from those of an administrative nature.

The report was, according to custom, examined by a Committee of the Assembly, Lord Cecil, the representative of the British Empire, being appointed '*rapporteur*.' The draft resolution which it submitted was adopted, and it was decided to take no further action in regard to the documents and allegations received regarding conditions in particular countries which the Slavery Committee had not as yet had time to investigate.

The resolution recorded the opinion of the Assembly that 'a Convention was the best way of giving effect to the suggestions made by the Slavery Committee' It accepted the draft submitted by the British Government as amended by the Sixth Committee, and directed that it should be circulated to all States members of the League, and to such others as the Council might specify,[2] who would be invited to submit their observations before June 1, 1926, and to appoint plenipotentiaries who would meet at the next session of the Assembly, examine the draft, and sign immediately

The proposed Convention consists of eleven short articles.

Article 1 defines 'slavery' and the 'slave trade.'

Article 2 pledges the signatories 'to prevent and suppress the slave trade,' and 'to bring about progressively, and as soon as possible, the disappearance of slavery in every form, notably in the case of domestic slavery and similar conditions.'

Article 3 enjoins measures for suppression in territorial waters, and transport in vessels flying the flag of a signatory. It recognises the value of agreements between States for this purpose.

Article 4 pledges the States to afford mutual assistance in suppressing slavery and the slave trade.

Article 5 stipulates for adequate punishments.

Article 6 pledges contracting parties 'to prevent conditions analogous to those of slavery from resulting from forced labour.' (*a*) 'In principle it may only be exacted for public purposes. (*b*) Where it still survives for other than public purposes' signatory States 'shall endeavour progressively, and as soon as possible, to

[1] Committee's Report, A 19, 1925, vi Minutes. First Session, A 18, 1924, vi · Second Session, C 426, M 157, 1925, vi Report of Committee of the Assembly, A 130, 1925, vi See also A. 118, 1923, vi., and A. 25, 1924, vi. The London agents for League publications are Messrs. Constable & Co.

[2] The States not members of the League to whom the Convention has been sent are the following.—Germany, Afghanistan, Ecuador, the United States, Egypt, Mexico, Russia, the Sudan, and Turkey.

put an end to it.' It 'shall invariably be of an exceptional character, shall always receive adequate remuneration, and shall not involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence. (c) Responsibility for its use shall rest in the central authority.'

The remaining articles abrogate all previous slavery conventions, and permit any signatory State to make reservations either in regard to any particular territory, or to any article.

Two additional articles were proposed by the representative of Norway (Dr. Nansen). The first proposed that disputes as to the interpretation or application of the Convention should, if necessary, be referred to the Court of International Justice, or to some court of arbitration; the second that signatory States should submit annually to the League a report on the working of the measures which they have taken to carry out the purposes of the Convention.

Article 8 of this Draft Convention abrogates the Acts named in the preamble in so far as they relate to slavery. It is therefore of great importance to make sure that nothing contained in the Brussels Act (which was signed by seventeen Powers, only seven of which signed the Convention of St. Germains repealing its slavery clauses) is omitted in the new Convention. That Act contained 100 articles, of which seven dealt with firearms and six with the liquor traffic, both of which are now the subjects of separate Conventions. The remaining eighty-seven articles were, as the Netherlands delegate pointed out, 'of a more detailed character, and went further' than the eleven articles of the new Convention—*e g.*, in regard to the right of search, the use of flags, and the condemnation of vessels. It seems desirable that the public should be assured by a competent authority that such amendments as may be proposed by Great Britain shall include all that is not obsolete in the Brussels Act.

The Brussels Act was a new departure in international law. For the first time in history it purported to be an agreement, not for the mutual benefit of the signatories, but for the purpose of 'protecting effectively the aboriginal populations of Africa and ensuring for that vast continent the benefits of peace and civilisation.' The opening words dedicated the Act to God Almighty. It was directed against those who engaged in the slave trade irrespective of nationality. They were to be deprived of arms. Their vessels engaged in the slave trade were to be seized and destroyed. Organised expeditions and flying columns were to be employed against them.

More than a generation has passed. The Covenant of the League claims to have inaugurated a higher standard of responsibility towards 'backward races.' Is it, then, too much to ask that the Convention of 1926 should, 'in the name of Almighty

God,' declare in unequivocal terms, not merely the reciprocal duties and pledges of the signatories, but that any person or non-signatory State engaged in the traffic in slaves, or failing to take proper action to restrain its nationals from engaging in the traffic, is guilty of an act contrary to the law of nations and the conscience of the civilised world; that the agents and representatives of signatory Powers should claim and exercise the right to grant asylum to, and to liberate, fugitive slaves who are nationals of the Power which they represent; that forcible detention of the nationals of a signatory State shall be no more valid on the ground that they are slaves than if they were free men; and that transport of slaves by sea shall be recognised in international law as piracy, and the vessel and its crew be dealt with by the judges of the State which effected the capture? Under the terms of the present draft, would not a vessel flying the flag of a non-signatory State be immune from search or capture though known to be transporting slaves?

By the Ottoman Constitution of 1908 the status of slavery ceased to exist in countries subject to Turkey, and by virtue of Article 71 of the Brussels Act—to which Turkey was a signatory—the diplomatic and consular agents of Great Britain and France at Jeddah and elsewhere granted asylum to fugitive slaves, and applied to the local authorities to see that they were duly liberated. As many as thirty to forty a month were thus freed After the war, since King Hussein (liberated from Turkish rule by the Allies) was not a signatory of the Brussels Act, the representatives of the Allies could no longer exercise this right (which had not been disputed by Turkey), and we witness the humiliating spectacle of the consular agents of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the Netherlands making a joint appeal against the enslavement, or detention in slavery, of persons who were subjects of or protected by these four great Powers! [3] Admission of the claim of a State to detain a national of another State on the ground that he is a slave, when immediate liberation of an ordinary subject not accused of any crime would be insisted on, is surely tantamount to a recognition of slavery by international law?

Article 11 of the Draft Convention pledges the signatories to bring about 'the disappearance of slavery in every form, notably in the case of domestic slavery and similar conditions.' The note on this clause in the official report explains that the phrase 'similar conditions' is 'intended to include all forms of debt slavery, the enslaving of persons disguised as the adoption of children, and the acquisition of girls by purchase disguised as payment of dowry, etc., as mentioned in the report of the Slavery Commission.' There is nothing in the text of the Convention to

[3] Lord Cecil disclaimed any knowledge of these facts in the debate of December 16, but they are, unfortunately, fully authenticated.

warrant this interpretation, which should be made clear in the actual words of the article, and should be accompanied by a definition of the term 'debt slavery' and of the other conditions specified. 'Slavery' is defined in Article 1 as 'the status of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.' It may be questioned whether a person detained in servitude for life on the ground that he has not liquidated a debt to his employer could strictly be brought under this definition if the employer does not claim any of the powers attaching to a right of ownership over his person.

The two forms of debt slavery are fully described, and suggestions are made in regard to each of them, in the report of the Slavery Commission. The first, which is common in Africa and in some Far Eastern countries, consists in the pledging by a debtor, either of himself or of some third person (usually a member of his family), to his creditor. The second is an abuse of the system known as 'peonage' in South America and elsewhere.

> The debtor in this case agrees to work for his creditor until the labour supplied is considered equivalent to the land allotted to him, or of any advance made to him It often happens that the creditor so arranges that his debtors get more and more into debt, and the result is . . the formation of a class of permanently enslaved debtors who, when entering into the arrangement, do not apparently understand its consequences

The Commission expressed the view that these abuses called for immediate action. Since it is the declared intention that Article 11 should include debt slavery, some such addition as the following seems to be required .—

> In order to put an end to conditions analogous to slavery which may arise in consequence of the obligations of a debtor to his creditor, the High Contracting Parties undertake to enact legislation (unless already existing) in countries under their sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage, to the effect
>
> (*a*) That the transference of any person as a pledge or security for debt, or the pledging of the labour of any person by another in liquidation of a debt, is illegal
>
> (*b*) That when a person has voluntarily pledged his own labour in liquidation of a debt, the contract shall be duly registered and approved by a court, which shall fix the period at which the debt shall be extinguished, and shall inform the creditor and the debtor that no extension of this period shall be recognised as legally binding on the ground of any addition to the original debt, or any other ground

A further sub-clause might also perhaps be usefully added to the following effect :—

> (*c*) To enact by appropriate legislation (unless such legislation already exists) in all such territories that the status of slavery shall not be recognised in any court of law, and that all children born after the date of enactment shall be free-born.

Similarly Article 4 might specifically mention the kind of assistance which is contemplated by the official note on the clause—viz., the right of pursuit across inland frontiers and extradition.

The question of compensation to owners is one into which it is not necessary to enter here, but the Committee points out that, when the legal status is abolished, owners equally with slaves are legally entitled to repudiate the obligations which native law and custom impose. The State then incurs an obligation to support such slaves as may by reason of age or infirmity be unable to support themselves. It is, however, rare for masters to repudiate these obligations

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the Draft Convention is the Article (No. 6) relating to forced or compulsory labour, since, as Lord Cecil observes, it is the first time that the question has been dealt with in international agreements The British attitude on this subject admits of no doubt. The Secretary of State for the Colonies laid it down categorically in 1921 that compulsory labour for Government purposes would only be employed 'when absolutely necessary for essential services,' and 'except in regard to the provision of paid porters for Government servants on tour, or for the transport of urgent Government stores,' prior authority must be obtained from the Secretary of State to employ compulsion, and 'such authority will only be given for specified works for a specified period' (Cmd. 1509 and 2484). The labour must in all cases be fully paid.

As regards compulsion for other than Government purposes, it is equally clear. 'Under no circumstances,' says the Report of the East African Commission under the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, 'could the British Administration tolerate in any form the principle of compulsory native labour for private profit, be the employer native or non-native' (Cmd. 2387).

All the Mandates, except those for Syria, Palestine and Iraq, absolutely prohibit the use of forced labour, 'except for essential public works and services, and then only for adequate remuneration'; and it was suggested that these words should be used in the Convention, leaving it to each State to define for itself what is meant by 'forced labour' and 'public services.' The draft, however, says nothing about payment, which we learn was deliberately omitted.[4] The explanatory note on the clause states that 'it seemed preferable not to use the terms of the Mandates, as there had been some hesitation in certain quarters in interpreting the word "services" so as to include the payment of a tax.' This somewhat ambiguous sentence refers to a discussion by the Slavery Commission (see p. 75 of Minutes and Annex 1)

[4] Lord Cecil's speech to the Sixth Committee, printed by the Anti-Slavery Society

as to whether compulsory labour—not for essential public purposes and without remuneration—could be legitimately imposed if it took the form of a tax or '*prestation*.' It had been argued that it was preferable to impose the tax in money, and that if the taxpayer had not the cash to pay he could pay in kind, or by selling his labour to whomsoever he desired and paying his tax with the wages thus earned, so that there should be no confusion in the minds of primitive natives between the tax and forced labour. The Slavery Committee had, however, decided against the suggestion, but the words quoted above in explanation of the reason for not using the words 'public services' in the text of the Draft Convention appear to indicate that its framers did intend to exclude such labour taxes. If so, the intention should be made clear in Article 6.

As regards compulsion for private profit, the draft lays it down that the demand 'shall invariably be of an exceptional character.' The explanatory note thus interprets this phrase: 'Forced labour can only be authorised in exceptional cases when there is imperious necessity,' and in the speech introducing the Convention to the Assembly this restrictive sanction is said to be limited to an 'emergency for temporary purposes.' Here, again, the intention, both as regards the temporary nature and the emergency of the demand, should, it would seem, be more clearly emphasised in the text, or in protocols attached to the Act and signed by the Plenipotentiaries.

The explanatory note admits that some doubts were felt lest this very exceptional sanction 'might not give rise to pressure on the authorities by interested parties.' There will be many who will doubt whether it is a forward step that a sanction, however exceptional, for forced labour for private profit should be embodied in an international Convention. In any case, the British attitude, so clearly and authoritatively enunciated in the quotations given, should be unmistakably indicated. 'We shall have to set up a standard,' said Lord Cecil, 'which other nations which are not yet members of the League will increasingly regard as the standard to which they should approach as far as they can.' The standard has already been set up in the Mandates, and it would be unfortunate to set a lower standard. The proposed Convention is not exclusive to the League—all the nations of the world are invited to adhere to it.

There were many members of the Sixth Committee who expressed dissent from this article. Mr. Gray (New Zealand) emphatically 'disassociated himself entirely from the sanction which this article proposes to give to forced labour for private enterprise,' and he considered that if compulsion was necessary for public purposes the labour should be paid. Dr. Nansen

(Norway) and Senor Palachios (Spain) agreed with Mr. Gray and thought it a 'retrograde step.' Canada added her protest. Belgium and Portugal were ready to go further than the terms of this article. The British delegate hoped that the proposal regarding remuneration would not be accepted, and argued that to insert a stipulation as to payment would be to infringe the province of the International Labour Organisation, though in his speech to the Sixth Committee as printed by the Anti-Slavery Society the following words appear in italics: 'I am bound to say if I were criticising this article I would be inclined to say that it does not go far enough.' The article was slightly altered, but in the circumstances it is difficult to understand why it retained its present form. Questions of etiquette between the League and the International Labour Organisation should not influence the drafting of a Convention which is world-wide, and should, as the delegate for Portugal observed, be the subject of a conference under the auspices of the League.

The name of Lord Cecil is a guarantee, recognised beyond the boundaries of his own country, of the most generous and sympathetic sentiments towards the backward races. Yet, in spite of his expressed hope that no State will be content with the minimum set out in the Convention, his advocacy of that minimum, and his warning against the danger of attempting too much, has led, there is reason to know, to some surprise at and misunderstanding of the British attitude.

The Slavery Committee made two minor suggestions for inclusion in the Convention—(*a*) the creation of a transit depôt, and (*b*) centralisation of information concerning the origin, destination, and transport of freed slaves. Slaves liberated by consular action or otherwise in a country in which the status of slavery is still recognised by law, as in the Hedjaz or Abyssinia, must obviously, if aliens, be repatriated—a task difficult for a consul. A depôt is needed where they could be received pending repatriation—say, at Port Sudan or Suakim. Its cost might be defrayed from private funds, but it should be under the general supervision and control of the local Government.

The proposal to establish a bureau under the supervision of the League might well be abandoned if Dr. Nansen's additional article is accepted, pledging all signatory Powers to submit annually to the League 'a report on the working of the measures which they have taken to carry out the purposes of the Convention.' The bureaux set up by the Brussels and St. Germains Acts have, it is said, not been of great practical use. Statistics as to origin and destination can be furnished by the transit depôt. If, therefore, the depôt is established by a local Government or private funds, and if the proposal for an annual report is accepted,

there would be no need to include either of these proposals in the Convention. It would probably be sufficient to ask for a report only from those Powers which control subject races. Most of the Committee's remaining suggestions are for action by individual States; they include such matters as the following:—

(*a*) Instructions to consuls to keep in touch with labour conditions in countries where coloured labour is employed by their nationals [5];

(*b*) The issue of passports to persons and their attendants who proceed to Mecca on pilgrimage, and the desirability of registering at the port of embarkation all servants and attendants of pilgrims, and also of restrictions on the taking of children and young persons on pilgrimage,

(*c*) Precautions which should be observed in recruiting native labour in order to avoid indirect compulsion or 'moral pressure';

(*d*) Measures which may be taken to make wage labour attractive;

(*e*) The encouragement of peasant proprietorship, and the cultivation of permanent crops, in order to eradicate the servile habit of mind;

(*f*) The necessity of paying wages in cash, and the advantage of promoting the use of currency

Such were some of the measures suggested by the Committee for the consideration of Governments with a view to abolishing slavery and conditions analogous to it, and of facilitating the transition from servile to free labour and the conception of individual responsibility. The Slavery Commission, while doubtless grateful for the complimentary phrases regarding its work which are usual in such cases, would probably have felt more gratified if, in addition to the proposed Convention, the attention of Governments had been invited to such of these suggestions as might seem worthy of consideration.

The position in Abyssinia, the *fons et origo* of the inquiry, has been submerged, and no allusion to it appears in the proceedings of the Assembly and Council. The League has still to decide whether there is reliable independent evidence that the conditions of her entry into membership have been fulfilled, and in what way it may be possible to assist His Highness Ras Tafari in the arduous task which, in all sincerity, he has undertaken against overwhelming difficulties and opposition. The Slavery Commission was fully alive to the inadvisability of sudden emancipation in a country where from time immemorial slavery had been recognised by the secular and religious law and had become a part of the social system. In order to avoid the chaos which

[5] See the instructions issued by Sir Edward Grey in consequence of the 'Putumayo case' in 1913 (Cmd. 7148).

enforced manumission would entail, no less on the slaves than on their owners, various measures for gradual abolition were suggested, *e g.* :—

Encouragement of voluntary manumission by influential persons

Registration before a named date of existing slaves, with severe penalties upon any person found in possession of an unregistered slave—presumably newly acquired—after that date.

The fixing of a date after which all children of slaves would be free-born.

The granting of civil rights to slaves—manumission in case of ill-usage. and the right of redemption.

And, finally, a modified and transitional form of the abolition of the legal status, whereby persons, though legally freed, would be obliged for a fixed period to continue to serve their former masters as if they were bound by a contract of service. This scheme has been adopted by the Maharajah of Nepal in the very striking manifesto which he has recently issued abolishing slavery and setting free the 51,419 slaves in his dominions.[6]

The League invited the nations of the world to supply it with information regarding slavery, and some have responded at great length It set up a Commission to investigate the subject. The Commission has devoted much time and thought to the preparation of its report. The inquiry into allegations against different States has, no doubt wisely, been abandoned, and the League has committed itself to constructive work in the form of a new Convention But a Convention which shall set a new standard and merit the eulogium bestowed upon the present draft cannot be concluded in a hurry. The Brussels Act, if one recollects rightly, occupied some of the best brains in Europe for a couple of months in public session. The Plenipotentiaries cannot be expected to 'sign immediately' a Convention compiled after a day or two's discussion behind closed doors It is of course essential that the Convention should be signed by a majority of the leading Powers, and compromise will be necessary; but if one or more States decide to make a reservation in respect of the clause relating to forced labour, or of any other clause, it will surely be better so than that the standard of the Convention should be lowered to the 'lowest common measure.'

F. D. LUGARD.

[6] See 'Abolition of Slavery in Nepal,' by Lt-Col R L Kennion, *Nineteenth Century and After*, September, 1925 (EDITOR)

CORN GROWING IN ENGLAND

AGRICULTURE in England is of unknown antiquity, but, at whatever period it began, it was no doubt founded on the cultivation of some kind of bread-corn.

Probably the earliest cereal crop was rye or oats, either of which was more naturally adapted to the climatic conditions of the British Isles than wheat or barley. When trustworthy records of farming begin, however, we find all four crops in general cultivation, although it appears likely that up to and throughout the Middle Ages rye was the common bread-corn, and therefore the most extensively grown. After the Conquest, when details of manorial farming became available, the general system of cropping the common-field was in a threefold rotation—(1) wheat or rye, (2) barley, oats, beans or peas, (3) fallow. Wheat and rye were frequently sown together, or if grown separately the flour was mixed for bread making and known as 'maslin' Bread made of this mixture retained its moisture longer than that made of wheat alone, and, according to a writer of the early seventeenth century, it was preferred by labourers because 'it abode longer in the stomach and was not so soon digested with their labour.' Barley was the drink-corn, although oats were sometimes used for making a kind of beer. Barley and oats were often sown together, a practice which is still common in some parts of the country.

Shakespeare gives us in *The Tempest* a catalogue of the chief crops grown on the lands of 'Ceres' at the end of the sixteenth century:

> thy rich leas
> Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and peas.

But for the trammels of rhythm and rhyme, beans would doubtless have been included, as they were probably then, as now, more widely grown than peas.

It is not until the end of the seventeenth century that we are able to make any trustworthy estimate of the extent of corn growing in England In 1688 the total area of arable land in England and Wales was calculated by Gregory King to be 9,000,000 acres. As at least one-third, and in certain districts

one-half, was fallowed every year, the area under crop was not more than 6,000,000 acres. Of this one-half, *i.e.*, 3,000,000 acres, was under winter corn (wheat or rye) and the other half under spring-sown crops, mainly barley and oats. It may fairly be reckoned that the area under corn crops—*i.e.*, white-straw crops, excluding beans and peas—did not exceed 5,000,000 acres.

Economic historians differ in drawing conclusions from the scanty and scrappy evidence available as to the average yield per acre of crops in mediæval England, but it may reasonably be assumed that the total quantity of all kinds of corn produced in an average year did not exceed 60,000,000 bushels.

About a century ago the area of arable land in England and Wales was estimated at 11,000,000 acres. The process of inclosure, which had been going on for centuries, was then practically complete, and the revolution in farm practice resulting from the adoption of the precepts, and imitation of the example, of pioneers such as Jethro Tull, Coke of Holkham, and Robert Bakewell had greatly increased the produce of the land. The four-course system had become general, and the extent of land left uncropped had been greatly reduced. The cultivation of corn crops, and especially of wheat, was very profitable during the Napoleonic wars. The price of wheat in one year, 1812, reached 126*s* per quarter, and although there were great fluctuations from year to year, and in 1822 the price was as low as 44*s*., the predominance of wheat as the main product of English agriculture was firmly established.

Corn growing in England reached its maximum about the middle of the last century, and for some five-and-twenty years after 1850 it remained at about the same level. When the agricultural returns were first collected nearly sixty years ago it was found that there were then about 7½ million acres under corn crops—wheat, barley and oats, rye having practically disappeared—and that about half of this area was under wheat.

The present position, and the change which has occurred during the past half-century, can be shown succinctly in tabular form. The figures represent thousands of acres :

	1871	1925
Wheat	3439	1499
Barley	2134	1319
Oats	1708	1867
Mixed corn [1]	—	124
	7281	4809
Total arable area	14,946	10,680

[1] 'Mixed corn' was not separately distinguished in the earlier returns, but was included with one or other of the three crops.

The reduction by 28 per cent. of the arable area is the m
significant fact shown by these figures, but the causes and co
sequences of this change have been volubly and voluminous
discussed and need not now detain us. The question of preser
interest is the position of corn growing in relation to farmin
under existing conditions. It will be observed that, while th
arable area has declined by 28 per cent., the acreage under corn crops has been reduced by 34 per cent. Fifty years ago corn occupied nearly one-half—49 per cent.—of the arable area, whereas now it occupies about 45 per cent. The reduction has been most marked in wheat, and less marked, though still substantial, in barley, while oats have more than held their own. The alteration in the relative positions of the three crops is clearly shown by a comparison of the proportion which each bore to the total corn area at the respective periods Fifty years ago 47 per cent. of the corn grown was wheat; now the proportion is 31 per cent. Barley, which was then 30 per cent. of the corn, is now less than 28 per cent. On the other hand, oats, which were 23 per cent., are now 39 per cent Wheat, in short, has been displaced, and oats in England and Wales, as they have long been in Scotland, are now the principal corn crop

This substitution of oats for wheat is not altogether explicable by economic causes. The obvious explanation is price. In a report recently issued by the Ministry of Agriculture [2] the annual average prices of wheat, barley, and oats since 1821 are tabulated, and index numbers, taking 1876-78 and 1900 respectively as datum periods, are calculated Up to the outbreak of the war the fall in price since the 'seventies had been for wheat 34 per cent., barley 26 per cent., and oats 20 per cent. But in the present century there was a marked rise, which was greatest in the case of wheat. Since 1900 the increase, up to the end of 1913, was wheat 21, barley 14, and oats 13 per cent. If the war period is included, the same relative position is maintained, the rise in the period 1921-23 being wheat 100, barley 70, and oats 65 per cent.

But, while the waning of wheat growing cannot wholly be accounted for by the fall in the average prices of the respective corn crops, it may be noted that wheat prices have been rather less stable than those of barley and oats. This may be partly attributable to the fact that the supply of barley and oats on the markets is largely native-grown, 51 per cent. of the barley and 83 per cent of the oats being home-produced, while British wheat amounts to only 18 per cent. of the total supply. There is also another consideration. Wheat is in the main grown for market,

[2] Report of the Committee on Stabilisation of Agricultural Prices. Economic Series, No 2

but both barley and oats are very largely grown for use on the farm.

Without elaborating statistical or historical evidence, it may be broadly stated that corn growing has fairly maintained its place in arable farming, but that wheat has definitely lost its position as the premier corn crop

The statement that corn growing has maintained its place in arable farming is subject to slight qualification. It has, in fact, declined relatively by 4 per cent during the past fifty years. Corn growing, of course, implies arable cultivation, but it is no longer true that arable farming implies corn growing. There are thousands of acres under the plough at the present time which never bear a crop of corn. The agricultural returns show that about 7 per cent. of the arable land is devoted to such crops as fruit, hops and 'market garden' produce—*e.g*, brussels sprouts, broccoli, carrots, onions, celery, rhubarb, etc. In some cases, no doubt, such land may carry a corn crop in the rotation, but it is nevertheless true that corn growing is not an essential factor in arable cultivation. In any case, it is clear that the steadily increasing cultivation of fruit and vegetables encroaches upon land formerly devoted to corn growing.

All the data available point to the conclusion that the production of corn for market—*i e*, as a 'cash crop,' to use the Transatlantic term—is declining both absolutely and relatively. If corn has thus ceased to be a primary product, it is evident that its continued cultivation depends on its importance as a secondary product—in other words, as the raw material for conversion into meat and milk Corn, in short, as I have elsewhere remarked, is no longer king, it is now subject to meat and milk

An approximate estimate of the present output of British agriculture (which the inquiries now in progress in connexion with the Census of Production will render more trustworthy) shows that one-fourth of the total income from farming comes from the direct sale of crops, including corn, and that three-fourths come from the sale of animals and animal products. There are no comparable figures, but the guess may be hazarded that fifty years ago a similar calculation would have reversed these proportions. There has been a revolution in English agriculture, the implications of which are far-reaching

Revolutions are of two kinds—the catastrophic and the gradual. The shifting of the centre of agricultural gravity from corn to stock is the result of the steady pressure of economic forces, the significance of which has not always been recognised. It is in no way the consequence of deliberate action by the State. Indeed, successive Governments have proclaimed their sympathy with corn growing and their desire to see it flourish. It may be

remarked, however, that while corn growers have had sympatl only, stockowners have had help. If a calculation could be ma of the total amount of public money spent in extirpating, or least minimising, diseases of stock and in grants for the improv ment of stock, and if to this were added the millions spent c prizes at agricultural shows, it would be found that the stocl breeding industry has been substantially subsidised. The coı grower has recently been recognised by the allocation of mode: sums for plant breeding and improvement, but as compared wit the assistance given to the improvement of stock the sums aı infinitesimal. Yet an interesting debate at a farmers' club migh arise as to the respective values to farmers of the Yeoman breed c wheat and any one of the numerous breeds of stock.

But no political or State action which is conceivably possibl could have done more than temporarily check the progress of th revolution. The pressure of economic forces is in the long ruı irresistible. The moving finger writes, and, although it may b for a time deflected, its ultimate message is inexorable.

There are those who think that it is possible to return to th self-sufficiency of a century and a half ago and that the lanc which then supported seven or eight millions might now feec forty-five millions. No one disputes that it is possible, withiı economic limits, to increase considerably the productiveness o agricultural land if it were all fully utilised, but if it were used tc its maximum potentiality it would still be necessary to depenc largely on imported food of all kinds. It follows that the systen of farming and the products of the land will be largely determined by world-wide competition.

It is a truism that in a market open to supplies from all sources the level of prices for any particular commodity tends to be fixed by the price at which supplies are offered from that source where the conditions are most favourable for its production. For a long period after the markets were freely open this general principle was subject to the qualification that many foodstuffs which could be favourably produced could not be transported over long distances unless they had previously been so treated as to alter their character. Thus meat and fruit were sent to the English market in large quantities, not in a fresh, but in a canned or tinned, form Their competition with the home-grown products was consequently indirect. They supplied a separate demand at a lower level of price, and only in so far as they tended to reduce the demand for the fresh products did they affect the British stockowner or the British fruit grower. The development of refrigeration has changed all that. Beef from Argentina, mutton and lamb from New Zealand, are now delivered on the British markets in a condition which is practically indistinguish-

ble, except to an expert, from the meat produced a few miles way.

The result of the elimination of distance as a protective factor 1 competition would, so far as it goes, tend to equalise the conitions affecting home products of various kinds. Proximity to 1arket, in the economic sense, has always been rather a matter f transportation facilities than of mileage, but modern develop1ents have tended to accentuate that fact. The term 'transortation facilities,' of course, includes cost, which is notoriously ot proportionate to distance; but it includes much more. 'erishable products, if brought under proper conditions, may be laced on the market in a fresher and more presentable state after journey of thousands of miles than from a distance of fifty miles no suitable provision is made for their conveyance Longistance transportation involves a further important advantage in distribution. Produce for shipment must be bulked—in other words, it must be collected from individual producers and brought together at a shipping point where it can be handled on a large scale and readily graded. It must also be uniformly packed in a convenient form for shipment. In other words, the regular supply for a distant market enforces a system of organised marketing. The common reproach of the home producers for their neglect to accept the methods of 'orderly marketing' ignores the fact that organisation is imposed on their oversea competitors by the conditions of trade.

This, however, is a digression. The point relevant to our subject is that the distinction between perishable and relatively non-perishable products has largely disappeared as a selective influence on the home markets. Corn, which has always been transportable over long distances without deterioration, has now little advantage in that respect as compared with meat, dairy produce, and many kinds of fruit

The British farmer, therefore, having by general consent no chance of artificial protection, has practically lost, for all his main products except fresh milk, the natural protection which the remoteness of many of his competitors and the cost and difficulty of transportation afforded him. In other words, he is subject to world-wide competition, not only in corn, but in nearly all that he produces on a large scale. It follows that British farming will naturally tend to be devoted to the production of those commodities which in all circumstances can best meet competition, or, to put it in another way, those commodities in which competition is least severe.

Fortunately the British farmer, speaking generally, is free to choose. Apart from certain products of tropical countries, the soil and climate of Great Britain are favourable to the production

of all the chief constituents of the national dietary. Obvious there are local limitations. Certain districts are better suited f corn growing, stock rearing, dairying, or fruit growing thє others, and differences of soil and situation are sometimes decisiv But traditional restrictions on the choice of crops are frequent found to be amenable to modern practice and science, and, with broad limits, the enterprising farmers have a wide range of pr duction.

Until recently the occupier of a farm who was not the own was restricted by the terms of his tenancy in the use of the lan but he has now secured practical freedom of cultivation by la and may even, on application to the county agricultural con mittee, be empowered, notwithstanding the objection of the lan lord, to turn an ordinary holding into a market garden. Muc agricultural land is now occupied by the owners, who, of cours are free to make any use of it and to grow any crops they pleas

The extension of occupying ownership has for many yea been advocated as the best system for securing the maximu output from the land. It is argued, very forcibly, that the ir centive of ownership is the most effective stimulus to privat enterprise, and the results attained in other countries where th system predominates are cited as demonstrating its superiorit to a system of tenancy. Mr. Christopher Turnor, who is one c the foremost advocates of this policy, writing in the *Nineteent Century and After* for November 1925, after setting out at lengt the main arguments, observed: 'If occupying ownership i developed on right lines, until 70 or 80 per cent of the farms ar in the hands of owners rather than of tenants, we shall see a grea moral effect upon the cultivators of the soil.' He and others hav been urging this for many years. Indeed, for the last forty years within my personal knowledge, a sweeping change of our lan system on these lines has been advocated, but no one has sug gested a practical scheme for effecting it. Up to the war n progress was made; indeed, the tendency appeared to be in th direction of increasing tenancy, and lamentations over the dis appearance of the yeoman class were common.

From 1910 to 1914 there was a decline of 12 per cent. in th acreage of land owned by its occupiers. After the war man landlords threw their estates on the market, and in a large numbe of cases farms were bought by the tenants, with the result tha in 1924 the acreage owned by the occupiers was more than doubl that of the pre-war period, and amounted to nearly one-fourth o the total agricultural land.

The subject of Mr. Christopher Turnor's article was 'Politicians and Agriculture,' and he was scornful of the help which politicians offer. But, after all, the land system of the country

cannot be revolutionised as he desires without parliamentary action. It is quite true to say that up to the present time Parliament has done practically nothing to promote occupying ownership, and the sudden extension which occurred in 1920-24 was : in any sense attributable to State action.

It is curious that the first definite scheme yet produced for general establishment of occupying ownership as the basis of English land system should meet with opposition from vocates of that policy. The objections to occupying ownership, ich have hitherto been regarded by many as insuperable, are, tly, the locking up of tenant's capital in the purchase of the d, and, secondly, the absence of any security (such as the dlord and tenant system, when functioning properly, provides) the observance of the rules of good husbandry. The proposals the Liberal Land Committee are no doubt open to criticism, t, at any rate, they meet those objections which have hitherto vented the formulation of any scheme.

Whether this particular scheme may be taken as an indication not, it will hardly be denied that the general tendency, for good ill, is to give, in some form or other, the occupier freedom to his land in such a way as he thinks will give him the best nomic result Whether freedom to use must include freedom misuse is a question of moment.

There can be little doubt in the mind of anyone who is quainted with the statistics of agricultural production through-t the world and the general trend of economic probabilities that npetition will continue to be most severely felt in the grain rkets of this country. No limit can at present be set to the reased production of cereal crops, and especially of wheat and s. Prices in any particular year will, of course, be determined the world's harvests in that year, and in any case a return to h a level of price as that experienced in the 'nineties is very ...probable. But it can hardly be denied that the outlook for the future, so far as it can be visualised, suggests a decline in the general level of corn prices

Nor will it be disputed that a similar survey of world conditions indicates that the supply of meat and dairy produce is less likely to keep pace with the increasing demand than the supply of cereals.

If these generalisations—which it would take a long and detailed argument to support—are accepted, it follows that cereal crops in England will tend more and more to be cultivated mainly, not for market, but as subsidiary to the production of meat and milk. In actual practice the use of such crops as food for stock is increasing, and if this becomes more general there is no reason why corn growing should not be maintained and even increased.

HENRY REW.

THE ENGLISH AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

A REJOINDER

IN replying to my article on the failure of agricultural co-operation in this country, I cannot help feeling that Mr. Hart-Synnot has been a little more acrimonious than the strength of his case required, and I fear he has construed my attempt to analyse the position and to suggest a possible alternative as an attack upon the movement. Had this been my object, the article might have been far more trenchant; but I can assure Mr. Hart-Synnot that I agree with every word he says as to the merits of co-operation *in theory*, but after studying it for seven years at first hand I have come to the reluctant conclusion that it will never really succeed for the larger farmers of England, nor for anyone, by the present methods practised I may say also that in the numerous letters I have received since my article was published, mostly from chairmen or other officers of co-operative societies, not one fell into Mr. Hart-Synnot's error of regarding it as an attack, but, on the contrary, all were kind enough to accept it in its intended sense of helpful criticism.

Attempts are now being made to reconcile theory with practice in the movement, but it is possible that even these may fail; and therefore I consider it not only legitimate to discuss an alternative method, but even helpful to co-operation through the necessity of noting what co-operation omits that another method might give. I have never doubted that, in theory, co-operation is the best way for farmers in any country to do business, and had Mr. Hart-Synnot read my article a little more carefully, he would have seen that the whole of the last paragraph on page 344 was a recognition of the difference between 'combination' and 'co-operation'; but if this theory cannot be applied, I consider that half a loaf is better than no bread, and differ absolutely from his opinion that farmers would be better off as they are in their independent dealings with middlemen than by working together as members of a farmers' joint-stock company. I will deal with this later. Let me first answer Mr. Hart-Synnot's more specific criticisms.

He dismisses as 'a misstatement' my remark that co-operation did not gain ground in Ireland so long as Irish agriculturists had landlords behind them, and implies that, generally speaking, the Irish landlord was behind the Irish tenant until 1903, the date of the Wyndham Act that so greatly accelerated the establishment of freeholdings. He says correctly that Irish agricultural co-operation already was widespread and flourishing when this Act was introduced, but he does not say that in the thirty-three years immediately preceding it no less than 24,000,000*l.* was advanced for the purchase of land by tenants, and during that time an unhappy condition of affairs existed between landlord and tenant that could hardly be called one of support by the former of the latter, while the outstanding feature of Irish history at this period was the land agitation to shake off the evils of rack-rents, and absenteeism. There was a general feeling amongst the Irish tenants, rightly or wrongly, that their landlords' attitude was most unsympathetic to them. No one imagines that the mere title of 'freeholder' automatically makes a good co-operator; it is rather the rousing of the spirit of self-help and the sense of independence, or interdependence, that produces this result—a result that seems to need the mating of energy with adversity to give it birth. In Ireland the germ of co-operation was born from the misfortunes of the Irish peasantry in the second half of the nineteenth century, and long before the Wyndham Act they realised that they must rely on themselves for help, and not on their landlords. Had this not been so, it is extremely doubtful if Sir Horace Plunkett's magnificent work would have been crowned with such deserved success. Further, Mr. Hart-Synnot himself admits that after the Wyndham Act, that created freeholders on an even larger scale, the turnover of the societies increased by 70 per cent.

My next 'misstatement' was the innocent remark that 'farmers' joint-stock companies exist in Canada,' from which Mr. Hart-Synnot draws the amazing 'inference' that I meant by these words 'co-operative societies do not.' It is the misfortune of people who jump at conclusions that they seldom alight on them, and in this instance I can only say that I meant precisely what I said, *i.e.*, 'they exist in Canada.' It is a revelation to me that if I say that there are criminals in Zululand I am therefore stating that virtue is a stranger amongst this very moral race. As a point of interest, I happened to have read, before writing my last article, the whole of the proceedings of the Agricultural Co-operative Conference to which Mr. Hart-Synnot so kindly refers me, and it was the strides made in co-operation by the Colonies revealed therein that accentuated, in my perverse mind, our failure to make them in England.

Mr. Hart-Synnot rounds off this part of his attack with two quite irrelevant quibbles which have not the slightest bearing on the argument He questions my knowledge of the subject because I referred to the Agricultural Organisation Society as under State control and the Agricultural Wholesale Society as 'a parent society that did excellently so long as the war lasted.' Since the Agricultural Organisation Society from 1908 onwards depended on State funds for its existence and ceased to exist immediately they were withdrawn, and since the State had power to appoint two of its own nominees as governors on the governing body, I fail to see that reference to it as under State control gave an inaccurate impression of its administration, an impression that I have found existed in the mind of every farmer with whom I have discussed the subject As regards the Agricultural Wholesale Society, I described exactly how the societies created it, and so to the ordinary man I should have thought that this carried no suggestion that *it* created *them*, moreover, in contrasting war prices with the post-war slump, it was surely very obvious to anyone acquainted with the subject that I meant prices during war conditions, which, in this connexion, lasted until about 1920. Had I a similar mind for niceties of terminology, I might point out that the war officially was still in existence in 1920, but I prefer not to resort to such quibbles

So much for this somewhat barren side of the discussion. The point now arises as to whether, failing the establishment of co-operation upon sound lines, the farmer would be better off standing alone and dependent upon middlemen, as Mr. Hart-Synnot maintains, or selling and buying through joint stock companies in which he holds shares and has special voting powers conferred upon him, so that he has a certain amount of control in their administration

I think the first thing that has to be realised is that no one, not even the much-maligned middleman, is making great profit out of agriculture. If the middleman were doing as well as is sometimes imagined, there would be even less excuse for so many co-operative trading societies (which are not out for profits) to be in such financial straits. The co-operative bacon factories give an even better illustration of this, for their difficulty in getting a foothold has been the difficulty of paying a competitive price for pigs. In other words, there is so much competition in England for pigs that the privately owned factories are already paying the full market value of them.

The money that is to be saved by collective marketing, therefore, is saved by marketing which is more efficient, out of buying and selling on a larger scale, and out of better grading of goods, but not, to any extent, out of the excessive profits of the individual

agents who perform the function of the farmers' societies. Theoretically co-operation ought to secure these things; practically, in England, it does not, for a variety of causes, most of which I have already mentioned in my previous article.

Purely from the point of view of efficiency, I would be inclined to rely rather on the joint-stock company to produce it than the co-operative society administered as a part-time job by disinterested amateurs; certainly I would expect to find more of it in a joint-stock company than in the disconnected dealings of individual farmers, who have enough to do already with growing food on the most economic lines; and I would go further and say even that the joint-stock company that is not a farmers' company, though it deals with their produce, is more useful to them than nothing. Take, for example, the United Dairies, Limited. Here is a concern with an enormous capital whose primary activities are twofold—to buy milk from the farmer and sell it to the public. This it does at a remarkably low profit per gallon, great as the net profits, assisted by its teashops, are. But it will be found that it is expert management rather than profiteering that makes the difference between a large profit and a heavy loss. In point of fact, it dare not profiteer, or it would not get the big supplies of milk or the big demand for it that are so necessary. There is too much competition from smaller concerns for the farmers' milk to allow profiteering, and though every year there are disputes, yet it is generally admitted that, under ruling prices, dairying is the best proposition in agriculture to-day, while at the same time, according to my latest information, the consumption of milk has greatly increased during the past year.

The United Dairies must earn interest on its great capital; therefore it must offer the farmer, on the one hand, a price for milk which he will accept, and the public, on the other hand, milk at a price that encourages them to drink it. It is an accepted axiom in these days of big business that a large consumption at a small profit is better for trade than a small consumption at a big profit; and the United Dairies (though it does not pretend to be in business for its health) performs the useful function of stabilising prices for the farmer and the public, distributing it with the efficiency found in most concerns that are big enough practically to have a monopoly, and, by setting a price for milk that stimulates the economic production of it, benefits both farmer and consumer more than would a host of small middlemen, and more, in my opinion, than a co-operative society run on inefficient lines, and that paid the farmer such a high price that consumption decreased, or wasted so much by its methods of working that either the public or the farmer had indirectly to make good the deficiency. It would be the farmer who would suffer most.

The question of buying and selling in bulk plainly gives the large concern, joint-stock or co-operative, an advantage over the small retailer, and this is too obvious to discuss any further; but in the matter of better grading of produce it can be demonstrated that the farmers' joint-stock company could give better results than the agricultural co-operative society as we know it to-day in England, for the simple reason that the company could refuse low-grade or badly-packed goods, that the society must perforce accept on account of its attitude of being grateful to its members for their patronage at all. The great difference between the bacon, for instance, sold by Danish and English co-operative societies is that in the former case one can rely upon a good, unvarying standard, and in the latter, 'You never know what you are going to get,' as a retailer of bacon recently remarked to me. The Danish factories do not hesitate to refuse what is unsuitable: the English factories are thankful if they can get sufficient pigs to keep going at full production, and live in constant fear of losing their members' support; for, contrary to Mr Hart-Synnot's statement, there is not, in England, 'normally some form of undertaking that the member will support the society by trading through it.' It is the inequality of goods supplied and the necessity of taking them that puts the co-operative society at a disadvantage compared with the private firm.

There only remain the moral and educational advantages of 'self-help' to recommend the form of agricultural co-operation that we possess; but anyone who has any experience at all of the movement must know that this side is practically non-existent, save perhaps amongst the small men, for whom I have never doubted that co-operation has no alternative. The societies are regarded merely as a variation of the ordinary dealer, to whom no special loyalty is owing, in whom there is little personal interest; there is, moreover, little thought amongst the rank and file of 'helping one another.' With such a queer prejudice are they regarded by those whom they are supposed to link together that it is not uncommon to find a member displaying a misplaced delight in telling a friend of a better price being offered him than his society has offered. Agricultural co-operation, as we know it, is not co-operation in any sense of the word, and it is doing the co-operative ideal no service to support a travesty of it wherein practice is so far divorced from theory There is far more likelihood of British agricultural co-operation being put back on sound lines by considering why it has failed, and what it lacks that other methods might give, than by putting our heads in the sand and pretending it has been an enormous success. Already one might deduce from the above pages, for instance, that it needs the efficient management and the point of view of unsentimental

business men for its administration, that some form of contract with members is equally a necessity, and that the attitude of being forced to accept whatever is given it as a favour is impossible.

The financial side must now be considered. Mr. Hart-Synnot says: 'Joint-stock investors . . . have only one constant interest in their companies—the receipt of the highest dividends consistent with the security of capital.' Apart from the fact that we are discussing *farmers'* joint-stock companies, in which a wider interest than this might be assumed for the farmer members, this statement of the aims of a joint-stock company is not entirely correct. For if the directors of a company represent the interest of the shareholders, they must be careful also of the welfare of those who make their existence possible. They must not kill or discourage the goose that lays the golden eggs, in this case the producers and consumers of food. The special inducements that it is suggested that farmers should have for investing in these companies would also keep profits within the industry, as co-operation should do; and if, as some people think, the idea could be extended to include also implement manufacturers, seedsmen, feeding-stuff and fertiliser merchants, etc., in the company, many advantages to agriculture would accrue from such an all-embracing organisation.

But when Mr. Hart-Synnot suggests that farmers invest all their surplus capital in their farms, and that therefore the small demands for capital that co-operative societies make are better suited to them, he is again saying what seems all very true and delightful in theory, but of which the exact opposite is true in practice. At the end of the 'war conditions' the farmers had ample capital to spare. Did they use it for taking up shares in their co-operative societies? They did not, and, in spite of the most strenuous efforts to induce them to do so, practically all the societies remained starved of the comparatively small sums they needed. Great sums, on the other hand, were invested by the farmers in joint-stock companies that had no connexion whatever with agriculture, and it is this innate love of a gamble, of a chance of a good dividend or an appreciation in value, that damns, in the farmers' eyes, the very limited possibilities of investment in a co-operative society.

Doubtless it is all very foolish or very wrong, but unfortunately it is true. And it should cause no surprise that the farmers are not exactly tumbling over one another to take up shares, for they have to pay 1*l.* for a share which, in many instances, becomes worth less than half that sum the moment they possess it—a share which they cannot get rid of if they would, and for which it is no uncommon experience to receive no dividend at all, let alone the bonus which Mr. Hart-Synnot holds out as such an

attraction compared with the dividend of the joint-stock company. There certainly is small need to fear the attentions of the speculator in the English Agricultural Co-operative Movement. However short-sighted the view may be, the farmer looks at investment in a co-operative society as a procedure in which there is no hope of direct profit and an excellent chance of substantial loss, and as he can deal with the society whether he is a member or not, only forgoing the bonus—a denial which the members of many societies share with him—the under-capitalisation of the movement can be readily understood. The answer that co-operation, *if whole-heartedly supported*, will give him ' better farming, better business, better living,' is obvious, but so far the failure of this ' if ' to materialise in England has confined the retort to the realms of theory.

It is therefore the task of agricultural co-operation to find a means of demonstrating to the farmer the co-operative equivalent of joint-stock dividends or capital appreciation, and a means of allowing him to take up shares in the societies at their real, and not at a fictitious, value, that converts him into a donor to a charitable institution. Until this is done the farmers' joint-stock company idea retains the advantage in this respect.

No mere speculator would ever find great satisfaction in a farmers' joint-stock company, for, as has been said, profits are never likely to be fantastic enough to attract him; moreover, the allotment of shares and voting powers would be in favour of the farmer shareholders, while the biggest dividends would go to those who gave it the most substantial form of support—their capital—and the interests of the company would be the interests of all agriculturists, *i.e.*, efficient marketing of agricultural produce.

With Mr. Hart-Synnot's suggestion of mixing up co-operative credit with co-operative trading societies I fear I cannot agree, and at the Empire Co-operative Conference to which he referred me it seemed the general opinion that the two should not be mingled. The 1923 Credits Act suggests that the trading societies should form credit societies, and when a member of the trading society wishes to make a fairly extensive purchase of agricultural requisites he should take shares in the credit society, and by a book-keeping transaction pay the trading society for his purchase, the amount being charged to him as a loan from the credit society. It may be argued that this in effect merely becomes a matter of deferred payment to the trading society—not a very satisfactory arrangement; but there is a stronger argument against it than this. The whole idea of co-operative credit is that members, by binding themselves by mutual guarantee, should individually be able to draw upon greater security for credit than if each stood alone with only his own assets behind him; so that though it is

irable that many join together for *trading* purposes, yet amongst these would certainly be found some for whom the others would not care to accept *financial liability*. In other words, either the trading society would have to be limited as to members to those for whom liability would be acceptable to all, or else the affiliated credit societies would have to be allowed to contain many whose desirability as creditors was exceedingly doubtful.

Further, if, as Mr. Hart-Synnot suggests, the farmer is to pledge his assets to finance his trading society (a procedure that rather seems analogous to hiring a battleship to sink a sardine), on what basis is he to raise the credit for working his own farm? Either his assets must be divided and part apportioned to the trading society's needs, and part to other purposes—a difficult arrangement in practice—or else the one credit society lends him a lump sum for both purposes, in which case the trading society, through its affiliated credit society, becomes involved in matters not connected with trading at all and in dealings with some members who may not be fit recipients for a loan, useful as they are for co-operative trading purposes.

The capital needs of the trading societies are so comparatively small *per capita*, and the capital needs of the land itself so great, that it would seem the better course to create credit societies, if they are to be created, solely for the purpose of providing the farmer with working capital and not in any way connected with the trading societies, and precedents exist for considering this the better way. It would be permissible to hope that as the farmer found himself in a stronger financial position through the increased credit facilities at his disposal he would give more support to his trading society, especially as the credit society, if it were successful, would help him to realise the benefits that can be derived from united effort.

But, to return to what actually exists, it again appears that joint-stock organisation is better suited to the temperament of the large English farmer than the co-operative credit bank. The farmers themselves say that they prefer the stock banks, an opinion supported by the fact that, under the 1923 Act, only 2000*l*. had been applied for up to last March to form credit societies (Mr. Wood in the House of Commons, March 27, 1925). The banks, which have always been more ready to advance farmers money than is popularly believed, are gradually beginning to realise that they can be still more generous and develop a lucrative side to their business. The great obstacle in the way of such an extension lies in the farmers' own lack of confidence in themselves and in their industry, in the erroneous idea that only low farming pays, and in the lack of real security, particularly for full compensation for unexhausted improvements. Co-operative credit

involves, if not unlimited liability, at least acceptance of liability up to a certain sum by all members for each individual member; it involves public inquiry into the affairs of the member desiring a loan, and control of the use of the money when granted, in so far that it may only be used for the approved object for which it was borrowed. All these are points peculiarly distasteful to the average British farmer, although that of publicity might possibly be circumvented by a method followed in Belgium and described by Mr. Christopher Turnor in his excellent little book *Our Food Supply* (Country Life Library). In Belgium, Mr. Turnor says, farmers' clubs were started and assimilated in groups of twenty or thirty to a parent club in the nearest large town, the parent club having a financial department. A local member wishing to borrow money went to the parent club and asked for a loan. The clerk asked him if he were an owner or tenant: if the former, he could borrow up to 80 per cent. of his assets; if the latter, up to 60 per cent. of his stock and tenant right. He signed an agreement, costing half a crown, and left with the money in his pocket. The security was, first, character (the basis of all co-operative credit), for the greatest care was taken by the clubs in selecting their members, and, secondly, legislation that gave the central club precedence over all creditors in the event of the borrower's bankruptcy. The procedure was not only exceedingly simple, but also quite private.

The ideal form of credit for agriculture would be a combination of co-operative credit associations working in conjunction with the stock banks; and in Germany, the home of co-operative credit, the stock banks fully realise that, far from being in opposition to them, co-operative credit banks are a very useful adjunct, especially as the farmers' banks are usually in funds at times of the year when there are heavy calls upon the industrial banks, and *vice versâ*

Such thorough co-operation brings business to the stock banks, and saves them from having large deposits lying idle at certain periods, and at the same time has a most healthy effect upon the co-operative banks in causing them to take the fullest precautions to ensure security and to be businesslike in order to keep the faith and support that the stock banks give them. But the whole movement turns on making credit easy and security difficult, on encouraging people to borrow, but choosing and creating a reliable class of borrower. This can only be done by united effort and the will to co-operate, and though there is little doubt that something very approximate to this system must be introduced into England if small holding is ever to be satisfactorily established, yet here, again, the mentality of the larger farmer does not offer great hope of its successful adaptation for him.

There is divided opinion in this question as to whether the State or private enterprise backed by the banks should introduce a co-operative credit system, and in private enterprise co-operation is naturally included. Theoretically the arguments are on the side of private enterprise. Credit, being so largely a question of character, is not easily administered by the rather soulless methods of bureaucratic machinery, and it is not so efficiently administered as by private enterprise. The borrower so easily regards the State as a species of fairy godmother, and for some queer reason tends to look on it as fair game which it is not nearly so unmoral to cheat as a private concern. Further, it has been found that when the body that makes loans is centred in a place remote from the district of the borrower it cannot exercise the discretion or supervision that is so necessary, while the borrower, on his side, feels that his credit bank is so aloof and out of touch with him that the negotiation of a loan is a terrifying affair for which he cannot scrape up the courage or the energy. The agriculturist does not take easily to the idea of borrowing, for, in striking contrast to other industries, a bank loan to him always carries the faint suggestion of a stigma with it, and the humbler the agriculturist, and the greater his need of credit, the more strongly this idea persists. The value, therefore, of the human element in establishing relationships between the borrower and his credit bank is a very strong factor in the success of a credit scheme, and private enterprise would seem far more likely to bring about such conditions than bureaucracy.

It is not money that is wanted from the State—for money abounds where there is security for it—but education, that will produce good co-operators and farmers and small holders with an appreciation of what credit can do for them if they are determined to help themselves. Spoon-feeding by the State kills the germ of self-help, and it is interesting to observe the history of co-operative credit in many countries described in such a book as Mr. H. W. Wolff's *People's Banks* (P. S. King & Son). The outstanding feature of the movement all over the world has been that where grandiose schemes for co-operative credit, for which various Governments have advanced millions, have, almost without exception, failed, the humbler attempts of co-operators relying upon their own efforts, and starting with barely a few hundreds, have been signally successful. The German Raiffeisen started his 'Darlehnskassenverein' with under 300*l* To-day the annual turnover of his banks in Germany is over 300,000,000*l*.

To sum up, the co-operative credit movement can hardly be said to have failed in England because no really serious attempt has been made to introduce it. But the fifty-one credit societies registered under the Friendly Societies Act in 1913 have steadily

dwindled to twenty in 1923, and to the Credits Act of 1923 the response has been negligible. The farmers prefer borrowing from the joint-stock banks; the small holders have never had the right sort of encouragement or the right sort of facilities for borrowing at all. Self-help produces healthier results than State help, and a wide field is open to private enterprise to extend its business with the agricultural community either by direct loans to clients or by indirect loans through working hand in hand with co-operative credit societies. The land was never in greater need of credit, which, under a proper system, would earn its value time and again, nor is there a more honest person to lend money to than the average agriculturist, great or small. Experience is against working co-operative credit societies in conjunction with co-operative trading societies.

As regards co-operative agricultural trading in England, it is in need of the following advantages that a system of farmers' joint-stock companies would possess over it if they were established in its place:—

(1) Efficient administration.
(2) Higher, or at least more level, standard of goods.
(3) Inducement to invest, instead of a penalty for doing so.
(4) Interest of members or shareholders.

I cannot help feeling that Mr. Hart-Synnot would have done the movement a greater service by considering how these points might be given practical application rather than by wasting his time upon me, or defending theoretically an ideal that is theoretically unassailable.

L. F. EASTERBROOK.

NT articles in the *Nineteenth Century and After* [1] have dealt the apparent conflict between the principles of Communism he Christian religion. It is the purpose of the present paper proach the same subject from a different angle and to vour to trace out the root causes of this conflict.

tacks on established forms of religion were, as has been ed out by Dr. Nairn, a feature of the French Revolution. 93 a Goddess of Reason was enthroned at Paris and the ir priests were subjected to persecution. But the Russian nunists have gone further. Not content with overthrowing cular religious organisations, they aimed, at any rate during eriod of the Revolution, at the abolition of religion itself.

e belief in God has been invented by the rich in order to keep the n the state of oppression. . . .

. The belief in, and the reliance upon, God, whoever He is—whether n, Moslem, Christian or Buddhist—weakens the will to struggle, to nisation of the world. . . .

religions and all gods are equally intoxicating and poisonous for the will and conscience. We must fight ruthlessly against them.[2]

. Religion is the last stronghold of the bourgeoisie, it must be yed. . . .[3]

must be pointed out that the official attitude both of the t Government and the Communist Party in Britain is now f neutrality towards religious organisations. There cannot, fore, be said at the present moment to be any open political k on religion in progress. Nevertheless, few individual nunists would, if asked for their real opinion, be found to ne necessity or the value of religion in the life of the comty, and it is probably fair to say that the moral weight of nunism is definitely anti-religious.

istances of attacks upon religion, and especially upon Chrisy, by Communist writers have been given in the articles ed to, and these could be multiplied. Such attacks must

[1] May 1925, 'Marx or Christ?' by the Rev. J. A. Nairn, Litt D.; July 1925, nunism and Christianity: A Reply,' by the Rev. J. Worsley Boden.

[2] Solz, in *The Godless*.

[3] V. Dubovsky, in *The Godless*

necessarily have a certain influence, and it is therefore of vi importance that the ideas which they represent should be ca fully examined and, if found to be false, effectively countered.

But it is not sufficient to reply to anti-religious propaganda the terms of any one particular religion, for the attackers of th religion, not believing in it themselves, will probably be uni fluenced by the reply. The case for religion must be put on basis which, because it is as broad as humanity itself, will b impregnable against all assaults.

In the first place, it is necessary to lay down certain gener principles which, if kept steadily in view, will greatly facilita the quest for truth.

The first of these is the need for a calm and unbiassed attitu towards the question. Attacks which are met with denunciati and recrimination only gain strength, while the issue is blurred proportion as the disputants give way to anger. Secondly, it well to bear in mind that there are in the Communist Party m as earnestly and sincerely striving for the good of humanity any outside of it; and, lastly, that, since truth is one, all differenc of opinion must arise from looking at the same question fro different points of view and must ultimately be reconcilable wh all the facts are available. Indeed, it is obvious that the differen between the Communists and their opponents is not one of ai but of methods, for both they and those who most bitterly stri against them are seeking truth and working for the happiness the human race.

Since, therefore, even the Communist attitude towards religi is the result of their desire for the good of humanity, it is the du and privilege of those who hold that the abolition of religion not in the best interests of the human race to prove their c tention in such a manner that the truth of their position canr be questioned.

In the first place, it is necessary to examine the postula upon which the theory that religion is detrimental to the welf of the people is based. These may be put briefly as follows:

(1) That religion tends to make the people indifferent to th wrongs and content to remain in a state of slavery. This summed up in the much-quoted phrase of Karl Marx, 'Relig is the opium of the people.'

(2) That religion has been deliberately used by the capita class as a means for keeping the people in subjection. The pries classes are sometimes looked upon as hired servants of the bo geoisie whose mission is to reconcile the workers to their pres sufferings by holding out hopes of a happy hereafter to those v patiently endure.

(3) That religion has constantly opposed the advance

ence and enlightenment, and that this obscurantist attitude been *the result of a plan to keep the workers in more complete* *jection.*

(4) That religion has been the cause of war and persecution.

It is obvious that by taking certain historical facts and ating them from others it would be possible to prove any or of these theories, and it is equally obvious that by taking r facts and considering them in a like manner it would be ible to prove the exact opposite.

Thus, the fact that the Christian countries have been the t persistent enemies of the slave traffic could be used to y to the first argument, while the great diffusion of learning ugh the monasteries of the Renaissance and the many religious ational establishments of the present day might be taken to rove the second contention.

The fact that the early and most profound mathematicians and onomers among the Egyptians and Chaldeans were priests ts the obscurantist argument, and the case of the Buddhist ion, which, although divided into two great schools, has never the cause of a religious war, is answer enough to the fourth ulate.

These examples show clearly two fallacies in this method of ing—first, the failure to distinguish between religion itself, icular religions, and the special manner in which individuals odies of men interpret and apply those religions, and, secondly, total inadequacy of arguments based merely upon apparent orical facts, which, since the whole facts relating to any one tion are very seldom available, are inevitably misleading.

But before establishing the real and scientific basis upon which case for religion rests, it is necessary to examine the causes h have led to the formulation of these postulates. Every ement that can be made by a human being must contain e truth, however far removed from absolute truth, and the fact that a certain proportion of the human race firmly ves that the above four statements are true is evidence that do, indeed, contain some truth. And in order to separate truth from any error which may be mixed up with it, the al events and circumstances which have given rise to these fs must be examined.

The fundamental cause which brings religion into disrepute ways and invariably a misuse of the priestly office. Human gs are naturally religious: they turn to their ideal of per- on as naturally as flowers to the sun; but when particular es of men try, as it were, to make a monopoly of this ideal or their fellows into particular ways of worship, the human which is essentially free, revolts, and, if the mind is un-

trained, no distinction is made between the religion itself and exponents, and both alike are viewed with disfavour. Men a not naturally evil, but good, and therefore any revolt against natural human need, such as that for religion, must be the resu of some misuse of their position on the part of those whose dut it is to be the instruments for the satisfying of that need.

It is useless to pretend that the charges of corruption an obscurantism which have been brought against various Churche as established institutions are without foundation, for were ther not some basic need of the human soul that the establishe forms of religion failed to satisfy, no one would turn agains them.

It must be remembered that religion as such does not satisf the reason. Religion is active life based upon certain ideals (aspirations. *It is founded upon faith, and not upon reason,* a such. Therefore it is unfair to attack any religion of the past (the present on the ground that it does not satisfy the reason This latter office is the province of philosophy. Religion express in authoritative or dogmatic form certain truths and gives certai definite ordinances for the right conduct of life. It is not con cerned with justifying them to the mind. But, while it is true t say that religion is founded upon faith, it is not right to den freedom of exercise to the reasoning faculties.

The same truths which are expressed dogmatically in ar system of religion, and are accepted in that form by faith, ma also be expressed scientifically in a philosophical system, and that form will appeal to the mind. Since the truth is the sam there will, therefore, be no contradiction. All apparent conflic between particular religions and particular philosophies are du to the fact that the same truths are approached and expressed different ways. Particular religions and philosophies may appe to contradict one another, but Religion and Philosophy ther selves are sisters.

It follows that the charge of obscurantism can only be broug against any religious institution when it deliberately deni freedom of exercise to the reason. If this freedom of exercise denied and man is told that he may not think for himself but mu accept blindly that which is given to him, this at once raises his mind a doubt as to the truth of that which he is being forc to accept. Man is a rational being. It is through his reason th he attains to truth. Faith is a necessary preliminary, for had no faith in the fact that truth is attainable he would not set o upon the search for it ; but faith is but the first stage, for it lea to knowledge.

Therefore the revolt against religion is partly the result of t inhibition of man's reasoning faculty due to the activities

in religious organisations, and this inhibition has brought its table reaction, a distrust of religion itself.

Coupled with this demand for the right to think—which is bably one of the most basic causes of dislike for religion— e are certain others.

One of these, in the West at any rate, is the accentuation of pain aspect of Christianity. No man seeks that which is evil itself and by itself. The Christian religion is fundamentally a gion of joy, and those who have insisted upon the painful side t have done it the greatest disservice. Pain is incidental to but it is not one of its necessary accompaniments. Man by gion is able to overcome suffering, and if men were brought to ise that religion leads to greater, and not lesser, joy and ctation they would cease to fear its influence.

Lastly, religion, as practised, has often ceased to be beautiful. time has gone by when the greatest works of art were pro-ed for the service of God. A distinction has grown up between esiastical and secular art, and the lover of beauty must go back he past in order to find it in ecclesiastical architecture.

These are the root causes; but there is a more immediate e which is easily recognised—the materialistic philosophy of last hundred years. When men ceased to look up to heaven truth they endeavoured to find it upon earth: they explored mysteries of the physical universe and said, 'We have found secret of life!' But the secret was not found; it was only ued a stage beyond the visible. In the enthusiasm of the discoveries men built up philosophies which sprang, like the overies they were built on, from an examination of the dust—r foundations laid in protoplasm and their superstructure ishing in the unknown future. Their principle was doubt—bt of all that could not be touched or seen, doubt of the tence of anything apart from human perception of it, doubt he capacity of the human mind to know truth, until they ed the culminating doubt of the existence of God.

hose who now seek to 'banish the gods from the skies' are ntellectual children of these pseudo-philosophers. They are as some would have us believe, ignorant anarchists seeking nd rage to destroy all that baffles their desires, but men of brain, eager at all costs to arrive at truth, and resolutely mined to destroy all shams. They drink eagerly from the of knowledge that are available. It is because the intellectual ows of the day are arid with materialism and the springs of knowledge choked with half-truths that the solutions of ical problems which are based upon these philosophies are entably weak.

hese, then, are the grounds of attack upon religion and the

causes which have given rise to them. The practical result these theories has been an attempt to do without God, and explain all things in terms of the material universe. Resulti from this is the endeavour to apply the evolutionary theory, w its fatalistic tendency, to human society.

In the face of such attacks mere denunciation is useless. T fundamental questions of human life are at issue, and the ansv must be that of truth itself.

In the first place, it must be realised that the fact of t existence of a Supreme Being is independent of the testimony any religion. It is self-evident. From whatever thing, thoug law, or process man may begin, he will, if he reasons, be led t cause, and beyond that to a prior cause, until he arrives at cause of all causes and of causality itself.

If he begins from material things, he is led by experiment af experiment to a single principle of matter from which all exist things appear to spring. If he ascends the scale of existence, beholds another principle, that of form, which appears to gai greater and greater control over matter until by the higher bei matter is consciously moulded and shaped. Thus all exist things are the result of the union of matter with form, but beh both must be some prior cause which is the Author of both. creation is indisputable evidence of a Creator, and whether Creator be called God, as in Christendom, or not is a poin minor importance.

Thus the existence of a First Cause is self-evident independei of any religious authority, and, the reality of the Creator of things having been established, it follows that that whicl created, since it is known to exist, not only by the experienc individuals, but by the testimony of all mankind of all lands in all ages, must also be real. But that which is created compi man and that which is not man—that is, the universe or cosr It is self-evident that man is not the universe, for its operat are conducted whether man is aware of them or not. The t flow and the seeds germinate, the earth revolves and the shines, whether man directs his attention to these processe not. Moreover, there is in the cosmos, apart from man's activi perfect law and unfailing regularity.

The cosmos is, as its name denotes, order and beauty. M on the other hand, exists more often than not in a conditio acute disorder. The fact that he can to a limited extent inte with the processes of Nature further proves that he is dis from the cosmos. There are established, therefore—self-evide and independently of any religious testimony—three l principles of God, the Cosmos, and Man.

It follows from this that particular religions represent va

elations concerning different aspects of these three principles l their relations with each other, upon which definite rules of and principles of conduct are founded.

It also follows that, so far from the idea of God being, as is ıetımes maintaıned, a creation of man's imagination—and t, therefore, havıng set up gods, he can pull them down—all gions and ıdeas of God must necessarily be true in some sense, l that man can no more 'pull down' God than he can destroy cosmos, for all that he can do is to substitute one idea or ect of God for another.

The very denıal of God is a proof of His existence, for in order leny any idea it is neceesary for that idea to be in the human scıousness, and no human being can have an idea of anything ess it ın some sense is.

The fact whıch must be emphasised is that, while particular gions do evolve and change to suıt the varying needs of times l peoples, the fundamental truths upon which all alike are ed do not change, for they are the foundatıons of all thıngs, of ıtself.

Atheism is ıtself a relıgion, and a most exacting one at that. deny God ıs merely to express one's dislıke for a particular n or way of looking at things. The Communist who seeks to nısh the gods from the skıes, and capitalısts from the earth, l make the world safe for ındustrıal Communism,' is acting accordance with his own particular religious convictions, in ch the aspect of perfectıon which is contemplated is that of the ing of oppression and the economıc securıty of the human race.

The process of reasoning ıs the same ın all men, and it follows t all who reason accurately from the same premises must reach same conclusıons. But, since any one idea can be contemted from innumerable aspects, there is a tendency for those approach the same truth from different angles to imagine the conclusıons which they reach are incompatible. This is cially, as has been seen, the case wıth reasoning based on cular facts when all the facts concerning the point at issue are aken into consıderation.

But all facts are dependent upon laws, and these laws again principles. Consequently, the reasoning which is based n these prıncıples themselves will be of a much surer and more ble character than that which merely rests upon observed s.

The three first principles of God, the Cosmos, and Man are lutely basic and sure. Therefore any truly scientific reasonbased upon these principles will be much more reliable than which is based upon observed facts of Nature. This is the amental difference between the deductive and the inductive

method: the former begins from principles and descends to fact the latter begins from facts and attempts to derive from these tl principles upon which they rest.

The tendency both of philosophy and science for the la hundred years has been to concentrate upon the inductive experimental method. But unless the first principles are knov there is no guarantee that they will ever be arrived at merely l experiment, and the truth of this is clearly shown by the fact th the science of the last century has not been able to formulate satisfactory explanation of the universe. It has been unable bridge the gap between the seen and the unseen, between effe and cause. The origins of life are still hidden, and the etl presents a hitherto unsolved problem.

The assumption underlying the attitude of modern scien which pins its faith to the experimental method, is that the m reliable avenue of approach to truth is *viâ* the senses. Nothi is accepted which cannot be demonstrated in terms of weight a measurement. But sense perception is only one of the facult which enable man to discover truth, and itself relies upon hig powers for its interpretation. For instance, the senses give impression of a falling object, but the mind must be brought i play in order to formulate the law of gravitation. Since, the fore, man has a faculty or faculties which enable him to deal w abstract laws and principles independently of any concrete ma festation of them, it follows that he can, by beginning from first principle of all principles, descend step by step until reaches the objective material universe—that is to say, he r reason from causes to effects instead of from effects to causes. T deductive method, when properly used, is much more sure certain than the inductive method. The latter is still necess for it can be used at each stage of the descending proces reasoning in order to check the results which have been arrivec

Beginning, therefore, from the three fundamental first p ciples of God, the Cosmos, and Man, it is possible to deduce w absolute certainty the order and nature of the principles w underlie all that is perceived by the senses. Thus real knowl of the world of abstract causes and principles, which is the im table foundation of the changing universe, is attainable. divine sciences are not vague and conjectural, but certain fully demonstrable. In man the spiritual and the corporeal, r and matter, are united; therefore he has faculties which en him to explore the spiritual and unseen realms just as he has t which enable him to deal with that which is visible and mate The fact that in a large proportion of the human race these fa ties are latent and undeveloped is the cause of so much of misery and waste of the present day. It is useless to attack

l without first determining its cause, and this can only be ived at with certainty through a knowledge of the eternal sons upon which both man and the universe depend.

The goal of science is knowledge, but a science which delibe-ely circumscribes the area of possible knowledge is not true ence. 'This much mayest thou know, and no more.' This, ffect, is the attitude of modern science, that very science which uses the Church of obscurantism. This attitude of hopelessness ounded, as has been seen, upon a misconception of the nature nan. Man is a being placed, by some power of which he is at t unconscious, in a universe the nature of which he must dis-er for himself, with a purpose to fulfil which he does not know. re it not possible for him to find out these things, the purpose existence would be a farce and human life a hideous mockery. n is surrounded by mysteries ; his happiness depends upon the it interpretation of them, and it is the true function of science assist him in this process. But science as yet is only in its ncy. The sciences of most vital importance to man—the nces of God and the soul—are hardly developed. Theology, act, is not reckoned as a science, since it is considered to be olly hypothetical. Yet if that which is created is real and know-e, how much more so must be that which created it ! What is ded is intellectual boldness, the conviction that real know-ge is attainable and the firm resolve to attain it.

God is knowable. The purpose of life is knowable ; but the ns to this knowledge is the development of man's higher lties, notably the reason or intellect in the Neoplatonic sense he word.

We have seen that the existence of a Supreme Being is estab-ed independently of religion, and that the first principles are -evident and absolutely unshakable. We have seen that man faculties which enable him to know with certainty the truth ut these first principles, which are the unchanging foundation ll that 'evolves' and is visible. In a word, man can investi- the spiritual world as easily as he can examine the material

We have seen that the function of particular religions is to ulate dogmas based upon the relation of these first principles ach other, such as the relation of man to God, and, without essarily explaining them, to give men definite rules of life to ow.

But although the function of religion as such is not to satisfy reason, it is obvious that in any particular religious body the onents of that religion should be able to satisfy individuals who not content to accept dogmas without understanding them. ce the necessity for all priests to be grounded in philosophy.

If all priests were philosophers they would answer without diff culty all the arguments which are directed against religion an satisfy the natural questionings of the human mind. Moreove since all religions represent different aspects of the same trut concerning God, the Cosmos, and Man, it would follow that from philosophical understanding of these truths a greater unity woul be established between all particular religious bodies, and the essential agreements would be realised rather than their incident and apparent contradictions.

Moreover, if all scientists were philosophers it would b realised that religion and science do but express the same trut in different ways, and the apparent inconsistencies between th two would vanish.

Philosophy, if it is real philosophy, deals with first principle and therefore contains the keys to all the problems of human lif Without it the various human activities and faculties cannot b correlated and put into their right places; consequently, there disorder and friction

A striking example of the loose thinking which follows whe first principles are lost sight of is afforded by the evolutiona theory. This theory, as generally propounded, is not phil sophical. It is a partial explanation of certain natural phenomen but it does not give a full and rational account of their cause It is a partial truth, and its inadequacy is manifest to any clea thinking individual As it stands it is in flat contradiction to mo of the religious scriptures of the world, and to the religious te dencies of human beings of all ages and races, for it implies th man, instead of descending from heaven, arose from the low kingdoms. It is possible philosophically to reconcile these tv apparently contradictory points of view, but when no philosophic explanation is forthcoming, and the evolutionary theory generally propounded is taken and applied to human activiti grave harm necessarily results, such as the alienation of man fro the source of his being.

Evolution, as apparently manifested in Nature, is a successi process by which higher and higher forms emerge in an order sequence. But, when man is considered, the element of free wi which is not present in Nature, has to be taken into consideratio Man by his free will can easily thwart or counteract the evol tionary process. Therefore it is unsound to apply the princip of natural evolution to human society. Yet the attempt to this, which is a consequence of the confusion of the principle Man with the principle of the Cosmos, is obvious in many writin on sociological subjects.

And so, having examined the basis upon which the knowled of first principles rests, we can return once more to the conside

on of the Communist position with regard to religion. Since od and the cosmos, and the laws upon which both the cosmos and ıan depend, exist apart from any human knowledge of them, it is ear that what the Communist is really attacking is, not God, but particular idea or conception of God, not religion, but certain ecial effects which are, or are imagined to be, the results of some rticular religious teachings.

But since God is, and the cosmos is, and the happiness of man epends upon the measure in which he enters into normal relations ith God by discovering in the cosmos and in himself the secrets the mysteries of life, and since the office of religion is to assist m to enter into these relations with the Supreme Being, upon hich his whole happiness depends, it follows that religion is ecessary for the happiness of the people. So far from being an piate, it will enable them to enter into fuller and fuller life, into reater freedom and usefulness.

Moreover, since religion is active life based upon faith or ideals, can be seen that religion is implied in Communism. The jority of Communists do not thoroughly understand the ideas n which the Communist position is based, for this full underding must necessarily be confined to its leaders and exponents. erefore until the majority have attained this understanding y must act as directed by their leaders, in whom they trust. nce they are in exactly the same position as the members of a gious institution, for they act upon the dogmatic statements of ers until they are able to see the reasons upon which those tements are based.

The second objection, that religion has been used as a means keeping the people in subjection, resolves itself into the truth t, although certain pseudo-religionists may have attempted h a thing, true religion will lead only to liberty. And it is very nificant that all great religions have been founded by representaes of the common people.

Similarly, the charge of obscurantism can only be brought inst particular bodies of men, and not against religion, for ce religion leads to the knowledge of God, and since God is the rce of all truth, real religion will invariably lead to greater ightenment. Incidentally, as has been noticed, the charge obscurantism might with equal justice be brought against the dern scientist who deliberately confines the possible field of owledge to the sensible and material world.

Lastly, there is the charge of war. Here, again, it is an perfect conception of religion, rather than religion itself, which he cause of strife between man and man.

From another point of view it might be said that the Comnist position results from confusing the function of religion

with that of philosophy. In an ideal state of society both will l necessary—philosophy in order to formulate in a manner whic appeals to the mind the principles upon which all things depen and religion to give practical rules for the application of the principles to life. Philosophy without religion tends towar barren intellectualism, religion without philosophy towar fanatical intolerance. In their dislike for a religion of which r philosophical explanation was available, the disciples of Ka Marx have rushed into the arms of a science which is equal unphilosophical and has not the saving quality of being a safe gui for actual life. For the rules of life which any great religion giv to its followers will be, whether the individual devotee can expla them philosophically or not, a far safer guide in actual life than science which is still puzzled about life's origins and purpose.

The attacks upon religion by Communist writers have be extremely bitter. One of the arguments which are frequent brought up is that various historical events upon which certa religions are based are mythical. This argument is unsound, f even if the story were purely legendary, it would nevertheless, the events of which it told were symbolical of fundament truths, be as worthy of acceptance as a guide for practical life any historical episode.

All such attacks will serve a useful purpose if they cause t exponents of various forms of religion to examine thoroughly t foundations upon which their own faith rests, to establish it on basis which is broader than mere personal experience and in vidual idiosyncrasy, and to formulate it in a manner in which will be more universally acceptable. Truth, when prope presented, makes an irresistible appeal to the human mind, and, the truth about God is the most simple and luminous as well the most profound that the mind can cognise, it is generally d to defective presentation when it is not accepted.

It is not within the scope of this paper to deal with Marxi economics, which are closely bound up with, and result from, t religious position which has been considered; but there are t fundamental fallacies upon which the whole Communist structu is built, which if applied in practical life can only lead to mu misery. One of these is the false distinction between capital a labour and the assumption that they must necessarily be opposition, and the other is the theory that all men are equ All men are equal in essence—that is to say, all souls are eq before the Supreme Being; but just as the cosmos depends its perfection upon vast hierarchies of spiritual beings, a syst of orders above orders with God Himself as the Supreme He so, too, the perfection of human society depends upon its ord which implies the fulfilling by each individual of his particu

ınction for the good of the whole, which is only possible when ıe system of human hierarchies reflects the eternal order of the ivine.

Here again the absolute necessity to human happiness of a ear knowledge of the underlying divine principles is self-evident.

No society or party can exist for a moment without order, ithout rulership and obedience. In an ideal society rulership for the sake of the ruled and the highest lord is the greatest rvant, but to attempt to do away with all sovereignty because some instances power has been misused is as futile as to seek do away with the sun because it is sometimes obscured by ouds.

We are living in an age when great forces are at work and to me eyes may appear to be threatening the very foundations of ciety. But these very forces are nothing else than the mighty rivings of human nature towards fuller and fuller perfection, d the clash and conflict of ideas are but the birth throes of a w age.

It was no accident that the goddess which the Revolutionists throned in 1793 was the Goddess of Reason, and the modern ımunist attitude to religion is but an aspect of the universal re for truth.

If the exponents of any particular religion fear to expose their mas to the light of reason, it argues a lack of confidence in the h of what they teach. But the truth about God can be proved he hılt more surely and convincingly than the truth about any er subject.

What is needed is more knowledge and clearer thinking, a rmination not to be content with merely partial and super- l explanations, but to arrive at the real reasons of events and gs. For it is only by a knowledge of the ultimate truth that ideal state of humanity at which the Communist, lıke all er sincere reformers, is aiming can be realised, and since this h does not evolve, but is the eternal and unchanging support ll things, it follows that when all men at length attain to it, ever diverse may be the paths of their approach, all strife and rences of opinion will come to an end. Then will come into g upon earth that perfection of humanity, that Golden Age, return of Astræa, to which all who have worked for their w-men have looked since the beginning of tıme. This Golden , lıke truth itself, in the realms of the ideal eternally is; it is work of man to bring ıt from the ideal to the actual, so that h may be the perfect counterpart of heaven, and the Below perfectly mirror the Above.

G. H. BONNER.

THE AGE OF SCIENCE

It is only the bolder of the historians who venture very far into the field of generalisations. It is a daring deed to define the laws and principles of history; and the wiser men prefer to content themselves with a modest statement of what appear to be the more important facts. Nevertheless, the facts are too often overwhelming in number, and in despair of their multitude the historian is driven now and then to generalised principles. Some of these are reasonably safe, and perhaps the safest of them is th statement that the last hundred or perhaps hundred and fift years of the human race have been pre-eminently the Age c Science.

During that time Science has been the dominant factor i history in a more persistent and universal way than any othe factor has dominated any other period. There was an epoc when iron was so important that we talk very reasonably of a Iron Age. There was a time when the laws and armies of Ron were so insistent that we are right in speaking of the Age of Roma Civilisation. In the mediæval period the ecclesiastics were successful in every field of social activity that it is almost true write of the Middle Ages in Europe as the Age of the Church.

But it is probable that Science has more completely master the world during the last hundred years than iron, or Rome, the papacy, ever ruled their respective periods of history. Tl organised attempt to discover the facts of the material unive and to apply them—and that, roughly, is what we mean by t Age of Science—has touched man in every department of life. Take the scientist and his results out of our life to-d and we might almost say that very little would be left. Tl have overpowered the other things in life, as weeds choke unresisting garden.

We are living in the Age of Machinery and of all the end number of mechanical devices whereby the laws discovered the scientists are applied to almost every moment of our li Science has harnessed the powers of Nature, as the saying and applied them to the service of man. Such at least is theory. But being an Age of Science, it is also an age of sce

cism. So it is not unnatural that there are some inquisitive persons who are beginning to wonder whether, instead of harnessing the powers of Nature for our own convenience, we have not been harnessed ourselves. For, whichever way we turn, we seem in the grip of a machine.

Scientists may have set out to make man a god. There is a growing suspicion that, by a strange blunder, they have made him a slave. It would not be the first stupendous mistake in history For example, the French revolutionists set out to make all Frenchmen free; but, being in a state of hysterical excitement, they ended by making Napoleon an autocratic emperor who ruled by his army, which is not the usual definition of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

A sceptical criticism of Science is in the air at the moment. ter many generations of almost servile homage, there are signs heretical revolt, just as Averrhoïsts and Waldensians and llards once rebelled against Rome. Wise men are discussing h more and more freedom of speech if Science, after all, is ictly on the right lines—if it can continue to be so cocksure itself as it has been for the last hundred years. The theologians ve plucked up courage to say that the age of scientific proof d power has reached its farthest limit, and that it would be ll to consider the possible advantage of a return to an age some emotion or imagination or faith which does not rest on ar-cut reason.

But with the wise men who sit in learned libraries, and support ir statements by the *dicta* of philosophers and the written dom of the ages, it is not proposed to deal here, neither with theologians who support their case by the words of the thers and the weighty dogmas of their Churches. I desire take the more detached view of the common men and women the market-place and the farm, of the country lane and the y street. Let us imagine ourselves watching the learned putants in the arena of controversy, engaged in maintaining r respective creeds, whether of Science, or of some local logy, or of a universal philosophy, and let us endeavour to sure in what degree all this concerns the normal human being. The terms of the argument are generally very hard to discover, the laws in dispute are clearly very subtle and difficult for lay mind. So it is all the more necessary for the plain man endeavour to discover if the controversy cannot be reduced the simpler terms of everyday life. The plain man is the more ious to do this, because he has wit enough to grasp the somet alarming fact that what these learned men are fighting ut so vigorously, if so obscurely, is his own (*i.e.*, the common 's) life, and no remote matter of merely abstract interest.

ıe battle of Science *versus* Religion is being fought over the ımmon man's prostrate body, which is awaiting the decision with e intense interest natural in such a position.

This problem whether it has been good for the world to be ›minated by Science, as it has been for the last hundred or more 'ars, is not an academic question. It is the most practical ıestion of the day; and the aroused interest of the man in the reet is in every way justified. After so many years of the Age of ıence he can now disregard the conflicting theories of the learned en, for he can consider the practical results themselves. He can e what the dominance of Science has done for the world in hard ct, and need no longer balance his opinion on the vaguer possilities of prophecy or enthusiastic hopes. Facts are so much ore convincing than theories.

What precisely has Science done for the world? The answer ›uld obviously be the history of this planet for the last century so; and this article is not a score of quarto volumes. But there e several characteristic features of our modern scientific civilisa›n which the ordinary man will mention at once, because they e so palpably evident and beyond denial.

For one thing, by building the steam engine Science performed revolution; for by it power was taken out of the hands of the dividual worker, with his personal arms and individual brain, d transferred to the man who owned the piece of mechanism. ıe Steam Age was a far more radical change in human evolution an the substitution of iron weapons and tools for stone ones. ıe earlier change still left the individual the centre of the picre. The later change to steam made the human being almost a condary factor.

There was another natural consequence. The steam engine manded a factory, and then a town, to supply its persistent eds. So England during the early years of the nineteenth cenry was passing more and more rapidly from an agricultural untry to an industrial town and all its *sequelæ*, its slums and ıoke and noise. Eighteenth century England had plenty of ral hovels which were squalid beyond description; but ience was the first to demand a large city of such degraded manity. The more primitive pre-scientific age had at least t its hovel dwellers the sun and the fresh air. Science, as ›ugh ashamed of its work, covered its slums with smoke and 'phurous gas.

But Science was not content to stay its inventive hand when delivered over a large part of England to steam-machine ners. It continued the process of harnessing Nature and 'ented the electric telegraph. Thereby a man can sit in an ce, whether in Whitehall or Manchester or Threadneedle Street,

and despatch orders which, if they are sufficiently skilful, will bring the world to his feet. The Romans thought they had centralised government; and the bankers of Florence and Venice and Genoa must have believed that they held the levers of finance in their hands. But, compared with the possibilities open to a Stock Exchange speculator on the telephone and the tape, these old-world officials and moneylenders were but village policemen and local pawnbrokers. The electric telegraph put power into the hands of the very few at the centre of government. In other words, Science continued the process of abolishing the human individual.

The plain man, not being clever enough to think out theories, has to content himself with facing facts; and all around him he sees ominous events of the kind already noticed. He sees himself as an individual being slowly exterminated, and supplanted by the harnessed powers of Nature working in obedience to the will of some uncertain somebody, but certainly not of the man in the street.

But perhaps the fact which has most seriously aroused the sceptical suspicions of the plain man, regarding the claim of Science that its sole object is the service of mankind, is the most recent development of scientific research. We have been so repeatedly told that our modern Age of Industrialism is an epoch of peace and prosperity which has replaced the barbarous Middle Ages of turbulent knights and starving peasants—and so on. But now, after living through the Great War, which the peaceful industrialists munitioned for us, we begin to be more sceptical. The war of 1914–1918 was in a very real sense a war conducted by Science. Without the thoughtful inventions of the scientists it could not have been fought as it was. It was a war of transport, artillery, and half the apparatus of the chemical laboratories and the physicists' notebooks. Science has the whole credit of winning the victory—if anybody won it.

The plain man has begun to doubt whether it was worth all that the great politicians claimed in their war speeches. But his hesitation does not end there. For he can now read in every newspaper how the scientists are industriously preparing for the next war. The affair of 1914–1918, apparently, was only in the nature of a trial trip. What with poison gases, higher explosives, and aircraft and rays of various kinds, the scientists, we gather, are prepared in the next war to blot out civilisation in a few months at the longest. It is this amiable display of prophetic ingenuity that more than anything else has roused the lay mind of the ordinary citizen. He is asking what it all means. If this be the final intention of Science, were we wise in going in for an Age of Science at all? Would it not have been wiser to have jogged

along more modestly, and been content with the simple life of a craftsman, with the tools that have grown out of his slow experience, and did not require the aid of a scientist to produce them or a financier to operate them?

Without undue scepticism, so many of the inventions of the scientific age have turned out, on application, to be inconvenient—to put it mildly. For example, the solution of the traffic problem by the building of motor cars is resulting in so much traffic that it is getting difficult or dangerous to move at all. Now the most ingenious scientific vehicles which cannot move, or kill us if they do, will not solve the traffic problem in any permanent way.

Of course Science does an enormous amount of good. For example, medical science is curing ills which seemed incurable a few years ago. But the sceptical mind is haunted by the doubt whether half these diseases would have existed if Science had not itself produced the modern conditions which apparently cause them. We do not have periodic Black Deaths and plagues to-day; but cancer is declared to be a permanent modern sickness, and therefore, presumably, produced by conditions which did not exist earlier. Many doctors tell us that it is the result of eating too much meat and rich foods. The plain man may therefore be forgiven if he should hastily conclude that the scientists must bear a large share of the responsibility, for they have increased our comforts and gastronomic temptations by enormous supplies of flesh and food in cold storage vessels, steaming from the whole world to our larders. Again, a learned Wrangler once explained to the writer that were it not for cold storage it would be impossible to profiteer in provisions, for the dealer would have to sell at once or throw away his stock; he could not hold it for a rise in price.

To sum up, there is an obvious tendency just now to be a little sceptical whether our modern Age of Science is nearly as good as it has been claimed to be—by the men who invented it, and the few who undoubtedly profit by it. It may be a good thing to have a morning paper and a motor car, a municipal hospital and technical schools. But are these convenient things sufficient recompense for all we have to undergo in order to get them? It may be an advantage to be civilised in a way that causes astonishment in the mind of a native of Central Africa. But after the next war, if all goes as well as the scientists hope, our civilisation may even cause astonishment to ourselves—or the fragments of us that remain.

Now the scientists are very indignant when we accuse them of being responsible for these facts and possibilities. They say they only make good theories and invent useful machines, and

that if we put them to bad uses it is entirely our fault. The defence is of considerable value—first, because it is in the main true. The scientist is generally the straightest of mankind; he is full of enthusiasm to discover the truth, and gets very little reward for his labours. His impulse, as a brilliant example of the class said to the writer recently, is the same æsthetic delight in discovery which the artist has in the search for beauty. If the world were a community of scientists it would be both an industrious and a charming place, and the research on the atom would take the place of the poets' striving for the absolute, and this even without much loss of emotional delights.

But the scientist's defence of his sincerity and moral intentions raises a second point of even more importance. For it reminds us that this matter of moral intention has very little to do with the problem so far as the plain man is concerned. He is indifferent to what the scientist intended his science to give us. He is only concerned with the practical result. When a scientist turns loose on a reckless world a poison gas that may wipe out a metropolis, it is of secondary interest to be told that this only happens in a sincere and enthusiastic search for truth, and that we need not use the dangerous thing unless we like. It would be as convincing to arm a crowd of drunken savages with revolvers and knives and then shrug our shoulders and say we could not be held responsible if they were so foolish as to use them.

The question at issue is whether in fact, quite independently of intention, it is a good thing to live in an age so completely dominated by Science. Let it be said at once that the extremist who would put on one side all the accumulated wisdom of the last hundred years, go back to the Middle Ages, and cheerfully endure the Black Death and isolated village life of the fourteenth century, is not a tolerable guide to-day. Such a faddist is merely a stumbling-block in the way of rational discussion. The faddist is one who lacks balance; and such a one is a social nuisance, whether he be a pious hermit of the Church or a lunatic in an asylum. The unbalanced mind, whether genius or maniac, can be dismissed from the problem of normal human affairs. Balance is the secret of life.

By following out this argument we may find one of the chief weaknesses of the scientist's position. Is it not possible that a man who gives himself up to an uncontrolled passion for the truth may be in a way as unbalanced a nuisance as a less intelligent neighbour who has an unbalanced desire for alcohol? Is it certain that unlimited truth may not be as harmful to man as unlimited brandy and soda? Has not the scientist lost his balance and got a wrong centre for his picture of life? The truest philosophy may discover that the truth is not an absolute thing, but a relative fact depending on the circumstances of its environment. The

truth may be what is convenient in practice, not something that is absolute in theory.

The most persistent opponent of the scientific theory and practice of life (at the present moment, and indeed all through this age-long controversy) is the priest of religion; and the impartial observer, watching from the reserved seats this terrific struggle in the arena between Religion and Science, as the fight is usually described, is interested to observe that the priest, with all his superstitions, is far more balanced on this essential point than the professor, with all his precise formulæ.

The priest has never made the amazing blunder of putting material truth in the centre of his altar. The salvation, that is the welfare, of man is the climax of his endeavour. Toward that end all his theological and philosophical rules of life are grouped. That is Truth which is for the salvation or good of man; its mathematical demonstration is of no importance. Surely that is the basis of the Papal Index of Books. It forbids certain books to be read on the ground that they are likely to cause more harm than good. This is clearly quite apart from whether the books are true or false in matters of fact. For example, if a scientist invented a way of blowing up New York by pressing a button in London, or *vice versâ*, is there anyone so fanatical concerning truth that he would deny that a description of such an invention would be a fit book for the Index ? Every word of it might be true. Then the truer it was the more necessary to suppress it.

It is here that the priest has always been a better man of the world than the learned persons who give themselves up to orgies of truth in libraries and laboratories. The priest has never quite forgotten that the welfare of man is the chief end of life. Of course, the Church has made blunders of very serious sorts; and the plain man will always be as suspicious of the priest as he is of the scientist; for both alike have specialised overmuch in their respective ways of thought. Perhaps the specialist can never be on the main highway of life. Life as a whole is not made by the learned professor and his rules, drafted in libraries; for life is the common experience of the multitude of plain men, whose wisdom is deeper than the wisdom of libraries—it is the accumulated knowledge of the ages, of which the professor's wisest discoveries are but the low outlying hills of the main mountain range of life.

It has been suggested above that in this struggle between Science and Religion the ordinary plain man is, in the main, an impartial spectator. When he hears Science asserting that everything can be explained in terms of matter he is ready to suspect that this is just as childishly superstitious as believing in the miracles of the saints. Indeed, the simple priest is turning out

to be the better scientist, for it is the dullest of human heresy to deny that the spirit is far more wonderful than the body; that is the universal verdict of all the ages of history—recognised alike by the rural clown who fears the ghost in his moonlit lane, and by the poet who worships the mistress of his dreams.

But when the Church goes on to declare that it is against the Divine law to divorce two people who cannot possibly live in harmony, or that the dogmas of Rome are inevitably and by Divine ght truer than the precepts of Mecca or the laws of Buddha, ien the plain man once more shrugs his shoulders and restores ie balance with a few grains of that common-sense which is the isis of the deepest human law.

When the present modern age of Science and Central Governent is compared with the past mediæval age of Church and uilds, it will be clear that there were many palpable advantages the past which are not in the present. There are also many lvantages of to-day. This dispute between Religion and ience, which is still raging, in the main is the same as the older ebate between Mediævalism and Modernity. The historical gument is the philosophical argument repeated in terms of oncrete fact. When we try to decide whether the Middle Ages ere better than the modern times it is substantially the same estion as whether Science is better for mankind than the more notional and spiritual developments of Art and Religion and omance. It is necessary to realise that the priest and the ientist are only prejudiced witnesses or professional counsel in us case; and the final judgment must be given by the normal an of the world.

It would seem evident as we get deeper in the clutch of ience that the impartial verdict may be rather more a victory r the priests of the altar than the priests of the laboratory. is permissible to call them both alike priests, for the laws both are dogmas. The fact that more of the scientific dogmas e provable by logical processes, while the dogmas of the priests in only be accepted by less conclusive acts of faith, is of comirative unimportance to the impartial onlooker, who judges both itirely by their results. If, for example, the priests have an iprovable dogma that there is a God who commands us to do hat is right, and the scientists have a logically watertight dogma iat a certain chemical procedure will split the atom and blow ie world to small fragments, then the impartial man of the world ill probably hold that the unprovable dogma is of greater civic lue than the one that can be demonstrated.

It is in their callous and amoral disregard of results that the ientists have got so far away from the needs and conscience the everyday world. As a peculiarly open-minded doctor of

mathematics said to the writer recently, Science works with a pure enthusiasm for the discovery of Truth, and does not allow itself to be hampered by any possible effect it may have on human welfare. Exactly; there we have a concise statement of Science's chief defect as a useful guide for humanity. The priest, in his worst moments of superstition, never made such an appalling blunder in theory. He always professed, however inadequately he may have succeeded in practice, that the result on man's welfare was his chief purpose. He may have shifted the welfare into the next life; and so have advocated certain inconveniences and penances in this world, to insure the future eternity. But, as against the amoral scientist, the priest was a realist humanitarian man of the world, not an other-world scientific idealist, dreaming about an Absolute Truth which he hoped he might find one day, and regardless of the consequences.

It is even doubtful whether we can allow the scientist's position to be described by such a negative word as amoral. If a man invents a scientific process which he knows will in practice turn a healthy, beautiful country into a smoky factory town and a chemical refuse heap, is he to be allowed to clear himself by the plea that he was only searching for truth, and cannot be held responsible for the consequences? If a scientist receives a commission to make a poison gas, is he to be the less an accomplice in the crime than if he manufactures a convenient bomb for an anarchist outrage? One gets a little tired of this eternal protestation of the scientists that they are only responsible for the truth, and not for its consequences, if soldiers and profiteers make use of their researches. One of these days a court of national or international law will rule that the guilt of a crime includes all the accomplices.

But, as said before, the question of intention may be ignored by practical men, with a passing suspicion that a man who cannot see as far as the ultimate results may be also blind in immediate ends. The question is whether or not we consider that Science is the safest and soundest dominant factor in life. We have admitted it to be such for over a hundred years, and the results are before us. Are we satisfied with these results as a whole, or, on the contrary, would it not be as well to re-examine some ancient laws of life which may have been superstitious, and yet gave very pleasing results?

An illogical faith which built Chartres Cathedral may appeal, even to the rationalist, as a more beautiful, and therefore more useful, social guide than a series of irrefutable chemical formulæ which are the real foundation-stones of our Midland manufacturing towns. The most persistent of agnostics may see more worldly wisdom in a gospel which declared, 'By their fruits ye shall know

them,' than in the haughty scientists' claim that with the fruits of knowledge they have no concern or responsibility. What is the *real intelligence of a science that is satisfied by any result so long as it will satisfy both sides of the equation? If it can find a figure* that will represent *x* it is pleased; as to the social effect of *x* it cares not a straw.

There is no intention of maintaining here that Science is altogether evil. Indeed, a great part of it is altogether good, just as a great part of the ecclesiastical law which dominated the Middle Ages was evil. No one can see any good in the folly and crime of the Inquisition, for example, as no one can consider such a clean, convenient motive and lighting power as electricity inherently bad. It is all a matter of sanity in use. On putting the virtues of Chartres Cathedral to a scientist of many university degrees, I was met by the triumphant retort that this great glory of the mediæval system could not have been constructed without many of the laws of Science, at least in embryo form, being at the disposal of the builders. Whether these laws would have filled three pages of a text-book may be doubtful; however, the answer may be accepted: but the point to note is that whatever science there was in a Gothic cathedral was kept well within its legitimate proportions. It may be hard to define in theory what those legitimate proportions are; but there is no difficulty in drawing the line in practice. It is the difference between an old English market town and a modern factory city. In still more primitive terms it is roughly the difference between coal smoke and sunshine. That difference might not be very visible to the eyes or nose of a scientific idealist. But to the practical man of the world it means the difference between happiness and discomfort.

We arrive at the conclusion that we must not be content to accept the dictates of Science as to what is the Truth, or its consequential law that the best result is that which can be reached in the quickest time and the cheapest manner, which seems the only ideal of the scientific inventor. Thus, to say that a machine is good because with it can be produced something more quickly and more cheaply than without it, is only a conclusive argument for the book-keeper and the shareholders. That is only an Absolute Scientific Truth, of purely idealist importance. The real Relative Human Truth is whether the men who work the machine, and live round its factory, are the better or the worse for its help and presence.

The Age of Science has hitherto ignored the human race, though it has paid much attention to the wishes of company promoters and profiteers and bureaucrats. It is time that the normal man was restored to the centre of the picture of life,

from which he has been dragged by a crowd of enthusiastic scientists who have a paradoxical resemblance to the crowds who danced round the guillotines of the Reign of Terror in revolutionary France. For terrorists and scientists alike have forgotten that in human history we must judge by practical results and not by idealist intentions. Science, like the revolutionists, has admirable intentions. It is the result that has been so disastrous.

G. R. STIRLING TAYLOR

CLIMATIC CHANGES

The idea that our climate is not stable, but has changed largely in the past and is still changing, is very widespread. It can be traced to three main origins, each of which is independent of the others and is based largely on a different kind of evidence. In the first place, we have the frequent assertions of people, not always elderly, that there has been a marked change in the climate since they were young. In the second place, there are the reports of travellers who have visited regions where, in their opinion, there is every evidence in deserted towns, abandoned fields, and dry rivercourses of a marked and progressive desiccation. And finally we have the incontrovertible evidence produced by geologists of climatic conditions ranging from tropical to polar at the same place in remote ages. It is the object of this article to examine the significance of this evidence for climatic change, and, if possible, to form a rational idea of the causes which produce the changes, real or apparent, whichever they may prove to be.

The assertions that there has been a recent change in climate generally take the form that the winters are not now so severe or the summers so warm as they used to be. The advocates of no change in climate explain this as being an example of the tendency of the human mind to remember extremes while forgetting the more normal occurrences. The severe winters which we experience in childhood are remembered much more vividly than the mild winters, so that while the latter are forgotten the former become in our recollections typical of all the winters of that period. Similarly, hot summers stand out in our memory, giving the impression that warmer summers formerly prevailed. There is a great deal of truth in this explanation, but, so far as the present generation is concerned, it is not the full explanation.

Those of us who are now on the wrong side of forty-five have clear recollections of not one or two outstanding winters, but of a period when year after year there was some skating and when it was unusual for a winter to pass without some snow.

A study of meteorological records shows that this is not a false impression. The years 1885 to 1892 formed a sequence of eight

cold years, especially in the winter. Taking the winter to embrace December to April inclusive, thirty-five out of the forty winter months of these eight years were below the average temperature at Greenwich. At Greenwich the temperature falls to or below the freezing point, on the average, on fifty-four days a year; during these eight years it fell to the freezing point on 565 days—*i.e.*, an average of seventy-one days a year. In 1887, 1888, and 1892 the number of frosty days was eighty-seven, eighty, and eighty-one respectively. It was this sequence of years which gives us the correct impression of colder winters in our childhood.

This remarkable sequence of cold years was followed by an almost equally remarkable sequence of eight warm years, with abnormally warm summers. Seven of the eight years 1893-1900 had at Greenwich a mean temperature above the normal; only thirty-three of the ninety-six individual months failed to reach the long-period average. During this period some remarkably high temperatures were recorded: on the average, at Greenwich the temperature rises to 90° F. or above on less than one day a year—seven days in eight years—yet during these eight years this occurred on fourteen occasions. On August 18, 1893, a maximum temperature of 95·1° F. was recorded, a value which has only twice been exceeded at Greenwich during the last eighty-four years.

Just as the previous eight years have left an impression of cold winters, so these eight years have left an impression of warm summers. Thus we see that there is some justification for the idea that the climate is now different from what it was thirty years or so ago.

The tendency for sequences of years to occur which are warmer or colder, drier or wetter, than the average is a well-known fact in meteorology. The classical investigation of this tendency was made by Brückner and published in 1890 in a fascinating book entitled *Klima-Schwankungen seit 1700*.

Bruckner first took all the meteorological observations then available; these, however, only reached back to 1730 in the case of temperature, 1815 in the case of rainfall, and 1826 in the case of pressure. He found that when he grouped the observations from all his stations between 1766 and 1885 there was clear evidence for appreciable changes in the mean temperature. In this period he could recognise three complete oscillations of temperature with maxima at about 1776, 1821, and 1866. He also found similar oscillations in the rainfall and pressure. The period of observations was, however, too short to make certain of the reality of the phenomenon, and it was essential to find other indications of climatic change which would give information over a much longer period. This he was able to do by employing the

direct evidence given by the changes in water level of lakes hich have no outlet to the sea; the records of the dates on which e grape harvest commenced in Europe, which go back to the ırteenth century; the records of the dates on which the rivers Russia and Northern Europe were closed to navigation by reason ice, which extend back to 1700; and the records of severe nters which are to be found in literature, and which give inforıtion right back to A.D. 800.

By using in this way all the evidence available to him in 1887 ückner was able to come to far-reaching conclusions regarding variability of climate. He found that temperature, pressure, 1 rainfall are subjected to variations occurring simultaneously ɛr the whole earth, and that on the average the variations eat themselves in thirty-five or thirty-six years. Thus, on the ɛrage, seventeen or eighteen years of warm weather are followed seventeen or eighteen years of cold weather, and similar periods dry and wet weather succeed one another. On the whole the and wet periods correspond with the warm and cold periods, hout, however, being exactly simultaneous during any one iod. There is one important difference between the variations temperature and the variations of rainfall. While the temperae appears to rise and fall simultaneously over all parts of the rld, the rainfall changes go oppositely in different regions—t is, while in some regions the dry periods correspond with the rm periods and the wet periods with the cold periods, the erse is the case in other regions which have the dry and cold 1 the wet and warm periods corresponding.

During the short period for which instrumental observations available the mean amplitude of the temperature variations s about 1·4° F. in all parts of the world: the variations in the ıfall are so different in different places, and the record is so rt, that it is impossible to give a numerical value for the plitude of the rainfall oscillation, but the percentage variation ears to be larger in continental than in oceanic climates.

These conclusions are extremely important, for a change in mean annual temperature of one or two degrees Fahrenheit ending over something like twenty years accompanied by reciable changes in rainfall is of real climatic significance.

This variation of climate, repeating itself in thirty-five years, received the name of the Brückner cycle, and since Brückner covered it in 1890 all future investigations have tended to ve its reality. At first sight it would appear that such a disery would have far-reaching effects on the economic life of the ld, for it should be possible to forecast these climatic changes guard against them or use them to advantage. Unfortunately, cannot be done to any practical extent, and, so far as I know,

no practical use has ever been made of Brückner's discovery. It is important that the reason for this should be clearly understood, for there has been no little misconception, mainly due to the simple way in which the results of Brückner's work can be stated—for instance, as I have stated them above. In my statement I say that the *average* period is thirty-five or thirty-six years, and that the *mean* amplitude of the variation is 1·4° F., and that the wet and dry periods correspond *on the whole* with the cold and warm periods. The words in italics are very significant. In reality the periods vary largely in length and amplitude; in fact, there is very little of what we usually describe as periodicity. The record of any one place hardly exhibits anything which conforms to Bruckner's standard periods: there are variations and sequences of abnormal years; one cannot pick out of a single record—say the temperature of Greenwich—the Brückner variation. It is only when the records from many stations are grouped together, so that inequalities which are local in their incidence cancel one another out, that the Brückner cycle begins to appear. It is probably present in all records, and can be identified by harmonic analysis in most records; but the casual variations from year to year are much larger than the variations due to the Bruckner cycle, and completely swamp it. Then, again, even the combined record from a large number of stations shows very little of a regular periodicity. We obtain a curve showing maxima and minima, but they occur at very irregular intervals. For example, the temperatures during the period for which we have observations of thermometers show four complete periods between 1736 and 1885—that is, an average of thirty-six years for a complete oscillation, or an average of eighteen years between successive maxima and minima. The actual maxima and minima occur, however, at the following irregular intervals—ten, twenty, twenty-five, twenty, ten, fifteen, fifteen, thirty years. It is therefore quite impossible to forecast the weather of any one year, or even of a group of years, with any certainty. It is for this reason that it would be better to abandon the idea of a cycle and to say that Bruckner's work indicates that warm years and cold years tend to occur in groups, and that the average length of a warm group or a cold group is fifteen or sixteen years.

Brückner reached his conclusion by rigid scientific methods, and his monograph of 324 pages is a mass of records and data all arranged so that his conclusions can be checked and their value appraised. It is remarkable that the same conclusion had been reached by a more empirical method 300 years earlier, for in his essay *Of Vicissitude of Things* Francis Bacon writes:

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I

[k]now not in what part), that every five-and-thirty years the same kind and [s]uit of years and weather comes about again; as great frosts, great wet, [g]reat droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like, and [t]hey call it the prime, it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, com[p]uting backwards I have found some concurrence.

[T]here is no reason to believe that Brückner knew of this remark [w]hen he commenced his investigation.

There is now little doubt that there are climatic changes of [s]mall magnitude and of a temporary nature, but sufficiently large [t]o justify the frequently expressed opinion that the climate has [c]hanged in the course of a man's lifetime. But from Brückner's [w]ork it would appear that these changes are only periodic varia[t]ions about a mean stable climate. There is nothing in the [r]ecords of the grape harvest, the frequency of severe winters or [t]he time of ice-free navigation on the rivers of Northern Europe, [w]hich would indicate a permanent change in the climate of Europe [d]uring the last 700 or 800 years. Are we, therefore, to conclude [f]rom this that in all parts of the world the climate has remained [u]nchanged, except for the small fluctuations described by Brück[n]er, since the last great ice age passed away? This would be to [n]eglect the opinion of some of our greatest explorers and travellers, [w]ho are convinced that they have found in their travels clear [ev]idence for a deterioration of the climate over large tracts of the [ea]rth's surface. Evidence of this nature comes from many parts [of] the earth, especially from the borders of desert or arid districts. [Th]e Tarim Basin in the centre of Asia, the deserts in Syria, the [co]ast districts of North Africa, the western desert of North [A]merica, are all said to show signs of considerable desiccation [du]ring the historic period. On the other hand, an ancient civilisa[tio]n in the Yucatan peninsula of Central America appears to have [be]en destroyed by increased rainfall, which has produced such [hu]mid conditions that it is impossible for a virile race to survive. [Mu]ch controversy has raged round this evidence. One school [m]aintains that there has been no change of climate, but that the [sig]ns of desiccation, including the abandonment of prosperous [to]wns and villages, can all be explained by such causes as war, [di]sease, indolence, earth movement, shifting sand, changes in [tra]de routes, or bad government. The case of Palestine has been [tr]eated as a test case by Professor J. W. Gregory. Much has been [wr]itten to prove that the change from the prosperous conditions [de]scribed in the Bible to the wretched conditions of to-day is due [to] climatic change. Professor Gregory has investigated this [ev]idence, and can find no support for the supposed change of [cli]mate. To prove that there has been no appreciable change in [th]e temperature he uses the evidence afforded by the simultaneous

existence of the date-palm and the vine in Palestine throughout its history. The palm and the vine are extremely sensitive to changes of temperature. The present conditions are such that Palestine is on the northern limit of the region in which palms can produce fruit and just within the southern limit of the region in which grapes can ripen in the open air. A decrease of temperature of a few degrees would drive the palms from the country, or an increase of the same amount would make the vine unproductive. Yet, according to the records, there have always been palms and ripe grapes in Palestine, but there is no mention of dates in the Bible. There is thus no evidence for a change in temperature. A detailed discussion of the evidence for a change in the amount of rainfall also leads him to a negative conclusion. The rainfall in Palestine was always precarious, so that the greatest care had to be taken in storing the water, every house having its own cistern, and famines were as frequent in the past as at present.

Similar conclusions are reached by Professor Gregory and other writers regarding the supposed changes in climate in Egypt, Greece, Syria, and North Africa. The Tarim Basin is an interesting example of supposed desiccation, and much has been written about it. This low-lying desert in the heart of Asia is bounded on the south by the Kwen Lun Mountains and the great tableland of Tibet. From the high land, rivers and streams flow into the basin, only to be lost in the sand after traversing a few miles of desert. On each of these streams there are now small towns and villages, but there is clear evidence that other towns and cultivated patches once existed in the desert far beyond the ends of the present streams. Existing villages on the rivers which can now only support a few families owing to the scarcity of water were formerly flourishing towns.

From the evidence Stein and Huntington are convinced that there was more water in the rivers formerly, while Sven Hedin considers that all the changes can be accounted for by bad government and drifting sand.

It is impossible here to go more fully into the controversy regarding the meaning of these signs of change of climate brought back by travellers. In my opinion, two main facts seem to emerge from the discussion: first, that there have been periods in the past when the rainfall was both greater and less than at present, and secondly, that there has been no appreciable permanent change of climate. Deserts are where they have always been during the historic period, but they have experienced periods when the scanty rainfall was more abundant than at present and also other periods when it was less. This is a similar conclusion to that at which we have already arrived, and which has been demonstrated by Brückner; but the changes to which we are now referring, if

not greater than those of the Brückner cycle, continued for much longer periods. Evidence of such long period changes is gradually accumulating. The Caspian Sea affords much evidence. This sea has no outlet to the ocean, but is fed by several rivers. If the rainfall increases in its catchment area, the expanse of the sea must increase until its new area supplies sufficient surface for the increased evaporation necessary to dispose of the increased water supply: this means a higher water level. Similarly, when the rainfall decreases, evaporation from the surface is too great, and the loss exceeds the supply until the area has been reduced sufficiently to restore the balance: this means a lower water level. That there have been, during the historic period, several important changes of level is clearly proved. There are buildings now entirely submerged which must have been erected on dry land, and Arabic literature contains references to the water invading towns and mosques still standing but now far above the level of the sea. The periods at which the water attained these levels can be inferred from the style of the submerged buildings, and from the dates given in the accounts, and so the periods when the rainfall was excessive or defective determined. Unfortunately, it is not so easy to determine how long the wet and dry periods continued, but that they were not short is clear: a building would not be erected on a site which had recently been under water; and strand marks, still visible, indicate that the water stood at one at least of the high levels for a considerable period.

The individual changes of level of the Caspian Sea have not been definitely correlated with the changes in the Tarim Basin; but there can be little doubt that the periods when the rivers in the Tarim Basin were fuller and longer correspond with the periods when the level of the sea was abnormally high.

The best evidence for changes of this nature is, however, afforded by the giant trees of California. The rings of annual growth of these trees are very distinct, and have been much studied in America. It is not difficult to count and measure the rings, and this has been done for a large number of trees, some of which have more than 3000 annual rings. The width of the rings varies greatly, and Huntington, who has done much work on these trees, concludes that the width of the rings is mainly governed by the rainfall, a sequence of broad rings indicating a sequence of years with rainfall above the average, while thin rings, and even the absence of rings, are caused by periods of deficient rainfall.

As a result of measuring 451 trees it has been possible to construct curves showing the average width of the rings for each year, the necessary correction being made to allow for the difference in width due to the age of the tree. In this way the variation in

width of the rings has been determined with great accuracy as far back as 200 B.C. and with less accuracy to 1000 B.C. The curves show that the trees grew rapidly for a period and then slowly, and so on in irregular periods. It is possible to pick out periods when the rate of growth was high for 100 years or so and similar periods when growth was slow. There are still a considerable number of problems which must be solved before we are able to interpret the records of these trees. We do not yet know exactly what factors affect the rate of growth, but we can assume with Huntington that they are mainly climatic and that the effect of rainfall predominates. We also do not know whether the changes represented by these curves were of world-wide effect or mainly local. These questions will probably not be solved until many years have passed and the rings in trees now growing can be compared with meteorological observations.

Two facts can, however, be deduced. First, no climatic change has taken place during the last 3000 years in California sufficiently large to be fatal to these trees—and the limited region in which they grow shows that they are very sensitive to climatic conditions; secondly, that climatic changes do occur which materially affect the rate of growth, and continue sometimes for periods of a century or more

It appears reasonable to associate these changes with those which caused the level of the Caspian Sea to vary and the rivers in the Tarim Basin to alter their length. Taking all the evidence into account, there seems little doubt that, while there has been no progressive desiccation or permanent change of climate during the historic period, there have been long periods, much longer than the thirty-five years for a complete Bruckner cycle, when the conditions were different from the present—periods of increased rainfall and periods of increased desiccation; but these have been temporary, and the normal conditions have ultimately been restored. It should be remarked that these small variations might have little significance to people living in a climate like ours, but for a people living in arid regions they might be all-important. It is a well known fact that the percentage variations of rainfall from year to year increase rapidly as the total rainfall decreases, and it is more than likely that a climatic change of a very small absolute amount would make a very large percentage change in the interior of a continent and on the borders of deserts where normally the rainfall is small. Thus, for people already hardly subsisting on the minimum of water the periods of climatic change might well be decisive, and not only cause sites to be abandoned, but a migration of a whole race. Climatic changes have frequently been stated to have been the cause of the successive migrations of the Huns from Central Asia.

We may pause here to consider whether a satisfactory explanation can be given for such periodic changes of climate. To give a full account of the numerous hypotheses and theories which have been propounded would occupy too much space. We can only refer in passing to the theories based on tidal action, changes in the amount of carbon dioxide in the air and volcanic action, none of which have been generally accepted by meteorologists. At present the only theory which is seriously held is that of changes in the radiation given out by the sun. We do know that small variations in the sun's radiation occur, and these changes are now being measured; but the measurements have only extended over a period of about six years, so that we have little knowledge as to how large they may be. There is, however, no known reason why appreciable fluctuations should not take place in the sun's radiation, and it is now widely held that the variations of climate described above are mainly due to changes in solar radiation.

The climatic changes which we have discussed so far have all been found to be temporary variations about a constant mean. We have found no evidence of any changes in the historic period sufficiently large to alter the vegetation in any part of the world; on the contrary, the evidence of the palms and vines in Palestine and the big trees in California is sufficient to prove the absence of such changes for at least 3000 years.

We must now take up the evidence produced by geologists for eal changes in climate, changes which have given us both tropical nd polar climates in the same place. This subject is one which large enough for several articles as long as this, so we can but riefly refer to the main conclusions which have been reached.

The first indication of climate given by the geological record that of ice action in pre-Cambrian times. This is of the utmost nportance from several points of view. The pre-Cambrian rocks ere the first sedimentary rocks to be laid down, and were formed ng before life, in anything but the most rudimentary form, had ppeared on the earth. The presence of ice at this period shows t the crust of the earth and the atmosphere were already cooled wn locally to the freezing point. This means that the internal at of the earth had already ceased to be of climatic importance, d can therefore be entirely neglected in our study of any subquent changes of climate which the rocks may reveal. A still re important conclusion can be drawn, namely, that at that ly period the intensity of the solar radiation was very near to at it is to-day. Ice action indicates not only the presence of but also the presence of open water. If the earth were covered irely by ice there would be little evaporation, and in consence little transfer of water through the atmosphere from one

part to another; the layer of ice would be stagnant, no continuous movement would take place, and rocks would not be transported or scratched, and little trace of ice action would occur. We can therefore say conclusively that in the earliest geological times part of the earth's surface was above the freezing point and part below, conditions which hold to-day. This would only be possible if the solar radiation was then of approximately the same amount as it is at present.

Subsequent to pre-Cambrian times the rocks give clear evidence of large changes of climate. Rocks containing fossils of tropical vegetation occur under others which show the polishing and scratching of ice. Rocks which were laid down in a wet, moist climate occur in conjunction with rocks which were as clearly laid down in a waterless desert. All this evidence we may accept without discussion. I wish, however, to draw special attention to three conclusions reached by geologists and then to examine what they signify from a meteorological point of view.

(*a*) According to geological evidence, the climate was extremely uniform over the whole earth during the Jurassic period. Seward states that 'Jurassic flora are known from the arctic regions, many parts of North America, Europe and Asia and as far south as Graham Land, also from India, China, Australia and elsewhere,' and concludes that 'the data obtained by a study of Lower Cretaceous and Jurassic floras throughout the world point to a greater uniformity in the vegetation and indicate the prevalence of a higher temperature in arctic and antarctic regions than at the present day.'

(*b*) From the fossils found in Greenland, Spitsbergen, and other arctic lands geologists have concluded that in the Eocene period the North Pole experienced relatively warm climate and that its mean temperature was then about 27° C. (49° F.) above its present value.

(*c*) In India there are indications of ice action in circumstances which lead to the conclusion that in Permo-Carboniferous times ice descended to sea level and entered the sea at what is now the Central Provinces Further, the ice moved from the south, showing that the ice sheet extended in that direction, and so was within a few degrees of the equator.

Each of these conclusions raises so many difficulties for meteorologists that, although they cannot refute the evidence on which they are based, they are unable to see any purely meteorological explanation of them. The difference of temperature between the poles and the equator is due to the spherical shape of the earth, and meteorologists cannot see how it is possible in any circumstances for the difference to be less than it is at present. Increasing or decreasing the solar radiation will change the mean temperature,

but it will not alter appreciably the difference in temperature between the equator and the poles. Nor can they conceive of any change in the earth's atmosphere itself which would reduce the difference to an appreciable extent. Thus, to the meteorologist, the uniform temperature during the Jurassic period is entirely inexplicable.

Similarly, if the temperature at the North Pole during the Eocene period were 49° F. above its present value, the temperature at the equator must have increased to, at least, the same extent; that would bring the mean temperature at the equator to 128° F., a temperature which it is safe to say would have been fatal to all vegetation within the whole region of the tropics.

On the other hand, what must have been the temperature over the rest of the earth when ice reached sea level within the tropics? To-day the glaciers in the Himalayas to the north of the Central Provinces do not descend to the 10,000 feet level. To bring them down to sea level would require a lowering of the mean temperature by at least 20° F.—probably much more. It has been calculated that a fall of temperature of 6° or 7° F. would be sufficient to produce an ice age similar to the last one, which covered England and Northern Europe with ice. It is therefore difficult to conceive a lowering of the temperature by more than 20° F. at the equator without at the same time producing an ice age much more stupendous than the last; yet of such an ice age there is absolutely no evidence.

It was an attempt to find a solution of these climatological problems which gave Wegener, a well-known German meteorologist, his first ideas on what has now become known as the Wegener theory. This celebrated and much-discussed theory states that the present continents are literally slabs of relatively light rocks floating on the crust of the earth, which is composed of heavier material. Floating is the right word to use, for although the earth's crust is solid, it reacts (as the science of isostasy indicates), like a fluid, to great and long-continued stresses. The continents, in consequence of this flotation, are able to move relatively to one another, and, in fact, have in the past moved over large distances, and probably are still moving. Wegener has given much evidence for this motion; but we will here only refer to the fact that if South America were moved across the South Atlantic Ocean its coast would fit exactly into the coast of Africa, and the geological strata would then continue across the break like the picture on a jig-saw puzzle. Originally, according to this theory, all the continents were part of one great continental block which commenced to break up during the Carboniferous age, and subsequently the parts drifted apart to the positions which they now occupy. The movement of the

continents affected the moment of inertia of the revolving world and caused the polar axis to wander as the continents moved. A movement of the polar axis had always previously been considered to be impossible owing to the shape of the earth; but Wegener showed that the same factors which permit of the movement of the continents permit also of the necessary change of the shape of the earth, so that what has been called the 'bulge of the equator' would always adjust itself to the new position of the polar axis.

Wegener assumes that there has never been a fundamental change in the climate of the world as a whole,[1] and that the difference of temperature between the equator and poles has always existed. Hence at all periods there have been polar caps with ice and two belts of deserts encircling the earth to the north and south of a warm, damp equatorial region. Now polar, desert, and equatorial conditions leave very characteristic records in the rocks. Polar conditions are accompanied by the action of ice; desert conditions are associated with disappearing lakes and seas, which leave their traces in deposits of salt, gypsum, and other easily soluble substances; while equatorial conditions are clearly recognised by large deposits of vegetable matter, as in the coal measures

Using these indications, Wegener and his collaborator, Köppen (another well-known meteorologist), have produced a series of maps showing the positions of the continents and of the poles in each of the great geological epochs, the whole forming a complete history of the surface of the earth since the earliest geological times. From the meteorological point of view, this theory solves all those great problems to which I have referred above. The existence of Jurassic flora in many latitudes, including the arctic, does not now mean that there was little difference in temperature in Jurassic times between the then existing polar and equatorial regions, but only that the poles were then far removed from their present positions, and the continents were then not spread so far apart as they are to-day. According to Wegener's reconstruction, our present arctic regions were, during Eocene times, in about latitude 45 degrees N., thus accounting for the vegetation, from the remains of which it was deduced that the temperature in polar regions was then 27° C. warmer than at present. It is significant that the mean temperature of 45 degrees N. is now about 30° C. higher than at the North Pole.

In the Permo-Carboniferous period, when ice left traces at

[1] Readers who are interested in the duration of the solar radiation will find that the article on 'The New Outlook in Cosmogony,' by J. H. Jeans, F.R.S., at pp 819 *et seq.*, in the December 1925 number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, deals with this point.—EDITOR.

sea level in India, the distribution of the continents was very different from what it is at present, and Wegener shows the point of India not far from where Madagascar is at present and the South Pole less than 30 degrees away—in fact, parts of Southern India were then within the South Polar circle. The formation of ice in such circumstances is easily understood. As I have already stated, Wegener's theory solves so many meteorological problems that it is difficult for meteorologists not to accept it—in fact, on meteorological grounds, no objection can be found to it. It is for the geologists to have the final word and to tell us whether it is correct or not. At present the geological world is much divided on the subject; but the fact that many well-known geologists have accepted it, and that it is the subject of discussion wherever geologists meet, shows that it must be taken seriously, and that it is of an entirely different nature from other theories which have been put forward to explain the facts of what is now called paleo-climatology.

If we accept the Wegener theory, we can sum up the facts of climatic change in a very few sentences.

Since the beginning of geological time there has been little or no change in the mean temperature of the earth. Throughout the whole period there have been climatic belts similar to those existing at present.

The large changes of climate at any one place indicated in the geological record have been caused by the movements of the poles and of the continents which have resulted in individual regions coming at different times into the various climatic belts.

While there have been no permanent climatic changes, the climate undergoes small variations from the normal. Brückner has shown that there is a tendency for a small climatic oscillation to occur with a frequency of about thirty-five years, while the evidence from the big trees of California and other sources indicates changes which continue for much longer periods, more of the order of a century than of thirty-five years, and these have probably been the cause of economic and political changes chiefly on the borders of the deserts and in the interior of the continents.

G. C. SIMPSON.

DUN TUILM: A CASTLE OF SKYE

'’S mairg a shamhladh Cola creagach
Ri Dunbheagain no Dun Tuilm?'
('Who'd compare Coll the rocky
To Dunvegan or Dun Tuilm?')
OLD CLAN RANALD SONG.

ON the extreme north-western shore of the Isle of Skye stands a ruined castle. Its name is Dun Tuilm (in English the 'dun,' or fort, of the rounded hill), and it is built upon a rocky headland that rises sheer from the tide-torn waters of the sea, with a wide view across the Minch to Harris of the many hills some twenty miles to the north-west.

Dun Tuilm is the ancestral home and fortress of the MacDonalds of the Isles and of Sleat, but not of the Lords of the Isles, as is sometimes stated. One of the earliest references to Dun Tuilm is in a charter by Angus, Master of the Isles and Lord of Trotternish, granting certain lands in Kilmuir to the Abbey of Iona in 1485. This Angus lived in Dun Tuilm, and is supposed to have built the castle upon the ruins of a Norse fortress. By 1490 the said Angus (who was the natural son of John, Lord of the Isles) was dead, and in 1495 Trotternish, with the castle of Dun Tuilm, was in the hands of the king by reason of the forfeiture of John of Isla, formerly Lord of the Isles. Three years later Alexander MacLeod of Dunvegan obtained a charter of the lands of Harris, Durinish, Meginish, Bracadale, and Lindale, as also the lands of Trotternish (upon which stands Dun Tuilm). In 1505 the Commissioners of the Crown leased 'the 80 merklands of Trotternish' to Ranald Ban, Chief of Clan Ranald, for three years.

In 1508 Clan Ranald, along with the Bishop of Caithness and Alexander MacLeod of Dunvegan, was commissioned by the King of Scotland to let to sufficient tenants for five years the land of the Lewes, and of Trotternish, in Skye.

On the death of Ranald of Clan Ranald in 1509 Archibald, one of the natural sons of Hugh of Sleat, seized the lands of Trotternish, but he was killed in 1517 by two of his nephews, in revenge for the murder of their father by him eleven years before. For the next thirty years MacLeod of MacLeod seems to have been in

possession of Trotternish and Dun Tuilm, but on his death in 1547 Donald Gorm, son of Sleat (ancestor of the families of the MacDonalds of the Isles and the MacDonalds of Sleat), obtained a footing on the lands of Trotternish, and his descendants occupied Dun Tuilm until it was finally abandoned about the year 1730. Previous to 1547 Donald Gorm and his ancestors had lived in Dunsgaich Castle, in the south end of Skye, and after leaving Dun Tuilm in the eighteenth century the MacDonalds of the Isles returned to the neighbourhood of their earlier home and built the castle of Armadale, their present seat. Armadale stands above the blue waters of the sound of Sleat, only a few miles distant from where the ruins of Dunsgaich look across the quiet waters of Loch Slapin to where the Black Cuillin raise their serrated peaks to the blue of the western sky.

There is a mystery in the abandoning of Dun Tuilm—a castle that never in its history had been taken by any foe. It is generally believed that the loss of a child (which was unwittingly dropped by a luckless nurse from a window into the sea below) was the cause But some say that it is because of the restless ghost of Donald Gorm [1]—who in his lifetime travelled always with a score of the most valiant men of his clan—that Dun Tuilm now stands ruin. This is the story of the loss of the child as told me by an ld lady living in a wee thatched house not far from the castle:

> One fine day the nurse was with the little one at a window of the castle. e was doubtless pointing out to the wee thing the fine 'birlinn,' or galley, MacDonald that was entering the bay with the chief on board of her. d then the baby gave a jump, and in a moment the child was out of the rse's hands and into the sea and drowned.

ut according to another version of the story the crew of the turning galley noticed something white hanging on the face of e cliff. A man went over the cliff, and discovered the infant, spended precariously by its dress, alive and uninjured. Let us ntinue the old lady's narrative .

> The Lady MacDonald got a boat and called one Angus, and put him in all boat with neither sail nor oars, and she tied the nurse after the boat that she was lying in the water with only her head above it, and she cast them both adrift on the wind. When they got a little way hore the waves began to wash over the nurse's face, and soon drowned . Then Angus for two days drifted on the wind, and at the end of that was cast ashore near Dun Tuilm. He went to the castle. When the dy MacDonald saw him she was afraid, maybe, that he had not drowned nurse right, so she put poor Angus again in the boat, and told him to to Iona and bring back something that would show her he had been e. (She was thinking all the time that she would never see the poor again, for he would surely be drowned.) Angus went to sea again.

[1] Donald Gorm was the son of Donald Gruamach, who died on his way Dunsgaich to Dun Tuilm at a well on Druim nan Cleochd known as Tobar hnall Gruamach, or the Well of Donald the Grim.

He had nothing but his two hands to paddle with, but still he went the full hundred miles that separate Dun Tuilm from Iona, and from that place he brought back a gravestone with the picture of a knight upon it. In the course of time the currents and the wind drifted him back to Dun Tuilm. He carried the great stone on his back to the castle and showed it to the Lady MacDonald, and she bade him carry it to the churchyard at Kilmuir, two miles away And there it is to be seen at the present day And ever afterwards Angus was called Aonghas a' Gaoithe, or Angus of the Wind, because of his sailing all that distance on the wind with no sail and nothing but his two hands to paddle with.

There is a curious old-world and primitive atmosphere about the district of Dun Tuilm, its crofts and its small villages. It is an atmosphere of a past age—an atmosphere more of the Outer Isles than of Skye, and entirely different from Portree, or even Uig, where are the nearest pier and harbour. The people are, of course, Gaelic-speaking. They have the hospitality of the folk of the Outer Hebrides, and know little of the outside world, a journey even to Portree, the capital of Skye, being an event of considerable importance in their lives

It is interesting that a fairy origin was ascribed to the castles of Dun Tuilm and Dunsgaich. They grew and were completed with miraculous speed in the course of a single night, for they were fashioned by innumerable fairy hands. Of the two fortresses Dunsgaich is the older, and it does not seem to have been inhabited after the sixteenth century. The castle of Dun Tuilm was built upon a still earlier fortress This was Dun Daibhidh, or David's Fort. David was a Norse sea-rover, who, it is believed, wrested the fortress from the Celts who were in possession before the Norse invasion of the western islands. It is said that Dunvegan Castle, in Skye, the ancestral seat of the chiefs of the MacLeods, is also built on the ruins of Dun Daibhidh, and it may well be that there were two such forts belonging to David, so that both traditions are possibly correct.

In Pennant's *Voyage to the Hebrides* (1774) is an interesting plate of Dun Tuilm Castle, entire and as it was abandoned about forty-five years earlier. In this print the walled garden is seen clearly. This garden had an interesting history. The earth of which it was fashioned was carried by sea from seven kingdoms—England, Ireland, Norway, France, Spain, Germany and Denmark. Not a trace of this old garden remains, but some of its soil has been used to enrich the garden at Dun Tuilm Lodge.

Below the castle, when the tide is low, are smooth flat rocks leading down to the sea. Across these rocks the 'birlinn,' or galley, of the chief was dragged to the water's edge, and even now the two grooves worn by the boats are distinct. The grooves are perhaps three feet apart, and one, the deeper, was made by the larger vessels. These grooves are to-day used by the

fishermen when launching their boats, and from personal experience I can testify of the ease with which a boat can be launched by running it along the same smooth-worn hollow where in bygone centuries kilted clansmen launched the MacDonald galley, while from the castle above the chief with cold dignity watched the labouring figures of his men. Near the galley marks may be seen the deep shelter cut in the bank where the vessels were stored. It is known as Barrnam Birnal, and at the present day the boats of the crofters and fishermen are drawn up here.

Near the castle are several rounded knolls. In the days when Dun Tuilm was inhabited each knoll was known throughout the island; now it is difficult to gather from the people the exact situations of any but two. The highest of these knolls is Cnoc a' Rola, or the Hill of the Rolling. To the top of this hill were taken the culprits who had been judged by the MacDonald of the day (in whose hands was the power of life and death) upon the judgment seat Cnoc an Ceartais, or upon the neighbouring Cnoc a' Mhoid, and in nail-studded barrels they were rolled down to a terrible death. If by a miracle they survived the rolling, they were held to be innocent.

On one occasion Cnoc a' Rola saved the castle of Dun Tuilm from capture by the MacLeods. The story is as follows:—One day when MacDonald and his men were from home on some foray, and Donald Gorm Og, a boy of sixteen, was left behind with a few old men, came a breathless runner from the Tigh Seallaidh, or the look-out house, at Kilmuir, with news that MacLeod and his clansmen were approaching. Donald Gorm Og was filled with consternation. He sought the advice of the family jester, who said he should send to Kilmaluaig (about two miles distant) and order every man and boy and every piper that was in the village to hurry to the castle. The jester further said that these men and boys should be marched round Cnoc a' Rola in full view of the advancing MacLeods; that when they disappeared behind the knoll the MacLeods would imagine they had entered the castle, but that, instead of doing this, they should run quickly round the knoll to where they should be again visible to the MacLeods, so that it should appear to the investing force that a steady stream of men were marching towards the castle to defend it. The advice of the jester was taken, and MacLeod, seeing the castle so strongly garrisoned, considered that its capture was too costly an undertaking and returned to his castle at Dunvegan.

Below Cnoc a' Rola is a small, inconspicuous knoll. It is still named Cnoc a' Chrochaidh, or the Hanging Knoll, and one can picture some terrified victim being dragged protestingly by stalwart men to his doom. There is a tradition locally that when the gallows was first set up here, and the chief and his men were

standing round about it, someone jokingly suggested that it should there and then be tested. In the distance an old man was seen passing by on the rough track. A messenger was sent for him, and he hurried up eagerly, since it was an honour to be summoned by the chief. But when he reached Cnoc a' Chrochaidh he was seized and hanged upon the new gallows, which, to the satisfaction of all, was found to be in excellent working order. Other knolls, the position of which is uncertain, are Cnoc a' Mhoid (the Meeting Knoll), Cnoc an Eirige (the Knoll of the Ransom or Fine), Cnoc na Comhairle (the Council Hill), and Cnoc a' Cheartais (Justice Knoll).

The castle of Dun Tuilm is now in ruins, and many of its stones have been taken for the building of crofters' houses. But in an arch of one of the windows is seen at the present day a rude but curiously arresting drawing of MacDonald's galley, scratched with some sharp instrument in the mortar of the arch. Each winter a small portion of the drawing crumbles away, and, since nothing is done to preserve it, the last traces of the galley will have disappeared before many years have passed.

The dungeons of Dun Tuilm are now choked with earth and rubbish. Could they but speak, they might tell grim tales of the old days. Here perished Uisdein or Hugh, a kinsman of Donald Gorm Mor, Chief of Sleat. He was known as Uisdein MacGhilleaspuig Chleirich, his title of 'cleireach,' or 'clerk,' having been given him because at that time—the middle of the sixteenth century—few in the West Highlands were able to write, and Uisdein was one of that select company. Uisdein was at enmity with his chief, and formed a conspiracy to kill Donald Gorm. The plot was to be carried out at a great feast that Uisdein proposed to give at the completion of his castle (Caisteal Uisdein, upon Loch Snizort, about twelve miles south of Dun Tuilm). When all was ready Uisdein wrote a cunning letter to his chief. In it he bade him affectionately to the feast, at the same time imploring his forgiveness for past misdeeds. That day he wrote a letter to a fellow-conspirator, giving details of his scheme to kill Donald Gorm. By a remarkable oversight he placed this damning letter in the envelope addressed to Donald Gorm, who had him seized in North Uist by his kinsman Domhnall MacIain 'ic Sheumais (although, by assuming female attire and grinding corn with a quern, he attempted to escape recognition). In the dungeon of Dun Tuilm Uisdein was kept for long without food. At last a large portion of salt beef was lowered to him. The starving Hugh devoured this greedily and was speedily tormented with thirst. A jug of water was lowered to him. He seized it and drank deep, only to find that the water was salt. It is said that he died in madness, having torn to pieces with his teeth the pewter dish

that had held the beef. His body was taken to the churchyard at Kilmuir, but was not buried; it was left on the surface of the ground for the ravens, gulls, and grey crows to feast upon.

In the *New Statistical Account* (1845) is the following account of a mean trick played by Uisdein on his kinsman Donald Gorm Mor. Soon after James VI. assumed the government a bloody feud arose between the MacDonalds and the MacLeans. It happened that Donald Gorm, with a retinue befitting his rank, set out to visit his kinsman Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg, in Isla. A sudden storm forced him to take shelter in that part of Jura belonging to the MacLeans. At the same time Uisdein was at sea, and was driven by the same storm to a neighbouring harbour of Jura. Uisdein, finding himself so near his chief, treacherously by night lifted some of the MacLeans' cattle and put to sea, expecting that Donald Gorm would suffer for the robbery. Sure enough, the MacLeans, discovering their loss and seeing Donald Gorm and his men, naturally imagined that they were the culprits. In the fierce fight that followed sixty of Donald Gorm's men were killed, and the chief narrowly escaped with his life.

But Donald Gorm also had a cruel side to his character. In ime he became tired of his wife (a MacLeod of Dunvegan), and, alling in love with a daughter of MacKenzie of Kintail, determined to send his wife back to her own home. Since the lady had ost an eye, her husband with cruel humour mounted her upon a ne-eyed horse, led by a one-eyed boy and followed by a one-eyed og, and thus she returned to MacLeod in ignominy.

There is an old Gaelic 'oran,' or song, written for Donald orm by his foster-mother. It was taken down from the singing Harriet MacVicar, spinner, of North Uist, in 1870 by Miss olmie, Dunvegan—a lady who has made a life study of Gaelic irs and has rescued many old songs from oblivion. The English ranslation of this song is as follows:

ORAN DO DOMHNALL GORM.

I rejoice that it is she, the sun, which is rising, and dimness passing r the stars

The son of my king arrays himself; a hundred sitting beside thee, a ndred standing around, a hundred to play football for thee. Wish ye might of victory, ye heroes of the Feinn When the son of my king es his course in due order [deiseal, *i e*, the way of the sun from east to st] may the vigour of Cuchulain be with him, the power of the Feinn; energy of little Ossian, and of Oscar the strong; the energy of the brown g that springs on high; the strength of the sea, of weight and power; strength of the world be thine and the strength of the sun. May Brian Celtic god] be to thee what I am to thee; for like a full sister am I to e, and if not more certainly as much. . . .

Numerous as are the leaves on the thorn-tree, or the yellow-headed aves on a cornfield, so at the court of Donald are shields and swords; at the court of Donald are valiant men.

Donald Gorm resided at Dun Tuilm in 1616. About this time he lost his life while besieging the castle of Eilean Donain, being hit by an arrow from one of the defenders. It is said that his ghost revealed to Donald Gorm Og the hiding place of a document of importance.

The glory of Dun Tuilm has faded. No longer do the MacArthurs, hereditary pipers, play the Ceol Mor, or Big Music, on the Highland pipe; no longer do the MacVurichs, hereditary bards, sing of the deeds of valour performed by their chiefs; no longer do the Beatons, hereditary physicians, tend MacDonald and his family in ill-health; no longer do the MacDonalds, hereditary harpers, make soft music within the castle walls, or sit at their especial window, always known as the Harpers' window; no longer do the MacRurys, hereditary smiths and armourers, forge the gleaming broadsword and trusty shield. But beneath the castle, as in the bygone centuries, solan geese pass to and fro upon strong white wings, their keen eyes piercing the opaque depths far below for the swift-swimming mackerel or the silvery herring. As of old, kittiwakes, green cormorants, and a pair of ravens have their home on Eilean Tuilm, and the peregrine falcon, with splendid flight, battles with the tempest.

The sea and the hills are unchanging. At sunrise, as in the centuries that are past, Eaval of North Uist rises blue from the waters of the ocean; at sunset the last golden light burns behind Clisham of Harris. And so it will be when the last stone of Dun Tuilm has fallen, and when nothing is left to mark the fortress of the proud MacDonalds of the Isles.

SETON GORDON.



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Here are three further letters —

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> '*In sending in the last paper to the Institute I must congratulate it on its splendid method. I have only been learning German for five months, now I can not only read it but also speak it well*' (G M 148)

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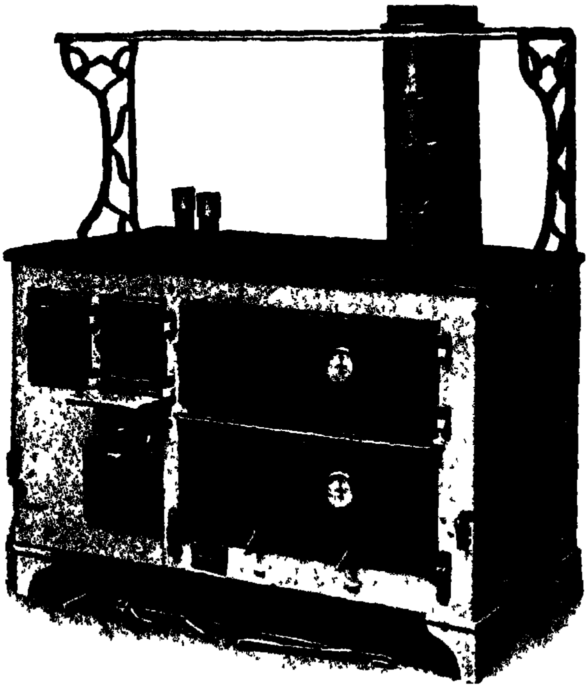
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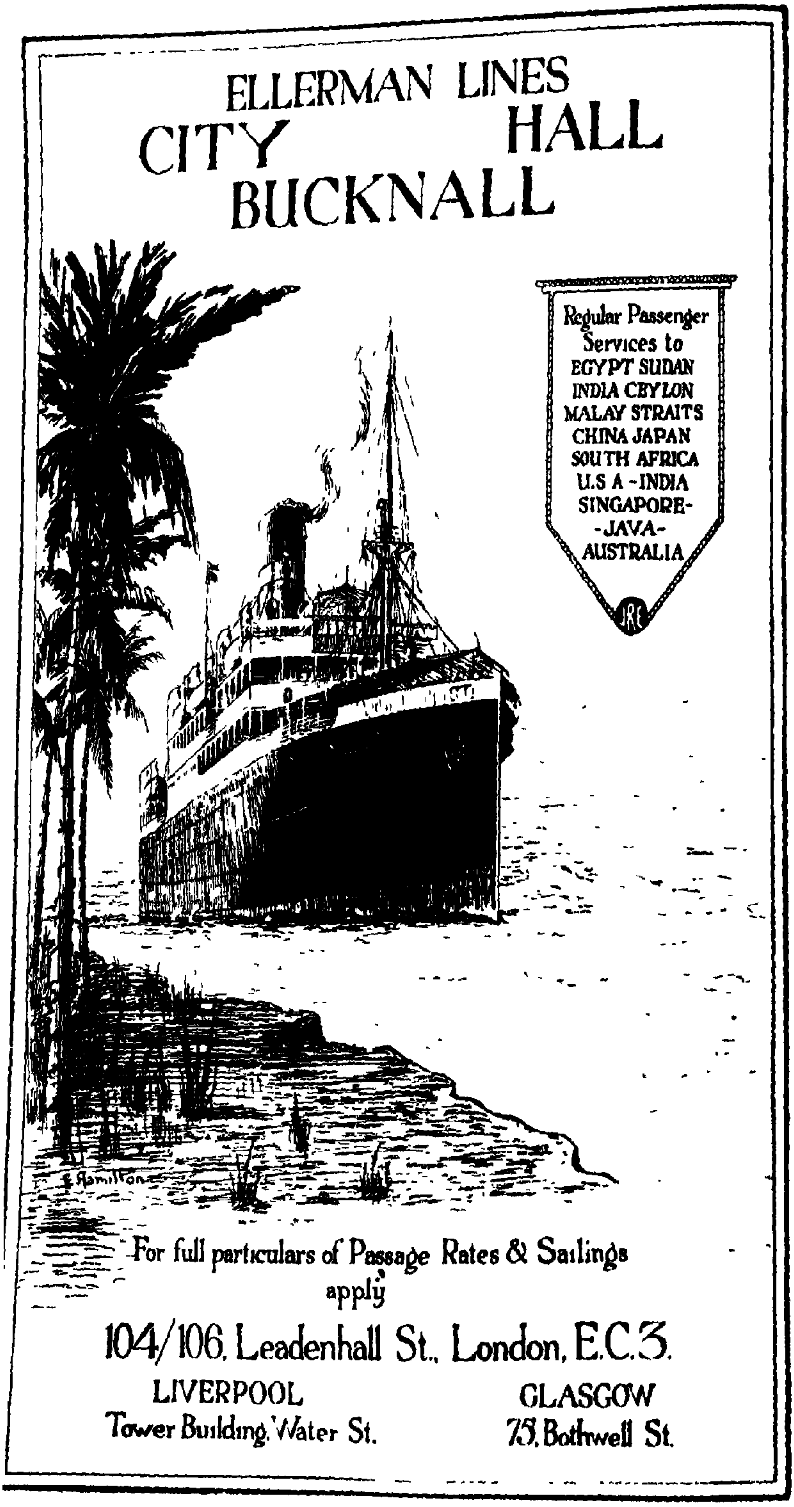
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LONDON: CONSTABLE & COMPANY LIMITED, 10 & 12 ORANGE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE, W.C. 2.

PARIS: MESSAGERIES HACHETTE [illegible] NEW YORK: [illegible] PUBLICATION CO.

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY
AND AFTER



No DLXXXVIII—February 1926

THE GENERAL MEDICAL COUNCIL

For some months past the 'General Council of Medical Education and Registration of the United Kingdom' (to give it the official title) has seemed to play the part of 'whipping boy,' both in Parliament and in the Press, and a monumental ignorance of its powers and functions has been disclosed. 'It has been reprimanded for doing what the law says it *shall* do. It has been bitterly reproached for leaving undone what the law gives it neither power nor means to do.'

By the Act of 1858 two duties were vested in the General Medical Council, an educational as well as a disciplinary duty. Its educational function far outweighs in importance its disciplinary function, but the latter has much more seized the imagination of the public. It may perhaps be useful to set down some facts upon both these aspects.

Its educational duties impose upon the Council the inspection

of medical examinations throughout the United Kingdom, but it cannot itself give any qualification to practise. It must be remembered that, counting conjoint boards as one, there are twenty-three bodies granting diplomas to practise, and all these bodies are under the educational inspection of the Council, which from time to time issues recommendations for the improvement of courses of instruction or of examinations.

The result of these labours of the Council is seen in the steady increase in the requirements for qualification on the part of all licensing bodies, and a correspondingly steady rise in the general reputation of the profession as a 'learned profession.' If the prestige of medical practitioners sixty-seven years ago, when the Medical Act of 1858 was passed, is compared with their present position, it is impossible not to recognise how great has been the Council's influence for good in this important respect of medical education. In consequence, in all probability, of the preponderant claims of education in the activities of the Council, its composition has always been entirely professional: men have been largely chosen for their expert knowledge of medical education. Certain members, as, for example, those appointed by the licensing corporations, would be necessarily themselves professional, but it has come about that even the representatives chosen by the universities and by the Privy Council have also been professional men. This entirely professional composition of the Council (which has been so largely determined by the educational requirements I have mentioned) has been strongly objected to by public opinion when the Council exercises its disciplinary functions.

Before leaving the consideration of the educational function of the Council it may be well to point out that one great barrier to the recognition of qualification of persons trained in certain countries abroad lies in the difficulty of ascertaining the value of the courses of study of foreign institutions, which are not in relations of reciprocity with this country, and not open to the inspection of the Council, as all licensing bodies are open to that inspection in this country. The suggestion, for example, that the osteopathic colleges in the United States should be recognised as competent to give an education qualifying for registration in this country falls at once to the ground, for there is no medical reciprocity with the United States, and the Council could not very well part with its powers of inspection in one case and not in another. Its control of the standard of medical education, which has been such a valuable factor, would become immediately impaired.

The Act of 1858 imposed, as I have said, another function upon the Council in addition to its primarily educational function—the duty to exercise a certain discipline upon the profession.

This duty was undoubtedly dictated by the necessity of having some body which could afford the public in need of medical aid trustworthy guidance, enabling them to distinguish qualified from unqualified practitioners of medicine, and incidentally to remove persons from the roll of the profession who had offended against certain well-defined and generally acceptable ethical rules.

The Council was accordingly vested by Parliament with the duty of keeping a register of medical practitioners. Removal of a name from this register results in certain relatively unimportant disabilities. For instance, an unregistered person cannot give a valid certificate, hold a public medical appointment, or obtain dangerous drugs, but, apart from these things, the practitioner, whose name is so erased, is at complete liberty to continue his professional practice. It is important to emphasise this fact, because the position of the 'removed practitioner' differs in this respect entirely from that of a solicitor who is removed from the roll of his profession by the Law Society, or of a dentist who is removed from the Dental Register by the Dental Board. In both these latter cases the offenders are by that removal rendered unable to follow their profession: a dentist attempting to practise dentistry, after removal from the register, would be liable to prosecution. In the case of the dentist and of the solicitor the offender consequently has the 'right of appeal' to a court of law; in the case of the medical practitioner there is no such 'right of appeal.'

Two classes of offences committed by medical practitioners may result in the removal of the practitioner's name from the Register; the first class is that in which there is a conviction in a criminal court of Great Britain or Northern Ireland, as when a registered practitioner has been convicted of a felony. Upon this conviction being notified to the Council (a duty which devolves upon the Registrar) the Council may summon the member before it; and while, of course, no attempt at modifying the sentence of the court of law is made, any extenuating circumstances may be pleaded, and the gravity of the offence in relation to professional practice is considered by the Council before directing his removal from the register. The second class of case is that of infringement of certain warning notices which are issued to the profession, in most cases as a protection to the public. These warnings are only issued when a number of cases of a particular form of misconduct have been brought before the Council, so that it is clear that a state of things is becoming prevalent which is contrary to the public interest.

The Council does not initiate proceedings in regard to allegations of infamous conduct *de proprio motu*, unless a practitioner has been under the censure of a judicial or other competent authority. A complaint has to be laid before it, in proper legal

form, by accredited persons or bodies, and supported by statutory declaration, without such complaint it can take no action.

When a charge is brought against a registered practitioner the procedure is that the case is investigated by a committee of the Council known as the Penal Cases Committee, which thus acts as a sort of grand jury. This committee consists of five members of the Council, with the judicial assessor and the solicitor (the first is always a distinguished member of the Bar), who assist the committee throughout the investigation. If the Penal Cases Committee comes to the conclusion that a *primâ facie* case for inquiry has been made out against the practitioner, the case comes before the Council, which thereafter tries it in full session. The sittings are public, and the accused person may be, and usually is, represented by counsel or solicitor. Indeed, the ordinary procedure of a court of law is followed as closely as possible. Unless a conviction of a statutory offence has been recorded, the only charge that can be made against a practitioner is that he has been guilty of 'infamous conduct in a professional respect.' Much complaint has been made against the General Medical Council of the impropriety of using the word 'infamous' in this connexion The choice of the word, however, is not the responsibility of the Council, but of the Act of Parliament of 1858, which imposed the formula upon the Council.

The Council sits in this disciplinary capacity twice a year—in November and May. It has evolved a practice in the direction of leniency which is not perhaps contemplated in the Act If a charge made against a practitioner is found to be proved, judgment as to whether it constitutes 'infamous conduct in a professional respect' may be suspended until the next session or a later session. If, in the interval, the errant practitioner has mended his ways and can bring evidence of his repentance, judgment may be in his favour. It is important to note that during the period between finding the fact proved and pronouncing judgment the member's name remains upon the Register. If, however, as sometimes happens, the practitioner deliberately prefers to continue the conduct to which objection is taken by the Council and notifies the Council of this intention, or if the case is too flagrant to permit of further leniency, erasure may be effected immediately. If the name of a practitioner has been erased in this way, and if he wishes subsequently to seek restoration, he must signify the fact and make formal application to the Council for such restoration. It is obvious that the Council cannot restore a practitioner unless the practitioner wishes to be restored; inasmuch as removal from the Register does not exercise any barrier to practice, it may actually be more convenient for a man to accept removal without attempting to be restored. There is a considerable feeling in the medical

profession that this complete freedom of the censured person is mischievous to the authority of the Council, and many would like to see the same rule applied to medical practitioners as is applied to dentists—namely, that a medical practitioner removed from the Register should *ipso facto* be restrained from further practice until his restoration is effected. While this complete freedom is accorded, however, there is obviously much less call for the 'right of appeal' to a court of law in the matter of offences, which are, after all, 'professional' and not statutory offences.

The General Medical Council, under the Medical Acts, can admit to registration or restore to the Register only those persons who are in possession of registrable qualifications to practise medicine, surgery, and midwifery. I have said that there are twenty-three bodies which can give registrable qualifications; these bodies are, for disciplinary purposes, completely independent of the General Medical Council

It is conceivable, even probable, that if the Council were, as some persons propose, to be freely diluted by non-professional members, and if this altered Council, having heard a charge, saw fit to condone professional offences, which the qualifying body did not see fit to condone, and if the qualifying body removed the qualifying diploma, the Council would then be bound to erase the name from the Register, the licensing corporations being, as I have said, completely independent of the Council and not amenable to its influence. The last word, in fact, rests with the licensing colleges, and not with the Council Most of the universities whose medical degrees are licences to practise cannot withdraw these, and many medical men are of opinion that the colleges should not be in fact enabled to flout the Council in the hypothetical circumstances I have quoted. But the colleges are in a very much entrenched position, enjoying the possession of charters of considerable antiquity which they have administered with outstanding success. It so happens that circumstances are compelling the most powerful of these corporations, the Royal College of Surgeons of England, to seek in the near future parliamentary sanction for certain changes it desires to make in its charter, and this may afford an opportunity for Parliament to introduce, if it so wishes, some restriction of the powers above mentioned.

Under section 23 of the Act of 1858 these licensing bodies cannot impose upon any aspirant to qualification the obligation to adopt, or refrain from adopting, the practice of any particular theory of medicine or surgery. And once a practitioner has been trained and tested in the knowledge essential for public safety he may adopt any theory of medicine or surgery—homœopathy or osteopathy, for example—if he believes in these 'systems.' It

has been stated, but the statement is untrue, that the Council obstructs new methods or views; it is expressly prevented by statute from doing so.

The chief gravamen in the minds of laymen against the jurisdiction of the General Medical Council seems to be the absence of the 'right of appeal' to a court of law. This absence of the right of appeal, however, is less forbidding than it looks. A barrister disbarred by the General Council of the Bar has no right of appeal to any other tribunal, and is not allowed to practise his profession after being disbarred. Yet no suggestion has been made that the General Council of the Bar (which is entirely a professional body) should be diluted with non-professional members.

If an appeal were allowed to the courts of law from the decisions of the General Medical Council, it is reasonable to suppose that the courts would be very chary of differing from a professional tribunal on points of strictly professional or ethical procedure. The appeals would entail very great expense, and would in all probability result in practice in confirmation of the verdict of the professional court from which appeal had been made.

I make this statement deliberately in view of the history of the Council, which in its earlier years frequently had to defend its decisions before the higher courts of law. Its very success in these appeals brought about the present state of affairs. Its actual findings as a professional tribunal were never reversed; in successive appeals the Lords Justices recorded their opinion, best expressed by Lord Justice Bowen, that, 'provided due inquiry had been made by the Council, the jurisdiction of the domestic tribunal, which had been clothed by the Legislature with the duty of discipline in respect of a great profession, must be left untouched by courts of law.' It is thus the High Court of Justice itself which has decreed that it shall not be troubled by appeals concerning the strictly domestic jurisdiction of the Council, avowedly because the Council had performed its function so successfully. Lord Justice Fry deliberately added to his judgment this comment: '. . . The manner in which the Council have proceeded on this inquiry, as on all other inquiries, shows that the Council are fully aware that they are performing judicial duties, and endeavour, evidently, to perform them in a very admirable manner.'

The Council is accused, almost exclusively by non-professional complainants, of restricting the liberty of registered practitioners in making themselves known to the general public by advertisement, veiled or open, in the lay Press.

It is difficult to convince laymen that the practice of advertisement by members of the medical profession would ultimately debase it. Naturally enough, the Press is unanimous in support-

ing the right of advertisement, but the reflecting public should surely discern that they would ultimately suffer if advertisement were to become general in the medical profession. The man with the longest purse would inevitably outbid competition, and the man with the longest purse is not necessarily the best medical practitioner. Abstention from self-advertisement is in the nature of a self-denying ordinance, cheerfully accepted by the best men in the profession. Those few persons who enter it with the single-minded motive of making money by it may find themselves impeded by this prohibition, but such persons are better outside the profession, which, indeed, usually seeks to eliminate them, as the tissues of a healthy organism seek to eliminate a noxious foreign body. There can be no question that the vast majority of medical men support the Council in its efforts to check the extension of advertising methods on the part of registered practitioners.

The letters in the Press have shown that large numbers of persons, otherwise well educated and who ought to know better, entertain the grotesque misconception that the General Medical Council exercises the powers and the functions of the executive of a trade union. Mr. Bernard Shaw puts this point of view with characteristic picturesqueness and inaccuracy. He writes in a letter to *The Times*:

> The General Medical Council deliberately and openly addresses itself to the anti-social task of preventing the public from calling in any unregistered practitioner who is in competition with those on the Register.

The General Medical Council can no more prevent the public from calling in any unregistered practitioner it likes than I can prevent Mr. Shaw from growing a beard. Many people think that English law, as compared with law in other countries and in our own Colonies, gives the public very inadequate protection against fraudulent pretenders to medical knowledge and would like to see the law strengthened in this respect; but the General Medical Council, which cannot initiate prosecutions, is clearly not the body to undertake such protection of the public. At the risk of wearisome reiteration, I must repeat that the jurisdiction of the General Medical Council is strictly limited to persons on the Register, and the utmost penalty it can inflict is removal from that Register, removal which need not check practice but often increases it, owing to the colossal advertisement which a misguided Press gives to the removal. The other functions of a trade union executive—regulation of hours of service, rates of payment, etc.—are even more remote from the activities of the General Medical Council, and need only be cited to demonstrate the absurdity of the comparison.

Much capital has been made against the Council because one effect of the rule against 'covering' (the official definition of which is given below) has been to prevent registered anæsthetists from assisting unqualified practitioners who practise 'bone-setting' or 'osteopathy.' The public, with some reason, resents the position that persons who resort to these practitioners should suffer avoidable pain because of a 'rule' of the medical profession. It is acknowledged by all fair-minded persons that the rule acts for the most part in the public interest, and is framed with that intent. American osteopaths, who are invading this country in large numbers at the present time, have seized upon the *Axham* case (to be presently considered in detail) as a pretext to force the General Medical Council to allow registered practitioners to give anæsthetics for osteopaths.

The advantage to an unqualified practitioner of association with a registered practitioner is twofold—(1) the association may deceive the public into supposing that the unqualified practitioner is, in fact, qualified, and (2) a more important advantage, if a patient should die while under the care of the unqualified man, and if the registered associate consents to give a certificate of 'cause of death,' the coroner's inquest (which otherwise would follow upon the death of a man which had occurred while under the ministrations of the unqualified practitioner) would be avoided The contingency of being required to sign death certificates is not frequent in the somewhat safe practice to which prudent unqualified men restrict themselves But a bonesetter or osteopath does sometimes take these improper risks through ignorance, and in their case the precaution of association with a registered man is perhaps even more eagerly sought after than in the case of other irregular practitioners

If 'covering' were allowed freely in such cases, it might obviously lead to great abuses. Inasmuch as these American osteopaths are loudly claiming that their medical training is as complete as that in our own schools, there should be no difficulty in procuring osteopaths to give anæsthetics for other osteopaths. Another solution of this problem of furnishing unregistered anæsthetists to act with unregistered practitioners would be to create a diploma in anæsthetics, just as there is now a diploma in midwifery, which could be taken by unregistered persons. Administration of anæsthetics is now frequently undertaken, even in reputable hospitals, by nurses, the art is certainly not more difficult to acquire than the art of obstetrics, which thousands of midwifery nurses are at present empowered to practise, under the Midwives Act, in cases which used to be the exclusive province of the registered practitioner of medicine.

The principal occasion for attack upon the General Medical

Council has been found in the circumstances of the *Axham* case, and, as this case very well illustrates the difficulties and the limitations of the Council, a full discussion of it may be useful in disabusing the public of some surprising misconceptions which it at present seems to harbour. In February 1911 an action was brought in the High Court in which the plaintiff alleged that the defendant, Mr. Herbert Barker, an unqualified practitioner, had caused the loss of his, the plaintiff's, leg by improper treatment. In the evidence submitted it was shown that Dr. Axham had administered the anæsthetic for the unqualified practitioner. The publicity given to this trial was the occasion of a charge of 'covering' being brought by the Medical Defence Union, a representative society numbering some 12,000 doctors, against Dr. Axham before the General Medical Council in May 1911. 'Covering' had been recognised for many years before that date as an offence which rendered a man liable to have his name erased from the Register 'Covering' has been defined in general terms as follows —

. . .

2 UNQUALIFIED ASSISTANTS AND COVERING.

The employment by any registered medical practitioner in connexion with his professional practice of an assistant who is not duly qualified or registered, and the permitting of such unqualified person to attend, treat, or perform operations upon patients in respect of matters requiring professional discretion or skill, is in the opinion of the Council in its nature fraudulent and dangerous to the public health, and any registered medical practitioner who shall be shown to have so employed an unqualified assistant is liable to have his name erased from the Medical Register

Any registered medical practitioner who by his presence, countenance, advice, assistance, or co-operation, knowingly enables an unqualified or unregistered person, whether described as an assistant or otherwise, to attend, treat, or perform any operation upon a patient in respect of any matter requiring professional discretion or skill, to issue or procure the issue of any certificate, notification, report, or other document of a kindred character (as more particularly specified in Division 1 hereof), or otherwise to engage in professional practice as if the said person were duly qualified and registered, is liable on proof of the facts to have his name erased from the Medical Register

The foregoing do not apply so as to restrict the proper training and instruction of *bonâ fide* students, or the legitimate employment of dressers, midwives, dispensers, surgery attendants, and skilled mechanics, under the immediate personal supervision of a registered medical practitioner.

. . . .

5. ASSOCIATION WITH UNQUALIFIED PERSONS

Any registered medical practitioner who, either by administering anæsthetics or otherwise, assists an unqualified or unregistered person to attend, treat, or perform an operation upon any other person, in respect of matters requiring professional discretion or skill, will be liable on proof of the facts to have his name erased from the Medical Register

Dr. Axham admitted the charge, and refused to discontinue

the conduct complained of. There was consequently no other course open to the Council than that of removal of his name from the Register. It has been, surely somewhat unreasonably, contended that because Mr. (now Sir Herbert) Barker has achieved a considerable personal success since 1911, the Council should not have removed his assistant, Dr. Axham, fifteen years ago, and should have in fact differentiated his offence from the precisely similar offences which came before the same session of the Council and received the same sentence: for example, a registered practitioner was removed from the Register for having assisted another 'unqualified practitioner,' the late Mr. Eugen Sandow, who had been a familiar performer as a strong man on the music-hall stage, but had subsequently set up to treat all manner of diseases by physical exercises. It is surely perilous doctrine to maintain that the General Medical Council, exercising the function of a court of law, should have censured Mr. Sandow's assistant but should have refused to censure Mr. Barker's. The status or reputation of the unqualified practitioner could not, and should not, influence the verdict. All that the prosecution (the Medical Defence Union) had to prove was the association with an unqualified practitioner. Dr. Axham, before his connexion with Mr. Barker, which began some years before 1911, had conducted a surgery in Glasshouse Street, which twenty to thirty years ago was one of the poorest districts in London. It can hardly be questioned that Dr. Axham's association with Mr. Barker, which lasted for some fifteen or twenty years, was more lucrative than his previous practice could possibly have been. That association remained undisturbed, and must indeed have been strengthened, by the removal of Dr. Axham's name from the Register, for during the ten years after his removal Dr. Axham was busier than ever. The validity of these statements is in no way impaired by the claim, which is doubtless completely justified, and which I do not question, that Dr. Axham was actuated solely by the highest humanitarian motives, and not by the prospect of material profit, which only incidentally accrued But Dr. Axham's friends do him a disservice in contending that he was 'ruined' by the verdict of the General Medical Council in 1911, for this statement cannot be reconciled with the facts.

Mr Barker was knighted in 1922, some months after Dr. Axham had ceased to act with him. This, one would think, would have been the psychological moment for applying for restoration, if Dr. Axham had wished to be restored, to the Register. But Dr. Axham has, in fact, never given the smallest indication that he, personally, desired to be restored. The irresistible inference is that Dr. Axham's friends are more

anxious for his restoration than he is himself. Indeed, one may conceive Dr. Axham as saying to himself: 'In 1911 I made a stand against a professional rule with which I disagreed. By so doing I won both fame and fortune. I do not wish to weaken my protest of fifteen years ago by seeking to be restored to a muster of men the great majority of whom prefer, themselves, to be bound by the rules which I flouted.' But his friends have willed otherwise; in September 1925 Sir Herbert Barker wrote to the President of the General Medical Council suggesting that Dr. Axham might be restored, and asking for information as to the steps to be taken to that end. In consequence of this letter Dr. Axham was informed a few days later that he should approach the two colleges from which he had obtained the qualifications which had placed him originally upon the Register, but which had been withdrawn by the colleges subsequently to the verdict of 1911. Dr. Axham's application for return of his licence has been recently refused by the Royal College of Surgeons of England, from which he obtained his surgical qualification. The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, which had issued his medical qualification, has not yet given its decision.[1]

It has been freely suggested, even by medical men who ought to, but do not, know the facts, that the General Medical Council should 'as an act of grace' forthwith restore Dr. Axham to the Register. The preceding pages will, I hope, have convinced the unprejudiced reader that the responsibility for any difficulties which may develop in restoring Dr. Axham lies at present with the colleges, without whose consent to restoration of their licences the General Medical Council cannot act. It is just as unreasonable to fulminate against the General Medical Council for not exercising powers which it does not possess as it would be unreasonable for the ordinary citizen to quarrel with his local post office because he cannot now send letters by penny postage. I am convinced that there will be general surprise at the essential impotence thus revealed of a Council which has been so absurdly misrepresented as an overweeningly autocratic body. I have shown that it has to obey the dictation of the licensing colleges when the restoration of a member of these colleges is concerned; I have shown that the most serious censure which it can pronounce may be an actual source of gain to the censured person. It acts, as far as its statutory powers enable it, as a court of law, yet its decisions, in which it should enjoy some of the protection universally accorded to the

[1] The resolution of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh was announced in *The Times* of January 20, 1926, and after the author had completed this article. It was in the following terms: 'It is now resolved by the College, on proof submitted that the said Frederick William Axham has abstained for the last five years from the practices which led to his suspension and will not resume them, that the said suspension be removed as from this date.'—EDITOR.

verdict of the courts of law, may be criticised with impunity by the most ignorant scribbler in the Press. If fresh legislation is necessary—and I think it is—it is surely in the direction of increasing rather than of diminishing the already dangerously weakened penal discipline and authority of the General Medical Council.

E. Graham Little.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A FOREIGNER finds it difficult to understand the English Public School system; an Englishman seldom troubles his head about it. Here in England we are so much accustomed to the idea of boarding schools that we fail to realise that this is the only country in the world where 95 per cent. of those parents who can afford to do so hand over their sons for the greater part of the years of growth to the complete charge of specialists. In England the public schools accept quite definitely the task of building the characters of their boys, in other countries no parent expects such a responsibility to be undertaken by the teacher, and few teachers would assume it.

A consideration of the very high proportion of statesmen, senior Government officials, and leaders in the professions who have been trained at one or other of the public schools makes it easy to realise what an important part this training plays in the life of the nation. So important, in fact, is this function, that it must be to a large extent responsible for the initiation and development of national characteristics wherein we differ from the peoples of neighbouring countries Boarding school education improves (or spoils) the breed in one generation instead of six, and it is well, therefore, from time to time to examine the tendencies in our public schools and judge, if we can, the direction in which they are moving.

A review of the public schools during the last twenty or twenty-five years will show that possibly the most striking feature is the very great increase in the number of parents who are anxious for their boys to have a public school education. The old public school man (now in many cases one of the 'new poor') will make any sacrifices for his son's education, while the 'new rich' also want their boys to go to a public school. The result of this is that there has been a very large increase in the numbers of boys in practically all the public schools that were well known twenty years ago; and even so, this increase has not been sufficient to absorb all the boys. In consequence new schools have been started, and several which twenty years ago would hardly have been classed amongst the ranks of public schools have now attained that status.

Another noticeable feature—the natural result of the eve of the last few years—is the increase in fees which has taken pl since the war, and which corresponds roughly to the increase the cost of living. The following figures show the increase numbers and fees in statistical form. For the purpose of co parison I have chosen a number of schools which could alrea be described as public schools twenty years ago. The selecti is arbitrary, and no doubt most people would differ in maki such a list, but I have chosen schools which in the year 1904—

(*a*) Had already been established at least thirty years;

(*b*) Had a regular connexion with Oxford and Cambrid Universities;

(*c*) Were represented on the Headmasters' Conference;

(*d*) Had attained a certain degree of scholastic and athle prominence;

(*e*) Had boarders in a great majority over day-boys.

Aldenham	Felsted.	Rossall.
Bradfield.	Haileybury.	Rugby.
Brighton	Harrow	Sedbergh.
Canterbury, King's School	Lancing	Sherborne.
Charterhouse.	Leys	Shrewsbury.
Cheltenham	Malvern	Tonbridge.
Clifton	Marlborough	Uppingham.
Dover	Mill Hill	Wellington
Eastbourne	Oundle	Winchester.
Epsom	Radley.	
Eton	Repton	

Taking total numbers for these schools in the year 1904, w get the following results: number of boys, 11,377; total amou paid in fees, 1,258,142*l*. Twenty years later, *i.e.* in 1924, th figures have become: number of boys, 15,269; amount paid fees, 2,343,522*l*. *This shows an increase in the number of boys* these public schools from an average of 367 boys per school an average of 492, while the average fee has risen from 101*l*. p annum to 151*l*. per annum. In 1904 Eton was the only scho out of the thirty-one with more than 600 boys, while just ov half of the schools had 300 boys or under. In 1924 there were n less than nine of these schools with more than 600 boys, and onl eight with 300 and under.

Amongst the more striking increases in numbers are:

	1904.	1924.
Brighton	from 152	to 550
Clifton	" 600	" 800
Malvern	" 480	" 680
Marlborough	" 590	" 750
Oundle	" 209	" 560
Sherborne	" 210	" 440
Shrewsbury	" 281	" 480

Here, then, we find that one of the most striking tendencies during the last twenty years amongst public schools has been the increase in the number of boys. Is this a good thing or not?

It will help us to arrive at an answer to this question if we examine the reasons which have induced schools to increase in size. Probably the first and most potent reason has been financial. The additional tuition fees received from twenty boys would be about 1000*l.*, while the salary of the additional master required on the staff would vary from 300*l.* to 700*l.* The cost of upkeep and overhead charges would hardly be affected, so that an increase in the number of boys is undoubtedly a profitable thing for public schools, provided that they do not have to spend a very large amount of money on new buildings, or alternatively can persuade their 'old boys' or other supporters to present these to the school. The second reason for the increase is probably the pressure of parents, and, particularly when many of the parents themselves are 'old boys' of the school, this is a very powerful factor. The third reason is perhaps more subtle and can best be described in the phrase 'Numbers mean Success.' Headmasters are only human; and so long as the public judges the success of a school by this increase in numbers, headmasters will want to say at the end of their time, 'When I came to the school there were only 400 boys; now there are 650.' In many cases, of course, this is a poor test, and the headmaster has not necessarily done a great service to the school by allowing the numbers to increase. Other motives may perhaps be that headmasters realise that the increase in numbers will enable their school to take a more prominent place at football and cricket or to win more scholarships at the university.

These, then, are the causes which operate towards an increase in numbers for public schools. What of the consequences?

Personally I have no hesitation in giving my opinion that the tendency is wholly bad for the ordinary boy—and, after all, the great majority of boys at public schools must be ordinary boys. The outstanding athlete or scholar will come to the front whatever the size of the school; but a boy misses a great deal of the value of his time at a public school if he goes through his five years there without representing his school in one or other of the teams, or holding some office, such as chapel warden, editor of the school magazine, member of the committee of the debating society, etc. It is obvious that a boy has only half the chance of attaining one of these objects at a school of 600 that he will have at a school of 300 boys.

Thring is very definite on the advantage that a small school possesses over a large one, and his opinion should carry considerable weight, as he was undoubtedly the man who had most

to do with the development of public schools as they exist to-day. Thring held that the limit of numbers in a first-rate public school, training boys for the university, should be almost as rigidly determined, if sound principles were adhered to, as the limit of numbers in a house. Ten or eleven houses, with thirty boys apiece, constituted the maximum, beyond which it was not wise to go The following statement was made by Thring himself in reply to a request for an opinion as to the best size of a school:

It is certain that a school which undertakes to work each boy cannot be in a true state of efficiency if its numbers exceed 400 boys, and for the highest average excellence that is too much The numbers that a head-master can know personally form no slight item of calculation in the question of efficiency As long as the headmaster knows each boy, he is head-master, the moment he does not, the man who does is so far headmaster The working of this is not unimportant If the headmaster does not know each boy and is unable to give an opinion on each boy, his assistant-master B may come before him with a complaint of a boy C whom he does not know The headmaster has no choice, he must take B's opinion as final and act on it In other words, the headmaster sinks into the position of B's policeman I consider these facts alone to be, in practice, fatal to the full efficiency of a too large school There is no hard-and-fast line, but each boy added to the numbers over about 330 or 340 begins to act as a drag, whereas every boy added to the numbers up to about 330 adds to the efficiency of a school by securing the graduation of classes and a sufficient number for the training of the outdoor life [1]

The following is an extract from Thring's diary, where he speaks of an interview with the governors.

It was too ridiculous, however, at the end, when I mentioned about numbers being destruction to a true school, to hear the naive way in which they [the governors] said with surprise, 'Then you condemn several of the great schools' I simply told them that they knew that if I had raised the numbers as I could have done I should now have a large fortune and a much greater public reputation, but that it is dishonest [1]

This point raised by Thring is certainly important and is very evident when the name of some boy comes up for discussion at a masters' meeting. In the small school of, say, 300 boys, many of the staff besides the headmaster will know every boy in the school. The consequence is that, if there is any good point about him, it is pretty certain that one or two of the staff will have noticed it and will be able to put in a word for the boy. Obviously the school of 300, where every boy knows all the rest at least by name, is much more like a big family than the larger school, and the 'school' spirit is much stronger, and the 'house' spirit much weaker, at the former than at the latter It is a fact that at many of the large schools boys go through their whole time and hardly ever make a friend outside their own house.

Another noticeable tendency in public schools is the growing

[1] *The Life and Letters of Edward Thring*, by G. R Parkin.

dissatisfaction with the 'house' system. This system is of comparatively recent growth in the history of public schools, and started originally with one or two of the assistant-masters taking a few boys as boarders in their own private houses in order that they might attend the school as day-boys. During the last hundred years, however, the house system has grown enormously, and now at all public schools there are regular boarding-houses, the numbers of boys in them varying from thirty to fifty or sixty.

Financially, the house is, in effect, a speculation on the part of the house-master; he buys or rents the house, receives the boarding fees from the parents of the boys, and makes a profit or a loss according to whether the total of these fees exceeds or falls below the cost of providing food, servants, etc., for the running of the house. This system is similar to that which prevailed in the drapery trade so long as 'living-in' was allowed The manager of a big draper's shop did not draw a very large salary, but made a considerable profit out of feeding the shop-assistants. Needless to say, there are many evils likely to arise with such a system, and in the drapery trade it was abolished by Act of Parliament some years ago. In public schools the system still prevails, although in recent years it has been subjected to some severe criticism.

The house-master who makes or loses money out of feeding the boys in his house is in a very invidious position, he or his wife must necessarily reflect when deciding upon the class of food to be provided how it will affect their private income, and, as the numbers to be catered for are large, the amount involved is considerable, even in the case of comparatively insignificant items in the daily menu. As a simple example: in many schools the only food provided by the house-master between 1 o'clock dinner and breakfast next day is a meal between 6 and 7 p.m. consisting of tea and bread-and-butter. The provision of some dish (sausage, poached egg, fruit, cheese, fish-cakes, etc) at this meal would involve the house-master in an expenditure of approximately 120*l*. a year for a house of forty boys. Naturally in many cases the house-master feels unwilling to incur this expenditure, and so those boys whose parents are not sufficiently wealthy to allow them pocket-money to supplement this meal put up with what some may consider 'short rations' for a growing boy.

Not only is the house-master thus presented with a most invidious task, but he is also necessarily burdened with the worry of keeping accounts and following the ups and downs of his speculation, to start which, in many cases, he has borrowed money either from a bank or from friends Generally speaking, the schoolmaster has little experience in, and not much aptitude for, business affairs, and it is wrong that he should be burdened with

matters of this kind in addition to his teaching and the care of the boys in his house.

In spite of what I have written above, I do not wish to be misunderstood; it is most certainly not my opinion that all house-masters, or a majority, or even a large number, are rapacious money-grubbers who starve their boys. On the contrary, I think that, taken as a class, the great majority of schoolmasters are idealists, and in consequence the full evils of the existing house system only come about in comparatively rare cases. That such cases do exist now, and have existed in the past, in some of the best known public schools, is an undeniable fact which nearly every reader of this article can verify from his own or his friends experiences. Good plain food in sufficient quantities is so important for growing boys that this question should not be left to the individual whim of a house-master whose bank balance at the end of the year depends upon it. Moreover, one finds sometimes that a house-master who began with the best of intentions is gradually demoralised by the system, and that during the latter part of his time he is thinking too much of the financial side of the management of his house.

Certain schools—*e.g.*, Wellington, Marlborough and Haileybury—have central dining-halls and get over the difficulty in this way; but even at some schools which have the central dining-hall the private house system is creeping in and already becoming a formidable factor

The other solution of the problem is by means of what is known as the 'hostel' system, which has already been adopted, in whole or in part, by Charterhouse, Eastbourne, Mill Hill, Oundle, and Shrewsbury. Under this system the house-master's wife continues to do the catering (though certain supplies are bought wholesale by the bursar for all the houses), but all the bills are paid by the school. The house-master's wife must of course be mistress in her own house, and she is therefore responsible for the servants, pays them their wages, etc., each month, but is reimbursed by a cheque from the bursar to cover the amount paid out. Naturally enough, there are differences between houses; but given good-will on the part of the house-master's wife or the house-keeper, and a reasonable degree of tact and efficiency on the part of the bursar, the results are good and are attained without undue friction. The advantage of this system is that the house still remains the feeding unit, and thus the benefits of the home life of the house are retained. From the point of view of the house-master, it is an immense advantage to be relieved not only of the worry of running his house as a financial venture, but also of the unpleasant feeling that he is a hotel-keeper.

Public opinion is always slow to move in the direction

reform, particularly where vested interests are concerned; but the following quotation from a leading article entitled 'School Diet' in *The Times Educational Supplement* of September 5, 1925, shows that it is changing:

> The true solution of all these very real difficulties is to remove all financial responsibility and all profit on catering from the individual house master. The school as an institution should be responsible for all catering, and the house master should be paid a salary which properly represents his heavy responsibility He should not be tempted to make money by adventurous catering.

If this statement represents a fair section of public opinion, it should not be many years now before the old house system disappears, although no doubt there will be some tenacious fights in some of the more conservative public schools.

Naturally enough, one of the questions which are of the most vital importance to the parent is whether the public school at the present day is likely to fit his boy for the career that he may have chosen. He may be reassured. Public schools undoubtedly train boys better than they did twenty years ago. Classes are generally smaller; more attention is paid to the individual requirements of a boy; and the subjects taught are not only of real educational value, but they are taught in a more sensible way than they were twenty years ago.

So far as the professions are concerned, it has long been recognised that a public school education is most valuable, if not essential, and I do not propose, therefore, to discuss this point. But how does this education stand as a preparation for commercial life, for which, nowadays, so many boys are destined? As a business man turned schoolmaster I have no hesitation in saying that the average public school is an ideal training ground for business life. I do not suggest that a public school will fit *all* boys for business; there are a certain number who are temperamentally quite unsuitable, and no amount of training at a public school, or elsewhere, will make any difference. But I do maintain that for the ordinary boy the public school provides exactly the type of training required. There has been much confused thinking and ill-considered talking on this subject, and it has been the basis of most of the criticism of public schools in recent years. A parent will talk about 'bottom rungs of ladders,' and how he started work when he was sixteen years old, and he asks what is the good of his son staying on at school after that age. Alternatively the parent may vary the argument by saying that unless you catch a boy young he will be unwilling to go through the drudgery of office life. Some parents, on the other hand, will be fully alive to the value of a boy's last two years at school, with the opportunities for developing a sense of responsibility, but they want him to be

studying so-called commercial subjects. 'What is the good they will say, 'of my son wasting his time on Latin when he going into an office? Why can't they teach him book-keeping an shorthand, subjects that will be useful to him afterwards?'

There is just enough common-sense in criticisms of this kin to make them plausible, but I suggest that they will not bear clos examination. The root of the matter is that the boy from th public school, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, is *not* intende or expected, to be merely a clerk. He is *not* going to do bool keeping or shorthand or typewriting for his living. The publ school boy—by his own merit if he has been properly trained, by family influence if he has not—is intended for a manageri position Of course he will have to know something of the subjects, but he is not going to spend his life entering up figur in a ledger or working out trial balances, and he can learn all th is necessary during his first few months at the office. Even h handwriting is comparatively unimportant, as he will dictat nearly all his correspondence, and the shorthand typist will l responsible that there are no spelling mistakes It is occasional useful for one of the senior men in a business firm to have son knowledge of shorthand, but it certainly is not sufficiently impo tant to justify a boy spending valuable hours on studying it school.

But cannot the boy study other subjects which will l directly useful to him in after-life? Certainly he can—at technical college or at a foreign language school, but the publ school very wisely does not attempt the task, because it is doi something better. The teaching at a public school is designed train the mind, to develop powers of reasoning, to exercise t memory, to encourage initiative, to cultivate powers of expressio and in order to do all that, it uses as its chief instruments tho subjects which long years of experience have shown to be the be for the purpose. The boy who worries out the meaning of a Lat Unseen is developing just that faculty which enables him, yea later, to grapple with the problems of business. The solution o difficult problem in algebra or geometry, with the necessary arran ment of logical steps in orderly sequence, requires from him exact the same reasoning power which he will use when he prepares the board of directors a memorandum advocating some importa new line of policy for his firm. That is why schoolmasters cli instinctively to the same old subjects, and they are right to do

A foreigner of my acquaintance, one of the leading financi in Paris, was once asked by a friend why he had sent his son school in England. He replied that in the course of his life he h met most of the leading men of finance and business in Euro and out of the five whom he considered the greatest he had fou

that four were educated at English public schools. That proves nothing, except that first-rate business minds *can* be trained, or at any rate need not be spoilt, by public school teaching A very much better proof of my main contention is the greatly increased demand for the products of the public schools and universities on the part of business firms all over the country. With regard to this I can give my own experience as 'careers master' at a public school for the last five years. I have before me, as I write, letters from two of the largest concerns in England saying that they have decided to take into their business public school boys, to be trained for a few years with a view to becoming managers of their various departments and outside branches. These are only two examples out of many, and for the *best* boys of the public schools there is not only a growing demand in commerce, but actually at the present time the demand is greater than the supply I would go so far as to say that a good average boy from a public school can be quite sure of getting a start in some commercial firm where he will begin on a salary of at least 100*l* a year (aged eighteen) while he is being trained, and with good prospects for the future. To make this clear I should explain that by 'good average boy' I mean one who in work has attained to the standard of the School Certificate, is a house prefect (though not necessarily a school prefect), has got colours of some kind (not necessarily in a first team), or is at least a corporal in the O.T C. For boys such as this there is a steady demand, and from the point of view of business I say with confidence that the demand is justified, because the product is very good indeed

For an explanation of this I will turn to Sir Robert Waley Cohen, one of the managing directors of that vast organisation the Shell Transport and Trading Company, from whose headquarters in London are controlled oil companies all over the world. About twenty years ago the Shell Company started enrolling public school and university men to be trained for responsible positions, and these men now form the framework of the whole business. In selecting them it did not matter whether they had been studying classics or mathematics or history, but the important points were that they should be well reported on from their public schools or universities, and that they should have given evidence of possessing good brains. This experiment—for experiment it was—has proved a very great success; and the management of the Shell organisation is now well known as one of the most efficient in the world. Three or four years ago Sir Robert gave the following reasons for the adoption, and continuation, of the policy of engaging men from the university and public schools :—

1. Commercial life is now so vast, and its interests so ramified, that specialised training is impracticable. What is needed is a

well-trained mind that will be able to grapple with new problems as they arise, and such a mind is produced best by the training at the public schools and university.

2. Public school and university life rubs off the corners and produces the type of man who can get on with inferiors as well as superiors.

3. For the higher posts in business it is essential that a man should be loyal and trustworthy beyond question. The training at a British public school is easily the best in the world for producing a character of this type.

There still remains the question of drudgery. Does public school life spoil a boy for the office routine of 9 to 5.30, with a half-holiday on Saturday, which must be his lot for the first few years of business? The continued and ever-increasing demand for public school boys should be sufficient to disprove this idea, but a brief consideration of the conditions of school life also suggests that the idea is false. What better training for punctuality and regular hours is possible than the school time-table? And who can point to a boy so perfect that he finds no drudgery in any of the subjects he studies? As a matter of fact, there is a tendency in one or two public schools to cater for a boy's likes and dislikes and to eliminate from his work anything in which he is not interested. If life were different there would be no great harm in this, and in the case of boys who will not have to earn their living afterwards perhaps it does not matter; but this policy would be fatal if adopted at all widely.

When a boy leaves school and goes out into the world he will probably find that he spends half his time doing things that he either actively dislikes or barely endures, so that school has not been a very good preparation, if during his years there he has always been allowed to do what he likes. Part of the training at a public school has always been to instil the idea that work well done is worth doing for its own sake, however much one dislikes doing it, and it will be a great mistake if public schools are persuaded by modern theories of education to abandon this principle.

STEPHEN H. FOOT.

THE RETURN TO AUTHORITY

SIR PATRICK HASTINGS warned us the other day that, in spite of half-hearted statements of optimism, the country is on the verge of an appalling disaster, and that even the occasional statements of Ministers that the outlook is improving have long ceased to act as a solace to those who are really concerned about the future.

Such a warning should make us realise that we are turning another corner in our national destiny, and individuals who view the crisis with no concern can only merit the contempt of posterity and the generations to come.

It is not sufficient that we remain static before such a national mergency. Does it not behove us, as men and women with clear yes, to envisage the future in terms of the past and make preration for a contingency that is as inevitable as the morning nlight?

The philosophic mind and the student of political economy ll turn naturally at such a moment to a study of history in the ht of modern events, and the discerning mind will trace in trospect the transitional period of every epoch. It is in this anner that we may plan out our eventual regeneration.

It is not the purpose of this review to trace the swing of the litical pendulum through all the fluctuating periods of time. hat task could be accomplished in any of our public libraries, or a casual glance around our own fireside through some of the lumes of Mr. Wells' *Outline of History.*

Just as the tendency of politics in British affairs has been from t to right, and *vice versâ*, so does the pointer of history confirm at mankind has altered the environment of Authority to berty at alternating periods of human thought and action.

It will be significant, then, to note that from the dynasties of e Pharaohs downwards there has been an invincible surge of man emotion between clearly-defined strata of political ought, and no modern statesman or thinker can fail to be pressed by the inevitability of such recrudescence in national d international affairs. It simply accentuates the complexity human nature, and proves beyond cavil that modern problems n only be regarded from the angle of contemporary thought

camp, attempted to rule Europe as one great empire with Paris as his capital. It proved too ambitious a scheme on the part of the 'Little Corporal,' and it entirely failed owing to that unquenchable spirit of nationalism. This revolt from the empirical sway of Napoleon meant a temporary return of the former dynastic influence, built up again on the shaky ruins of a worn-out feudal system It was vainly imagined, in fact, that 1815 had witnessed the end of Liberalism in Europe, for Nationalism became, for an epoch, the great purifying force, and certain gentlemen at the Congress of Vienna tried to make the world believe that such a thing as the French Revolution had never occurred! But these individuals reckoned without the combined forces of Liberalism and Nationalism, which swept away, in one great tide, the returned Bourbons and the petty princes of Italy. Only three great dynasties remained—the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanoffs, the two former because they inclined slightly towards both Nationalism and Liberalism, and Czardom held sway because the population was mainly Asiatic.

The world thunderstorm of 1914 has seemed to many people the complete vindication of Liberalism, and just as the Holy Alliance of 1815 seemed to make the world safe for dynastic monarchies, so the League of Nations in 1918 apparently made the world safe for democracy. But is it not a chimera? Is it not he delusion of a fevered mind? Instead of the revolution in Russia transforming itself into a great Liberal republic in the Land of the Czars, the commissars and the Communists have set up a vast Bolshevist empire which is both anti-democratic and illiberal For that matter, both Italy and Spain have abandoned Liberalism altogether and set up the rule of dictatorship. It is rue that Spain has since modified its dictatorship to that of a Directory, but the strong hand is still clearly apparent. Even America, we are told, is virtually becoming an elective monarchy, and Prohibition, the Ku Klux Klan, and the reign of the new nquisition seem the very opposite of Liberal tradition.

Now, what has caused this collapse of Parliamentarism and his failure of Liberalism? Is it not merely the psychological wing of the pendulum which is driving nations back to the reign f Authority?

Let us consider for a moment the critical position of France o-day. To use a Biblical quotation, that nation is becoming ore and more like a reed shaken by the wind. There is every dication that unless the pendulum swings back to Authority in rance our recent ally in the war will be thrown into the violent aelstrom and upheaval of some great social and revolutionary isis.

It is significant that signs of depression are found in France in

circles that have hitherto been noted for a cheery optimism. This transformation of outlook has gone far beyond the disturbing parliamentary crises that the country has experienced. Such depression has not been caused by the fact that there has been no clearly-defined political majority which could deal with the gravity of the financial situation. The Radical compromise with the Socialist Party has apparently outmanœuvred the possibility of a strong Government from the Centre, and intelligent people have come at last to a realisation that the party system has temporarily broken down in France. The ominous prediction is being made on all sides that the country is approaching the end of a *régime*. This political feeling is accentuated by the vacillation and hesitancy that seems to exist in every quarter, and the multiplying number of political scandals, the grave inefficiency of deputies, and the complete weakness of the leading politicians to allay passions, all these symptoms seem to denote the imperative necessity for a complete change in French legislative and administrative institutions.

Some critics aver that the mischief originated in the Bloc National, or Cartel des Gauches. At any rate, it certainly would seem that the Radicals have not lived up to expectations, because they have proved a greater failure than the Nationalists who were in power during a transition period. The Radical group has never faced realities since it entered office. It has simply floundered from one effete policy to another, and for a period of eighteen months it has never discontinued what it has repeatedly condemned in opposition. It has introduced an enormity of evils, and nothing is more illustrative of its vacillating policy than the attitude it has adopted towards loans. In opposition it considered that loans were anathema to its critical judgment, but since entering office these politicians have not merely raised more loans than their predecessors, but they have done so at exorbitant rates of interest which went far to making the loans futile and negative. They formerly fulminated against inflation, but they have printed banknotes without authority, and even permitted the returns of the Banque de France to be falsified. As might have been expected, they did not succeed in balancing the budget, and indeed throughout the alliance between Radicals and Socialists has been unfortunate and condemnatory in every degree. The Cartel itself was admittedly a legitimate creation of electoral law. But what happened? Socialists and Radicals combined to rout the Nationalist candidates, their chief and only aim being to smash the Bloc National, and, their task accomplished, their next problem was to preserve their parliamentary association in an apparently unified group. But there was a distinct chasm between the two wings, the French Socialists being revolutionary

in thought and the bourgeois Radicals mainly conservative and reformers The anti-clerical campaign upon which they ultimately decided proved nothing less than a farce. It signalised the emergence of the first Herriot Ministry, but the campaign fizzled out simply because there is no clerical menace in France to-day, and even the French Ambassador at the Vatican was left in possession of the post while the Papal Nuncio remained in Paris Instead of doing any good, this anti-clericalism aroused the most bitter feelings that have existed in France for years, so when M Herriot failed he was succeeded by M. Painlevé. For a time the Opposition seemed inclined to support the new Ministry, and M. Caillaux was specially transferred from Mamers to solve the ticklish problem of French finance. But neither did M. Caillaux achieve the amazing expectation that was formed of his super-abilities, for, after an interval, it was realised that he was merely resorting to varying expedients without any clear, fixed design. Finally he inaugurated a project of speculative finance which was condemned as both inadequate and erroneous in conception At any rate, it has proved the basis of subsequent schemes, for it provided for a Caisse d'Amortissement, or sinking fund Every French economist has agreed that nothing was more urgent than a speedy repayment of that enormous floating debt which has become so exceedingly dangerous to the nation

Previously it had been the practice of the French Treasury to sell short-term bonds, and the Treasury, upon an arrangement of this kind, managed to keep afloat so long as the sales were greater than the actual reimbursement demanded. It is now contended, however, that the Caisse d'Amortissement should be kept free from all parliamentary control, and this seems a perfectly justifiable argument when it is realised that most important financial operations should not be handicapped by parliamentary interference. In other words, the Caisse d'Amortissement has been deprecated on every side because it extended to M Painlevé and M Caillaux legislative power to call for fresh banknotes for its replenishment, and this naturally implied that the peril of inflation was certain It was felt that the Caisse d'Amortissement was to be automatically condemned if it were merely designed to relieve Parliament of a direct responsibility.

It has been frankly recognised that a capital levy will not save France M Caillaux has expressed himself against it in the plainest possible terms, and, in this regard, the experience of other countries, including Germany, would seem potent and conclusive.

What, then, are the psychological currents running underneath the morbidity of the French nation to-day? There are many factors of disappointment. There has been the enormous disillusion produced by the disastrous financial liquidation of the

war; there has been a lamentable lack of foresight and a deliberate wastefulness; there has been a progressive increase of sacrifices demanded from the taxpayers, and the national loans have been incessantly growing greater. M. Philouze, a Radical writer of note on financial matters, draws attention to these facts, and maintains that they have created in the country an atmosphere of lassitude, disillusionment, and distrust which it is simply impossible to dissipate.

There is a sentiment existing in France to-day which is more analogous to that of 1917 before the advent of Clemenceau. The nation is waiting for a leader. Who will it be? Who is it? There is no immediate answer to that query, but it is significant that in all quarters there is the growing call for a strong man. Even French manufacturers have expressed their uneasiness to the President of the Republic. They regard the moment as exceptionally grave. They state they are prepared for sacrifices and are calling for energetic measures which, if not taken, will mean, not merely a financial or political crisis, but a social upheaval in which every national institution will be overthrown There is no doubt that what is wanted is unity of endeavour and solidarity of purpose, an immediate cessation of party strife, a co-ordinating effort wherein rich and poor will voluntarily contribute something for the immediate restoration of the national solvency Public opinion is not always exceedingly patient. In France action may be catastrophic if politicians do not foresee the consequences of their present blindness.

Just at the moment we are watching the novel experiment of the Nord manufacturers to obtain a foreign loan of ten milliards (roughly 100,000,000*l.*) with the deliberate object of stabilising the franc. This is the most daring proposal ever made to the nation. In essence it is a replica of the Dawes plan which occurred two years ago to stabilise the German mark. It is actually proposed that employers all over France should offer their factories and workshops as a guarantee of the national solvency. In other words, to obtain a foreign loan of 77,000,000*l.* they are prepared to offer security worth 770,000,000*l.*, and this is intended to be a voluntary effort on the part of the nation to save the franc and stave off inflation. Such a proposal has had a natural repercussion on the French Bourse, and it is difficult to see what will be the eventual outcome of such a daring experiment.

America has already made it plain that no loans will be offered to people who do not settle their debts, and already there is a suspicion that even a foreign loan will not prevent the inevitability of further inflation. On the other hand, this suggestion from certain industrialists in the north of France that 10 per cent. of

their turnover should be accepted as security for a foreign loan has in it rather an obvious interest in addition to the stabilisation of the franc As they buy their raw material of wool and cotton from abroad, the constant fluctuations in the exchange are ruinous to these industrialists. On the opposite side of the fence, the group of manufacturers whose raw material and fuel is at home are listening to the specious argument that a falling franc is to their interest. It enables them to sell cheaply abroad, and deliberate inflationists are prepared to let the franc go for the sake of the speculative profits to be made from its fall. However, the offer of the Nord manufacturers is still very indeterminate in form, and if it materialises and is accepted it will be useless if it is not accompanied by reforms of which increased taxation must be the base

With all these uncertainties and all this lack of courage on the part of the deputies, there is little wonder that there are two movements in France to-day, one for some kind of Extra-Parliamentary Committee of Public Safety, which does not really carry much weight, and the other for a Coalition Government of all parties, to which the Chamber shall virtually hand over its powers, either by some changes in the constitution strengthening the hand of the executive as against the legislature, or by a combined support of all the groups for a policy which they know to be necessary, but which none will risk its electoral existence by voting on its own initiative. Certainly in France a Socialist Government has been indefinitely postponed.

We have thought it necessary to deal at some length with the French attitude of mind because the next swing of the political pendulum may occur within the confines of our own nation, and our legislative procedure may be influenced to a parallel degree by the action of France within the ensuing few months. We should not be able to escape from the inevitable repercussion of events across the Channel.

...own party system, which developed out of the warring ...Whigs and Tories, is fast proving a source of ...tment owing to a faulty electoral franchise, ...of adequate claims to proportional ...t nothing beyond the vacillation ...promise. In a nutshell, Liberal ...sh between illiberal Communism ...fact alone is gravely significant ...es of the sixteenth and seventeenth ...e clash of political theories in the ...enturies, so these will also be for- ...social and economic theories in the ...s, the reign of constitutionalism is on

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the wane owing to the predominant influence of the Press and trade unionism.

And so it is natural if thinkers to-day should ask what is going to supersede the present system of parliamentary government in these islands. If the pointer of destiny is directing us to assume, once again, the mantle of authority and order, we have gravely to inquire what particular form will this silent revolution take in Great Britain.

To those who read clearly between the lines, we seem drifting with certainty to some system of Fascism that will be stern and repressive in government, and, to the mind of the psychologist, there could be no greater danger to the Empire to-day than the attempt to foist such military dictatorship on the British peoples. Firm government will be necessary, most assuredly, if we are going to secure our former high altitude in the comity of nations, but there is a vital distinction between constitutional rule and the extremism of methods that have made Fascism notorious in Italy. The average Britisher is a moderate and not a revolutionary at heart, and, along the same line of reasoning, we know that he would be violently opposed to a ruthless Fascism both illiberal and undemocratic. There must be a middle path of sanity and constructive reform, and Liberalism alone cannot supply this national tonic because it is dead as a doornail and cannot be revived or resuscitated. There may be a determined attempt to restore the flower of Liberalism before the end of the present century, but the omens are that it will be ill fated and predestined to end in nullity and disappointment.

This radical change in British government is bound to occur within a comparatively swift period, because at the present time we are steering straight towards internal chaos and national bankruptcy, and just as the 'Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies' arose suddenly out of the darkness of hesitancy and doubt, so will some strong form of British governance evolve to deal promptly and firmly with those dark forces that are battling for the overthrow of our sane democracy. But it must not and should not be Fascism. We have finished with militarism for a century at least, and the average Britisher would be constantly in revolt against a military and ruthless repression of his finer democratic instincts. We cannot return to a stupid and purblind form of aristocratic government, and it will be centuries before our present monarchical system disappears within our constitutional framework, but law, order, and national prosperity must be re-established, and we cannot afford to trifle with insignificant mountebanks of politicians, or usurpative minorities, who would vainly protest against such vital reform. It is not a Cromwell we want, but a British statesman.

The surface danger at present is that we may be drifting towards a mere duplication of Italian and Spanish rule under an iron dictatorship. Fascism has already obtained a very significant hold upon democratic England, but it is merely permeating those patriotic sections of a sanely thinking community who realise that we cannot sacrifice the best interests of the country merely in order to appease some political or trade union minority. The million British lives lost in the war must not be allowed to have died in vain, and if that direct issue is put before the country, together with a clear realisation of our bankrupt markets, then vital reform and reconstructional progress will be accomplished within a decade. Seven years have been wasted since the Armistice in a stupid and futile controversy with individuals who will not see reason, and as the tide of unemployment grows, as the balance of imports continues to soar above exports, as demoralisation begins to take a strangulation hold upon the country, the sooner will evolve that strong, deep resolution that the nation must be saved at all costs!

JAMES CORBETT.

EDINBURGH

To those who can recall the Edinburgh of forty years ago it must seem well-nigh impossible to realise that the city in its present phase has developed from that with which they were formerly familiar. Two British communities more dissimilar it would indeed be difficult to discover—the city of the past, dignified, austere, academic, and still possessing much of the atmosphere which prompted George IV. to describe it as 'a city of gentlemen, living in palaces,' and the great modern town of to-day, rapidly obliterating its fine Georgian buildings and casting the ugly shadow of a mock commercialism over its most stately sites. What are the causes which have occasioned so subtle an alteration in the aspect and spirit of Edinburgh within less than half a century? Probably they are quite as much universal as local. But that powerful local agencies have been at work to bring about a transformation so depressing is only too evident, and, in view of the ruthless partial demolition of one of the most striking and beautiful systems of town-planning in Britain, these are surely worthy of some consideration.

When, in the second half of the eighteenth century, men of vision recognised that the increasing wealth and national importance of Scotland demanded the reconstruction of her capital city on modern lines, they conceived the plan on a scale so august and impressive that possibly no similar scheme of town-planning has ever surpassed it in visionary genius. The site, worn down to contours of subdued ruggedness by the passage of the primeval ice, was, indeed, one which lent itself to bold architectural conceptions. Lofty yet still easily accessible eminences interspersed with valleys of moderate depths and gentle rises, culminating in the volcanic Castle Rock, and falling to the sea northwards or ascending gradually southwards to the sterner heights of the Pentlands, afforded these stately builders such an opportunity for effective architectural disposition as perhaps no planner of cities before or since has ever had at his disposal. Scottish architects and engineers rose nobly to the occasion. Extensive sheets of water, natural and artificial, were drained; the canyon-like streets sunk in the crevasses of the Old Town were bridged over at enor-

mous cost in wealth and labour. A great mound was reared to render communication with the New Town more easy. Spacious and beautiful gardens took the place of swamps. Opposing the picturesque serrated ridge of Auld Reekie there arose majestically to the north a new city of grey stone, so massive in its classical and boldly-hewn simplicity that men, casting about for comparisons with it, could not but liken it to Athens, which was the architectural exemplar of the age.

Gigantic terraces of hewn stone, stately squares from the imagination of an Adam and spacious circuses gave an almost Cyclopean majesty to the streets of New Edinburgh. And as if this Titan city had been built as a dwelling for giants, such a galaxy of inspired genius entered upon its inheritance as any town of equal population has seldom contained. It was a city conceived in vastness, and mighty were the works of its hands. The gigantic inventions of Scott, prodigious as those of Wagner, the rugged afflatus of Hogg, the brilliance of Thomas Campbell the classical spirit of Christopher North, the subtlety of Jeffreys and the antiquarian perspicacity of Kirkpatrick Sharpe, to leave unspoken the minor excellence of the Abbotsford Club and 'Maga,' were all simultaneously manifested.

And now? Bruges *la morte?* Not so. A city is not unhappy when it falls from greatness upon sleep. But when, from a height approaching that of Parnassus, it descends to the levels of the Palais Royal, and becomes a mere glittering fair for the huckstering of relics and mementoes to strangers, when it grows destitute of genius or even talent, when it deforms its noble heritage of site and architecture by overshadowing and surrounding it with the vulgar erections of an unchecked Philistinism, it would have been better if, like Bruges, it had descended into decay and quiet dreams of a more gracious age.

Animated by a spirit of vulgar and petty modernism—not novelty in the grand style, for its objects are as unambitious as their wretched results—Edinburgh is now engaged in the slow but steady demolition of its greatest glory, its magnificent New Town. Princes Street, once the proudest boast of its people and he admiration of Europe and America, has, since the beginning this century, been so greatly altered by reconstruction and the ion of buildings not at all in unison with its plan, or with ural beauties of its site, as to make it seem the wreck and hat it formerly was. Gigantic hotels occupy either end ing its splendid proportions, and even the hills hard by, ng its accesses. Blatant shops and picture-house oed, gilded and bronzed, stand in rococo hideous- the graceful spire of its world-renowned Scott princely gardens, and tramway uprights for

the support of overhead electric cables, burnished with silver paint, occupy the centre of its roadway. The tone and appearance of many of its buildings is one of vulgar mercantile aggressiveness, where formerly there reigned a subdued richness and restrained good taste. To receive a fitting impression of the damage done one must picture Monte Carlo flung in the face of Florence, or the Palais Royal battening upon St. Peter's colonnades.

The underlying reason for a metamorphosis which can only be described as a national tragedy is undoubtedly to be found in the almost wholesale withdrawal of the Scottish aristocracy and intelligentsia from Edinburgh. This is, of course, no event of recent date, for the northern nobility have been in gradual retreat from the city for at least a couple of centuries. They left behind them, however, an aristocracy of talent, which not only effectually took their place, but imparted to the sphere they had vacated an even greater brilliance than it had known during their stately *régime*. Gradually, however, this literary and artistic society was attracted to the greater sphere of London After the death of Sir Walter Scott its component parts began to break up, and many of its chief literary organs were removed to London. The generation which followed Scott—Carlyle, Irving, and their fellows—looked Londonwards from the first, and by the year 1850 not a Scottish writer of real eminence remained. Edinburgh came under the authority of a clique of Presbyterian clergymen, and, as was the case prior to the 'Waverley' *régime*, the sermon took the place of the novel or the extended magazine article. Much the same process occurred in the world of art. Gifted Scottish painters and sculptors departed southwards. Edinburgh became an intellectual desert. The University, or at least its literary side, was professored almost entirely by briefless advocates, who drew small and precarious salaries, and, in some cases, did not lecture for years at a time. Medicine and surgery flourished, however, and, with the law, represented and replenished local society.

In the 'eighties of last century the first symptoms of a new commercial awakening in Edinburgh began to appear. But it was not a commercial renascence on the grand scale, such as animated Glasgow or Manchester. Edinburgh had, from the end of the sixteenth century at least, been most markedly a city of booths and hucksters, as well as a cultural centre. Its *kraims* and little shops had a petty fame like those of Nüremberg, Nijni Novgorod or Samarkand, and in these was bred and fostered an ideal of trading, circumscribed, canny, and inspired by the worst proclivities of the ancient guild brotherhoods to which its merchants usually belonged. Cramped together within the narrow confines of the High Street and Lawnmarket, this fraternity of

the booths gradually developed all the clannish propensities, the secretiveness, suspicion and tendency to a petty conspiracy, of cliques which usually characterise the burgess class of a walled town. Time, instead of softening or removing these influences, appears only to have adapted them to wider conditions, so that when the growth of railways and the increased facilities of locomotion brought with them enlarged opportunities, it certainly found this class agreeable to take advantage of them, but not in the spirit which inspires merchant princes. The ideal of Edinburgh was still the shop—the booth. Larger, if you please—a booth of many stories, ever increasing But the will to produce never entered into the calculations of the Edinburgh merchant. The shop remained the sole ideal.

By the beginning of this century the shop had so completely conquered Edinburgh, had spun over it such a web of ribbon-counters, as to cause a marked change in the aspect of the crowds which thronged its principal avenues These appeared no longer as leisurely and well-bred folk, such, for example, as might be encountered in New Bond Street, but a hurrying stream, seemingly intent on attendance at sales. A 'shoppy' atmosphere prevailed. The names of great soft-goods barons were spoken with something approaching awe. The spirit of emulation in retail business spread amazingly. Every little draper became a possible bargain-prince Shops, tiny and almost secluded, frequently contrived in the space of a decade to occupy almost an entire street. And out of this glorification of the counter, this magnification of the bazaar, arose a bourgeoisie, which, not content with a comparative success in trading, aspired to titles and civic honours and the absolute control of municipal affairs. The spirit of the guild fraternities of the Old Town was not dead. It had invaded the New Town, and now seized upon the social controls vacated by the aristocracy and literati

The effect of this triumph of a hitherto almost negligible bourgeoisie upon the general tone of a capital deserted by its leaders can well be imagined. For the purposes of ...h reader must picture to himself, say, the
...reater number of its intelligentsia,
...ssion of all its public affairs to her
...burgh the legal and medical aristo-
...ements of refinement, uneasy and
...ed to take any interest in public
...emselves to the West End almost as
... to the walled Inner City of Peking,
...s of similar veneration and curiosity
Once in complete control of municipal
...reat and small, made wild work. They

introduced, in the teeth of strong opposition, a system of cable haulage for the city tramways, which not only saddled the community with a heavy burden of liability, but became the laughing-stock of other corporations and the bane of the inhabitants. They encouraged and connived at the erection of buildings of a hideousness almost grotesque, having no relation to the general architectural scheme of the city as originally planned, and those of them not in office municipally consciously or otherwise played havoc with a beauty they were incapable of comprehending. The one bulwark against this campaign of vandalism was the Cockburn Association, the object of which is the conservation of the natural beauty of Edinburgh, and which is recruited from the more refined and conservative elements. This society took up the cudgels valiantly, refused to listen to the arguments of a rampant false utilitarianism, and to some extent justified its existence. When, some three years ago, it was proposed to introduce overhead electric wires into Princes Street—an innovation since unhappily carried into effect—the Cockburn Association on several occasions publicly and vehemently protested. But it was without powers, and was forced in the end to submit. Flushed with success, the Town Council, or an influential section of it, then proposed to remove the railings from Princes Street Gardens and construct an arcade of pink granite and rubble in the classical depths of the gardens. But at this suggestion even the least æsthetically minded revolted, and the scheme was incontinently abandoned. Nor did the proposal to remove the National Art Gallery on the Mound—a building of peculiarly graceful and classical design and a great city landmark—meet with public assent. In the end, however, the forces of Philistinism succeeded in retaining the open space contiguous to it as a parking site for the use of motor charabancs and omnibuses running to the Forth Bridge and elsewhere. Nor has the somewhat lonesome dignity of George Street, with its fine Georgian façades, escaped. Noisy electric tramways have been introduced into its retired eighteenth century vistas, on the plea that these act as an overflow for the Princes Street traffic. Perhaps the most extraordinary of these outrageous proposals was that to carry tram lines across the Dean Bridge, a graceful arch, which has already been sufficiently mishandled by raising its parapet so that the unrivalled view of the Dean Valley has been almost obliterated, on the plea that people of suicidal tendency could not resist the chance of self-immolation it afforded. This lofty and most exquisite bridge, one of the most noble in Britain and set in surroundings of sylvan loveliness and Corinthian majesty, would certainly not have stood the strain of a needless traffic, which circumstance alone saved it from the spoiler.

leader of aristocratic connexions or a virile working-class candidate, they will rally to him, according to their political convictions, with loyalty. But for 'buddyism,' as it is called in the North, *anglicè* the product of bourgeoisie, for Bailie-Nicol-Jarvieism, so to speak, they have not, and never have had, much enthusiasm, no matter how worthy its representatives may be personally.

Jarvieism—temerarious, secretive, clannish and prone to conspiracy—is indeed the bane of Edinburgh. But it is a Jarvieism which wears a novel disguise. It no longer squeaks its canny gospel of a narrow civicism in quavering accents, but trumpets loudly in elocutionary tones of wholesale 'improvements.' No more it dons the surtout of burgess solidity, but sports the glossy habiliments of the films. Hearty, Transatlantic and fraternal, it manifests the bonhomie of the American 'drummer,' who counts his profits behind his smiles.

When one considers the sounder, larger, and more extensive commercial interests of which Edinburgh can actually boast, it appears all the more extraordinary that the minor mercantile elements should have found it so easy to achieve local hegemony. Next to London, Edinburgh possesses the largest life insurance concerns within the Empire, representing enormous assets. These, with banking and law, afford a sufficient natural outlet for the commercial abilities of the city commensurate with dignity, native to its spirit, and well suited to its environment. Yet, powerful as these interests undoubtedly are, civically they are almost negligible. The Law is at once the last hope and the despair of Edinburgh. Its aristocracy, represented by the Court of Session, the Society of Advocates and the Society of Writers to the Signet, is composed of men of whom it would be merely gratuitous to say that no more admirable, cultured, or upright body exists. The legal classes of standing, if they took thought to themselves, might readily assume control of civic affairs and set the current in the right direction. But municipal office has fallen into such disrepute among the upper classes in Edinburgh that it is now regarded as an impossible position for a man of high professional or social standing. It is, however, deplorable that an effort should not be made by the men of mark in the city to rescue its dignity and its beauty from the hands of those who presently bring small lustre to the one and seek to destroy the other.

Edinburgh languishes, indeed, because of the lack of active social leadership. That which it still has is much too self-centred, is without real interest in its environment, and stands self-convicted of civic neglect, superior aloofness, and want of local and national patriotism. Doubtless its best elements have gone abroad or migrated to London, and what remains, if fine in

spirit, practical in mentality and fairly cultured in outlook, is still deplorably narrow in sympathy and none too brilliant intellectually. These drawbacks notwithstanding, it might still be expected to evince a more intelligent and modern interest in the local palladia. But it is languid and even comatose, and appears to regard the affairs of its environment as a fit subject for superior amusement. Perhaps, too, it is because it is a little nervous of its own social standing that it so resolutely turns its back on local politics.

The prevalence of this aloof and evasive spirit has naturally reflected disastrously upon the æsthetic life of the city. Its literary poverty has, indeed, become notorious. Not one person of outstanding literary distinction now resides in Edinburgh, and the promoters of public dinners have perforce to invite men of letters from other cities or request minor local writers to acknowledge the toast of literature, or speak in praise of Scott, Burns or Stevenson, at the annual banquets of the societies which revere the memories of the giants of former days. The men of letters of all grades in Edinburgh who make a living solely by their pens could be counted on the fingers of one hand, although it must be admitted that some score of amateur literati whose names are unknown to the world lay claim, because of an occasional newspaper article or the appearance of a tiny and concentrated volume, to local fame of a kind. At the same time, literature, as becomes an educational centre of such undoubted eminence as Edinburgh, is almost universally popular and esteemed by the people at large. It cannot be said, however, that any great degree of discrimination is shown by the majority, who are much too prone to follow beaten tracks and standard authors. In fine, as a literary centre Edinburgh is at present as defunct as Arthur's Seat is volcanically. It possesses no literary journals, and its literary societies, with the exception of those devoted to the local heroes and perhaps the Scottish Verse-speaking Association—a society not of local origin—are entirely negligible.

If painting and sculpture languish not so greatly as does literature, the departure of their most able exponents to London is still of constant occurrence. There has been of recent years a steady decline in the quality of the work displayed at the Society of Scottish Artists and the Royal Scottish Academy, and a note of vulgarity discernible in these exhibitions appears as the result of the general lowering of æsthetic sentiment in the city and the country. Some years ago a critic remarked in an essay upon the fine record which Edinburgh has had in the past as a centre of engraving. To-day work in this sphere is feeble, the print-shops exhibiting almost exclusively vulgar reproductions. What Sir Hugh Lane did for Dublin no one has been sufficiently public-

spirited to do for Edinburgh. It is much the same in the realm of music. The fine concerts of the Scottish Orchestra are regarded as social functions at which it is necessary to appear rather than as artistic events, and the courageous effort of Professor Tovey, Professor of Music at the University, to found a local orchestra has not met with that support which it should have enjoyed. This has to be recorded of a city formerly the most notoriously musical in Britain, of which an English visitor remarked, '*If you do not play the fiddle here you might as well be dead*.'

Nor can it be said that the ancient University is in such good case, intellectually speaking, as it was at the beginning of the century. The late Mr Henry Labouchere once rather spitefully remarked that the Scottish universities were 'merely secondary schools.' That they never attained an 'atmosphere' resembling that of Oxford is freely admitted, but if the reproach was formerly a little undeserved, it is now fully merited. Notwithstanding its eminence in surgery and medicine, Edinburgh University is almost destitute of scholarship in its loftiest sense—the quest of erudition for its own sake. Again, it has, most unhappily, largely identified itself with the lesser commercial and municipal elements, which have done so much to cast a blight upon the city. Notwithstanding its great emoluments and rich endowments by the late Mr. Andrew Carnegie and others, it has asked and received from the municipality a yearly contribution of 2000*l*., which places it more absolutely at the disposal of that body, which has long been numbered among its trustees. The insistence of the Society for the Promotion of Trade on the establishment of a Degree of Commerce has scarcely added lustre to the laurels of the 'Town's College,' and is regarded by the more responsible commercial interests as a needless concession to the 'boomsters' and Transatlantic hustlers. Its Senatus has still more unhappily so far forgotten the dignity which should attach to academic honours as to bestow these in the 'liberal' spirit of American universities upon several of the leaders of the lesser commercial class, drapers and others, a proceeding which has aroused keen resentment in the breasts of many of its alumni. Apart from its medical prestige, the University has become more or less a training ground for school teachers and young people animated by what Mr. Kipling's public school master would call the 'middle-class lust for marks.' Indian and Colonial appointments are their chief ambition, and their one desire seems to be to qualify in a flourish of trumpets and turn their backs on the country for the sake of a position which will bring with it an adequate pension.

The unfortunate social conditions of Edinburgh are much exacerbated by the present state of the Old Town, which now

exists partly as a historical museum, partly as the worst slum in Europe. What precisely to do with it Edinburgh does not know. The opinion seems to be prevalent that because it is 'old' it should remain in its skeletal hideousness as a monument of the past and an attraction to tourists. But in reality it is neither. Only a small proportion of its houses would be scheduled by the Ancient Monuments Commission as having been erected within the period which qualifies them as 'antiquities,' and these might well be preserved, as ancient dwellings in other communities are retained, in decent and comely reverence and pleasant surroundings. But that the entire colossal ruin of unsightly 'lands' and tenements which have grown up within the last two hundred years should be maintained *in perpetuum*, simply because it happens to have been erected in what is known as the 'Royal Mile'—the High Street and Canongate—is a notion which could only proceed from minds unattuned to the true spirit of archæological preservation. Some ten houses at most might be retained as monuments of the Scottish architecture of the past. The rest—filthy and festering slums, most of them—should be removed as speedily as possible. The type of mind which reverences them and is guilty of their retention is similar to that which regards all the tattered contents of the penny box at a second-hand stall as collectively of the nature of 'old books.'

A valiant effort to arouse Edinburgh to the hideous reality of these super-slums has already been made by Professor Patrick Geddes and his coadjutor Mr F. C. Mears, who were lately responsible for the replanning of Jerusalem. But if their effort for the embellishment of Zion has met with the applause of all Jewry, the pleading of these truly enlightened men for a nobler Edinburgh has been strangely unheeded by their apathetic fellow-citizens. From their pinnacle in the Outlook Tower they have sought to wrestle with the immense problem of the rehabilitation of Edinburgh, old and new, by essay, by newspaper propaganda, and by exhibition. A man of vision, Professor Geddes has seen what Edinburgh might be. But after nearly thirty years of struggle all he has been able to achieve is the plantation of a few garden spaces among the noisome courts of Auld Reekie, and the erection of the romantic pile on the Castle Hill known as Ramsay Gardens, with its red roofs and elfin casements, utilised as a collegiate residential hall. Had Professor Geddes been so happy as to have laboured in, say, Birmingham, he would certainly have gathered about him a host of young æsthetes, architects and painters, eager for the accomplishment of things marvellous in town-planning. But in Edinburgh his following consists merely of a handful of devoted and cultured ladies, whose self-effacing labours are now reduced to the care of the slum gardens aforesaid. It is a melan-

choly picture of a gallant adventure lost in the deserts of apathy. Edinburgh's architects and artists are much too 'grown up' or too mercenary to indulge in playing with boxes of fairy bricks. So Jerusalem profits, and Edinburgh still possesses the largest central slum in Europe, throwing out emanations of decay into its *New Town*, which, Professor Geddes assures us, is in a fair way to become a 'super-slum,' not only because of this unspeakable proximity, but because of the striking fact that nowhere in its magnificence has it made provision for the housing of the masses

Already many of Edinburgh's noblest streets and squares, composed of lofty and commodious mansions, have become the prey of the speculative builder, who has converted them into flats and offices. This sorry work is merely an extension of the spirit of base utilitarianism which lately turned the Burns Monument on Calton Hill into a toolshed. In any case, this process is simply manufacturing slums for the later twentieth century. It may be argued that such a proceeding is merely the result of a modern demand for smaller houses, and that those who formerly occupied these stately dwellings can no longer afford to do so. But it is known that such is not the case. Disgusted with the social degeneration of Edinburgh, hundreds of its best have quitted it for London or elsewhere. Their retreat is owing to their indifference to an environment which has so altered that they feel themselves no longer in sympathy with it. It has lost its former dignity, and they feel that, were they to remain, they also would lose theirs.

These are, of course, the least consequences attendant upon the gradual decay of the metropolitan spirit of Edinburgh during two centuries. Were Scotland to be granted the Parliament her peculiar conditions so clamantly require, the presence of such an assembly in the capital would at once admit the spirit of regeneration. That this is no statement made at haphazard will be assented to by those who have witnessed the surprising manner in which Edinburgh rehabilitates itself during the visit of royalty to Holyrood or on the annual presence of the High Commissioner to the Church of Scotland. On these occasions crowds flood the principal streets, traffic is doubled, brilliant *levées* are brightened [illegible] rank and fashion, and the shops reap a rich harvest. In a word, [illegible] skeleton is clothed with flesh, and the blood of life circulates [illegible]ugh the shrivelled veins, and for an hour Edinburgh relumes [illegible] past. Is it not the duty of every Scotsman—aye, of [illegible] Briton—to labour piously for the preservation and [illegible]vivishment of our island's most princely and romantic city? [illegible]nburgh languishes, then, because of the absence of that [illegible] which alone it can resume its original status, a central

legislative nucleus, which would bring in its train those social and cultural elements at present absent, and whose restoration would provide that guidance and leadership of which, under prevailing conditions, it is unnaturally deprived. The re-establishment of a Parliament in Edinburgh would, indeed, not only benefit Edinburgh and Scotland, providing, as it were, a new heart and pulse for their deteriorating life and culture, but would indubitably greatly subserve the interests of the Empire by rendering more healthy and effective one of its most vital component parts.

No community, however well situated, can hope to progress or even maintain its position if those elements of intellect and ability to which it looks for natural leadership are consistently expatriated. That Scotland and especially Edinburgh are being so drained, and have been for generations past, is so manifest as to require little or no demonstration. The drain upon the intellect of Scotland on behalf of the Empire and because of the flair of her sons for emigration has been abnormal and unnatural, and has had a most detrimental effect upon her population. Practically not a Scotsman of outstanding ability but finds it essential to quit his country for London, India, or America in one capacity or another. The result is that the remnant left at home is certainly deteriorating in intelligence and in those native gifts which have so well served the Empire and humanity. The supply is being slowly cut off at its source, and can never be renewed unless by the restoration of those normal and natural forces which originally gave it birth.

The influence of the present dispensation, an oligarchy of shopkeepers, must in the end lower the entire status of Scotland and her capital. Their expressed desire for a larger measure of commercial activity in Edinburgh is animated merely by the hope of attracting large trade interests which would bring an increase of petty custom. It is typical bazaar philosophy. It is, indeed, obvious that in no sense can Edinburgh develop into a great trading and manufacturing centre, like Glasgow or Manchester. Not only are geographical and topographical conditions manifestly opposed to such a scheme, but traditionally Edinburgh is an educational centre. Its great industry is education. The logical inference is that it must regain its position as a literary and artistic capital if it is to survive, and this implies the maintenance of its most gifted sons within its own borders. Such an end can best be effected by the resumption of Scotland's Parliament, a step which would have the effect not only of providing numerous civil service and parliamentary posts for young men of ability, but would encourage printing and publishing and serve to keep those of her literary and artistic sons who did not participate in the business of local government within her borders.

Surely such an ambition is not only eminently reasonable, but need have no political or partisan implications. No Colonial capital now presents such a picture of deterioration as Edinburgh does Let the reproach be removed, let the lamp be relumed, to the honour and advantage of that great Commonwealth of British nations to which Scotland is such a loyal and consistent adherent.

LEWIS SPENCE.

BULGARIA AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS

WEARY though Europe is of the eternal refugee question, there are aspects of it in the case of the Balkans that may yet unpleasantly force themselves upon the more earnest attention of Western Powers. Indeed, the recent difference between Greece and Bulgaria has intimate relations to this problem. Those who have seen something of the refugee situation on various frontiers are aware that there are wide differences of circumstance in each country that make generalisations dangerous and a universal remedy impossible. In no case has the problem proved more complex and difficult than in Bulgaria, where history, politics, and economics have combined to produce a truly baffling and dangerous situation This is no new problem for Bulgaria. For more than twenty years mass migrations have been troubling her, commencing with the Macedonian revolt in 1903, revived by the Balkan War and the Great War, and finally induced deliberately, in the post-war period, by various Conventions and Protocols between Greece and Bulgaria, providing for reciprocal exchange of populations under the control of a Mixed Commission of the League of Nations.

To arrive at anything like accurate statistics of these three periods of mass migration is well-nigh impossible. The maximum figures offered by the authorities involve a total of some 600,000 refugees, in three almost equal invasions. No proper census of the refugee influx has ever been taken, and there is reason to believe this total to be somewhat inflated—a common defect of Balkan statistics. Accepting, however, the pre-war figures, let us confine ourselves to what is the probable truth concerning the migrations of the war and post-war periods. We may safely assume that all the migrants of the first period have been absorbed, and that a considerable number of the second period have found a more or less satisfactory settlement. It is, nevertheless, best to consider the war and post-war periods as one, for as soon as Bulgaria entered the war against the Allies the movement of her nationals 'homewards,' whether compulsory or voluntary, was bound to assume great proportions, and the Peace Treaty merely regularised, and made high policy of, a natural racial flight from

terrorisation, though its actual volume was greatly swelled by unforeseen events.

The following figures, gathered while I was in Bulgar October of last year, will probably be accepted as suffici accurate. The total number of families recorded as immig since 1913 is 29,000, comprising 127,000 persons. This to held to refer only to agricultural families. It is generally sidered that at least an equal number of non-agricultur unattached refugees entered Bulgaria over the same period have been absorbed into a variety of occupations. This v make the grand total of the Great War and post-war migra something like 260,000. We may accept this as a mini figure against that of 400,000 generally quoted in Bulgaria.

Of the 29,000 families only 3000 can be called defir settled, while 13,000 are half settled, and the remaining 1. entirely without settlement The 3000 occupy farms evacı by Greek emigrants, the total area taken up being some 4(acres, and equipped with buildings. The 13,000 half settl Greece are of the period 1913–21. They are now working bought or leased by themselves, very few being cases of Go' ment grants, the buildings are mostly makeshift. They gradually improving their position by individual effort, and disturbance of their establishment is unlikely.

The 13,000 non-settled families have migrated since, and consequence of, the late Greco-Turkish War. Nearly 10,0(these families are under the jurisdiction of the Greco-Bulg Exchange of Populations Commission, and 7000 of them have repatriated since August 1924 They are scattered throug Bulgaria, but are mostly to be found in the southern dist While they are to be seen in every condition between meagre support and utter destitution, the general condition of the maj is calamitous. They mostly maintain a precarious existen casual labourers or live on the proceeds of the sales of any sto goods they were able to collect as salvage before their flight small fraction of them take to brigandage, and the wonder is these bands are not more numerous. I have seen far worse cas human misery in the mass, notably in the Russian famine; to draw comparisons between successive depths of wretche is surely futile. A more helpful analysis might suggest that Russians had at least homes to die in, whereas a large propo of the Balkan refugees have been driven into the open cou only to die in their scores of thousands in the bitter winds heavy rains of a Macedonian winter. Moreover, the origi their wretchedness was not the niggardliness of Nature, merely the cruel incompetence of the European Powers, gi full rein to the traditional hatred of the Balkan peoples.

The degree of seriousness of a migration is, of course, in direct ratio to its volume and speed. Had these factors remained constant from 1913 to 1925 the present situation could not have arisen. But from August 1924 to July of last year the rush of Bulgarians became intense, at least 7000 crossing the frontier into a country already dangerously congested with refugees. In fact, so great were the economic and political difficulties that had arisen since the appointment of the Greco-Bulgarian Exchange of Populations Commission in September 1920 that the two Governments concerned had signed a Protocol in September 1924 according to which the remaining minority were to be left in their own countries, and the Commission was charged with the supervision of this arrangement. Unfortunately, this Protocol has never been ratified by the Greek Parliament, owing, it is alleged by the Greeks, to Serbian hostility to its terms. This statement prompts one to say that the political relations between the Serbians, Greeks, and Bulgarians, and the internal faction struggles which rend the political unity of each nation have most complex and unhappy reactions upon the treatment of the Bulgarian refugee problem.

The recent fracas between Greek and Bulgarian troops in Western Macedonia has brought into prominence the *komitajis* question, the Greeks asserting that these roving bands are the cause of the trouble. While their numbers and range are probably exaggerated, they are the natural product of an unsettled refugee problem, another equally natural result being the spread of political discontent amongst the refugees by Communist agitators. Of this latter phenomenon I will say something later. The Bulgarian Government is further hampered by its comparatively disarmed condition, as enforced by the Treaty of Neuilly, the smothered hostility of the Agrarian Party which it forcibly displaced, and its own domination by the military caste and the irredentist body known as the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee, whose aim is a 'free Macedonia,' most of that province being now included in the territory of Greece. The militarists are equally irredentist, from the Greek standpoint, being determined upon the recovery of Bulgaria's 'lost provinces.'

All these cross-currents may have a most unfortunate effect upon the 150,000 Bulgar-speaking Macedonians still living in Greece and held in suspense owing to the non-ratification of the Protocol which contemplated their being left in peace. They may easily be swept out of their villages by the ever-advancing tide of Greek refugees from Asia Minor. This part of the Bulgarian refugee tragedy is a story by itself.

As everybody knows, the end of the Greco-Turkish War saw the beginning of the most tremendous exodus in history—the

flight from Asia Minor of some 1,300,000 Greeks and Armenians across the Ægean Sea into Greece. This influx has occupied nearly two years, and, though the Greek Government has dealt admirably and courageously with this overwhelming inundation, it has often overflowed or broken down the insufficient authority existing to cope with it. One obvious method of providing shelter for a certain number of refugees was to billet them upon the villagers The Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia had to receive their quota, and numbers of the Greek refugee families were given domicile in their houses. All this was at first duly and legally carried out But presently the tide became irresistible, and desperate refugees quartered themselves forcibly upon the Bulgarian villagers. It was not a far cry from this condition to a system of persecution, terrorisation, and eviction by violence. Threats were followed by severe beatings and the complete or partial annexation of land, stock and implements by the Greek refugees In fairness to the Greek Government, it must be said that it did not possess a police force adequate to the unprecedented situation. Even if sufficient gendarmes, however, had been available, it is doubtful whether the Bulgarians would have been accorded fair protection, since the minor officials on the spot were not only antagonistic to them, but frequently treated them with physical violence when they complained of their wrongs to the higher officials.

Precisely the same process of forcible expulsion has been visited by the Bulgarian refugees in turn upon the Greek villagers in Bulgaria—though the Greeks in this case are not numerous. The third instance of violent ejection will doubtless be supplied following upon the present movement of 200,000 refugees by the Greek Government from the Peloponnesus and the island into Western Macedonia. Land is available there for the settlement of large numbers, but there are already in that region about 150,000 Bulgar-speaking Macedonians, already mentioned. There is every reason to fear that the infiltration of Greek refugees amongst these Bulgarians will be followed by the now familiar process of eviction by terrorism.

The actual condition in which the refugees are living is too sadly familiar to demand much exposition. Many could be seen living and sleeping in the rain and mud without any protection whatever, others under canvas or similar meagre shelter. The more fortunate were camped in old factories or discarded military buildings, such as the German Zeppelin shed. It is not to be wondered at that the continuance of these economic distresses carries with it the risk of dangerous political unrest. There is not the slightest doubt that Russian Communist propaganda is actively carried on amongst the refugees, and that the

Bolsheviks use Bulgaria as a central means of disseminating revolutionary discontent throughout the Balkans. This position provides the Government with a considerable spur to an energetic effort to deal with the refugee problem. It is perfectly aware, as are the agents of Moscow, that the Bulgarian population of peasant proprietors can never be won over to Communism. But Moscow is quite content with its present opportunity of making the most of Bulgaria's unhappy economic position. If any serious outbreaks occurred, such as were feared as a result of the Sofia Cathedral outrage, the Government would be greatly hampered by the smallness of the police force and the voluntary army. The latter is poor in quality, politically unreliable, and costly to maintain. Add to this the fact that the Agrarian Party, forcibly disbanded by the present Government, is a constant and hovering menace to the latter's existence, and it may readily be understood how serious and decisive a factor refugee unrest might suddenly become.

If it be asked what have the Bulgarian Government and people done to help their suffering compatriots, the answer is, as in the case of Greece, their utmost, but with a vast difference of circumstances. Foreign charitable help has poured into Greece, as into other stricken countries of Europe, and the League of Nations raised a loan of ten millions sterling for the settlement of Greek refugees. To the Bulgarians only very meagre outside help has been vouchsafed—a little from the American Red Cross through the Bulgarian Red Cross, and a more notable contribution from the British Save the Children Fund, which deserves separate mention. The peasants amongst or near whom the refugees have wandered have been particularly generous in giving both food and money. The Bulgarian Government has spent large sums on relief, and the fact that the taxes for the year 1924–25 are 60 per cent. higher than those of the previous year is eloquent of the strain imposed upon the finances of a country already almost bankrupt. I spoke with many officials, both in Sofia and in the field, and was deeply impressed by their anxious alarm and their sincere desire to labour for the practical alleviation of the plight of the refugees and the dangerous situation in which their country finds itself.

Bulgaria is without friends. She is the Cinderella of Europe, or, to vary the figure, the black sheep of the Balkans. She is paying the bitter price of her treachery to the Allies in 1913, and for 'backing the wrong horse' in 1916. The burning resentment felt by her people at the treatment meted out to them by the conquerors is, nevertheless, unmitigated by any sense of guilt on their part. Deprived of much of their richest territory, disarmed and made helpless in the midst of enemies, charged with the additional

burden of reparations, the Bulgarian people see in the refugee problem the last straw.

Putting aside the remote prospect of any considerable charitable aid from abroad, we may now confine ourselves to the only practical measures of any consequence—the work of the Greco-Bulgarian Commission, already mentioned, the possibility of the League of Nations assisting settlement, as in Greece, and the efforts of the Colonisation Department of the Bulgarian Government As to the first, it is usual in Bulgaria to refer to the Commission in terms of derision, because it has achieved little or nothing in the all-important matter of settling and liquidating the claims of peasants exchanged on either side. In four years only four such claims have been proved and liquidated, and as long a period again must elapse before the claims are fully dealt with. In the meantime, what are the dispossessed peasants to do? The arrangement was that they were to receive 10 per cent down in cash and special bonds issued by the Commission to cover the balance of 90 per cent. of their property. But the Commission has no money for the advances, and no actual payments have been made, nor have the bonds been issued. The 10 per cent. cash due would be of some small use for mortgaging purposes in the country the refugee is quitting, but the 90 per cent. balance in bonds would be of little or no practical value to finance settlement, despite the expectation that the refugees could obtain credit on them at reasonable rates of interest. It is impossible to see any way out of this *impasse* but by a foreign loan designed to enable the Commission's scheme to be carried out to its logical conclusion

As to the degree of blame attaching to the Commission itself, one cannot agree with the contemptuous references to its slowness ... complications are largely responsible for that, and I gained ... hout the Balkans that, wherever question ... ulations involve more than ... conceivable kind o... o be found. Where ... other hand, with th... happier state of thing...

... yet granted Bulgaria' ... n the lines of the Gree... n and State Domains ha... fforts to prepare the wa... ent. The officials supplie... n the Cadastral Survey u... of land of all kinds availab...

pi... sadly ... seen liv... protection ... shelter. Th... discarded mili... It is not to be wo... distresses carries ... There is not the sl... paganda is actively c...

... Europe, ... She is ... in 1913, and ... ing resentment ... them by the con... se of guilt on their ... tory, disarmed and ... with the additional ...

		Dekars
1.	From readjustment of communal boundaries	479,000
2.	State lands	102,000
3.	Forest or scrub lands	64,000
4.	Requisitioned private lands . . .	34,000
	Total . .	679,000

Of this total only 425,000 dekars (about 106,000 acres) are suitable for agriculture. The final result of the survey will yield increases in some of these categories, chiefly in the third. The experts consider that, by draining or clearing over many years and at great expense, another 400,000 dekars (100,000 acres) could be rendered suitable. The question remains, How many applicants are there for this actual and prospective total ?

One of the special difficulties of the Bulgarian Government is to satisfy the needs of the existing peasantry, who have quite as good a claim to a share of the new land as the refugees. It is estimated that there are 40,000 families in this position. Thus the minimum number of applicants for the ultimate 206,000 acres that may be available is 53,000—an average of less than four acres per family. This meagre dividend will be still further reduced by any fresh influx of refugees. Moreover, to enable the Bulgarian Government to carry out the work of reclamation of waste lands (forming practically half the total reserves), it is calculated that about one million sterling is required. It is hoped that the League of Nations will consent to arrange for the provision of this sum as a guaranteed loan, and a similar amount to make possible the fulfilment of the Exchange Commission's work and the completion of refugee settlement in Bulgaria.

Before concluding it may be interesting to note what can be done by reference to a successful experiment in community settlement of refugees now being carried out near Straldja, in the Jambol district of Bulgaria. This scheme is the work of the British Save the Children Fund, whose officers conceived the idea of utilising a few thousand pounds placed at their disposal by private donors to show what can be done in the direction of well-planned settlement, even in the face of almost heart-breaking obstacles. Fifty refugee families were chosen for settlement, half of them Macedonians and half Thracians. The site was surveyed only in May of this year. Vexatious delays inseparable from Government bureaucracy prevented any real start being made, except with the sowing, before August. When I visited the settlement in the middle of September a large proportion of the houses and outbuildings were half completed, the first crops had been reaped, and the day-to-day routine was a model of

regularity and industry. This remarkable result is almost entirely due to the Save the Children Fund administrator on the spot, Mr. Lawrence Webster, whose brilliant organising work in the Russian famine so deeply impressed all of us who saw it. The refugees alone could not possibly have coped with such a scheme. The Government could not have shown any preference to one group of refugees by undertaking it Outside benevolence has thus achieved not only something well worth doing for its own sake, but has stimulated the Government into all kinds of helpful co-operation, and provided an excellent model for any compre- hensive plan of settlement that may be undertaken by the Leagu of Nations. The cottages were far better built than those of th Settlement Commission of the League which I saw later in Greece and a great many other profitable lessons could be gleaned from the Straldja scheme

It is to be hoped that Europe will presently awaken fully t the dire need of Bulgaria and at least proffer her as much help a has been so efficacious in the case of Austria, Hungary, an Greece. Without such assistance the comprehensive reconstru tion of Europe will suffer from a breach that must endanger th security of the whole

MEREDITH ATKINSON.

1926

THE FEDERATED STATES OF EUROPE

If statesmanship is correctly defined as the capacity for turning to advantage circumstances of the moment for the purposes of succeeding generations, there has never been a time in the history of this world which afforded greater opportunities for the exercise of this gift. Like opportunities are almost invariably created by hardships and difficulties the logical and almost inevitable conse-uences of long-standing follies. The world finds itself embar-assed by chaotic and apparently insuperable obstacles which tand in the way of present comfort or future progress. This nd that palliative is attempted without avail. The root cause ecomes gradually appreciated. Then follows a murmur steadily icreasing in volume calling for its removal.

Rarely before have so many nations, or such a large multitude f people, been confronted at one and the same time by the affling consequences of follies which were common to all. Out f this circumstance the greatness of the opportunity arises. Vast ut common difficulties have brought about a realisation of ommon interests.

The outstanding embarrassments of Europe at the present me are so obvious that I hesitate to enumerate them. For the urpose of my ultimate argument I must, however, do so. They re as follows :—

1. Almost universal poverty, with the corresponding lack of edit.

2. Mutual fear of nations, exhibiting itself in still swollen arma-ients and consequent expenditure, thus aggravating and ccentuating clause 1.

3. Mutual commercial jealousy of nations, exhibiting itself in riff walls.

It is submitted that they have all arisen out of a deep-rooted llacy, namely, that the interests of nations in some strange way e essentially antagonistic.

It would have been hard to find a Yorkshireman in 1914 epared to assert that the devastation of rival Lancashire would lvance the commercial interests of Yorkshire. The commercial terests of Germany and England, however, seemed in a different

category. What German business man in the years 191
would have dared to dispute the proposition that if Englan
destroyed as a commercial rival the commercial possi
of Germany would be enormously increased? How man
lish industrialists at one time or another stimulated
selves by the thought that with the German merchant fleet
bottom of the sea English commerce would get a corresp
reaction? German armies under orders put their theori
practice French machinery was deliberately destroyed.
yet no Prussian could have been found to argue that the cc
cial prosperity of Prussia would be advanced by creating cc
cial embarrassment in Saxony. He would have ridicul
suggestion with all the contempt it deserved. The falla
devastating but universal. It was based on the assumpt
course utterly false, that only those individuals had a real cc
interest who recognised in some way a common system of g
ment. It went farther even than that. It assumed th
interests of groups separately governed were antagonistic.

Take now the opposite side of the picture.

Many groups of people are bound together in federat
which the bonds between the separate units are slight, in
the powers delegated to the central body are strictly limi
which a large measurement of self-government is retained
parts. In respect of such federations, however lightly
together, I do not know of a case in which it has been as
that the prosperity and complete well-being of the one cou
favourably react on the other, and *vice versâ*.

Wise statesmanship will not fail to observe these phen
Noting the tragic consequences of economic misconceptions,
endeavour to create those conditions in which they seldom
It will not be difficult to demonstrate that a sure move ha
already made. Paradoxical as it sounds, the almost un
poverty and misery of Europe may well lead to her salvatior
with complete confidence now can point the finger of
ation. Standing together on the brink of disas
common counsel together to prevent cor
founded. A little honest, fearless
quired.

venty years ago that th
t European States react
is difference. Failure to
few years might mean cc
ussia, Austria, and Italy st
nd who, incidentally, wou
prove our commercial posi
ommercial rivals and potentia

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in 1914
ire would
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in a different

ivals, still nearer the brink? No less an authority than the late merican Ambassador in England, writing a short time ago in one f the American reviews, affirmed his conviction that England, verwhelmed by debt, was finished as a first-class producing entre. The statement is probably exaggerated, but do not let s deceive ourselves. In the absence of drastic measures, our osition is terribly serious. We sleep well at nights, not because re know of a solution, but because we have not dared to think. 'isualise Europe as a whole. Are there any real signs of improve-ient? The weekly list of bankruptcies in Germany is steadily icreasing, and has already reached dimensions which are posi-ively appalling. It seems impossible to fix an approximate value o the French franc: France's credit, in other words, has nearly eached vanishing point. The financial position of Italy is equally nsatisfactory. The whole of the proceeds of our income tax are onsumed by interest on debt alone. There is no margin for safety. n the absence of some scheme not yet devised, a colossal millstone f debt will be the heritage of our children and our children's hildren. No mention has been made of Russia and Austria.

And yet there are grounds for real hope. The cause of the rouble has been rightly diagnosed. A deep-rooted fallacy has een shaken. It has at last been appreciated by the vast majority f people that the interests of nations are not essentially anta-onistic, that prosperity no less than depression reacts, that every idividual is concerned with the well-being of the whole, and that rhat applies to individuals applies also to nations. So that states-ianship, which is unable to move too far in advance of generally ccepted opinion, has now its chance.

Locarno appears to me to have been a remarkable feat of tatesmanship, involving not only sagacity but very real courage n the part of each and every representative of the great nations ivolved. Each of them went boldly in advance of expressed ublic opinion. They gambled on the support which was subse-uently accorded them. They must have known, however, that ie undertakings they so boldly gave might prove their own ersonal undoing.

If the statesmen involved, however, were apprehensive as to ie manner in which their commitments would be received in ieir respective countries, their fears were soon allayed. Their ndertakings were in every case confirmed. Reproaches which iight have been anticipated were not uttered. References, ideed, to the Pact as being but a beginning have been so general iat Prince Chicherin, the Foreign Minister of Soviet Russia, has een moved to ask: 'Of what is Locarno a beginning?' I will enture a reply. The query gives me an opportunity to indicate iore clearly the conclusions which I have been approaching.

I suggest that Locarno is a beginning only, because—

1. It recognises the principle that armaments will remain swollen so long as each part can rely on itself alone for the purposes of defence against external violence.

2. It binds together the nations involved in a joint effort against violence.

3 Although a common interest is frankly and freely recognised, the machinery temporarily erected for the purpose of maintaining it is clumsy, unwieldy and ineffective, and can be improved upon.

4. It allays, but does not remove, the danger sought to be removed

The spirit of Locarno, universally accepted and applauded, will have been carried to its logical conclusion when—

(*a*) The common interest is recognised by the surrender and definite delegation of powers to a central body whose discretion is exercised by a council consisting of representatives of all, but not dependent upon the good-will or good faith of any single individual or group

(*b*) Individual groups have recognised that the duty of suppressing violence and anarchy, even against themselves, is accepted by the whole, and that the central body alone has the right to use armed force.

(*c*) All such steps have been taken as are necessary to give effect to (*a*) and (*b*) above.

I need not point out that disarmament of individual nations would follow immediately and as of course upon this, and a state of affairs would be created in which the central body was in a position to carry out the duties it had thus by common consent undertaken and assumed.

The proposal contemplates a federation of nations loosely bound together for one main purpose, namely, to reduce the huge burden of armaments and at the same time give added security. The actual effect, however, would be much more far-reaching. It is suggested that when once a common Government for the purpose of one common interest had been established, a tendency to delegate further powers for the purpose of advancing other common interests would exhibit itself at an early date. Tariff walls separating different European States would probably not survive a generation.

Prior to unification—if I may give an example—all the South African Colonies had their own firmly-erected tariff walls. They fell, however, without a battle when the Act of Union came. And this happened soon after a bitter war and at a time when the apparently divergent interests of different States were strongly marked. Living in South Africa at the time, I opposed the

scheme of Union with some vigour, but none of my fears were realised when the Union was accomplished. Very considerable opposition came from Natal. There are probably, however, not twenty sane men in South Africa to-day who would undo the Union if they could. The suggestion to-day that the interests of individual States would be advanced by the erection of tariff walls within the Union would be ridiculed. The United States of America provide the same illustration.

The fact that Great Britain is moving rapidly in the direction of Protection would assist the process rather than otherwise. In five years' time, more even than to-day, every nation will have something definite and tangible to offer in return for a right of free entry into the markets of Europe.

To come back to my original point. Were we wrong in assuming, as we did before the war, that the interests of the different nations in Europe were mutually antagonistic? Is it true, upon the other hand, that no nation in Europe can dvance in prosperity without favourably reacting upon the thers? Is it true that our present misery is the direct result of ur own deliberate actions arising out of assumptions which we ow know were utterly fallacious? Is it true that if we were lind to the obvious all the other nations of Europe were equally lind?

Is it true that for 500 years nothing has been done to bring ome to the minds of the people the true economic facts, and hat untrue doctrines have been propagated?

To solve our difficulties we want a scheme—any scheme—which insures against death by violence or starvation of any of he parts, which guarantees scope for the genius, the inventive apacity and the industry of all our peoples, and the reduction of waste to a minimum. Imagine France, Germany, and England lone federated together for certain limited purposes striving oldly together to ensure their survival as a whole Who would hen have misgivings as to the final result?

It was probably not a coincidence that the League of Nations cheme was first drafted by a citizen of that continent which has enefited so greatly by a Union of States. More than any of the ther statesmen present at Versailles, President Wilson devoted is energies to the task of devising means of preventing future vars. Questions of boundaries and frontiers interested him only o the extent that their clumsy or faulty settlement tended to reate such friction as might retard the one ultimate end he ways had in view, namely, Union. Can it be doubted that, nking of the United States of America, he visualised always a rated Europe?

Had he talked in those days of the United States of Europe,

further and became chaotic, there is hardly a part of Europe which would not feel the reaction. There is, however, no machinery which enables Europe as a whole even to discuss this position —fraught with tragic possibilities.

A hundred years ago it might well have been denied that the fortunes of different nations were independent to the extent that has been suggested. That, however, is an excuse for the existence of the present state of affairs rather than an argument in favour of its continuance. Vast changes have come almost unnoticed. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that, owing to the progress made in means of transport and communication, the commercial world of London is in closer touch with that of Berlin to-day than it was with that of Glasgow but a comparatively small number of years ago.

Even twenty-five years ago the difficulty of transport alone was an almost insuperable obstacle standing in the way of anything in the nature of a central Government. The advent of aeroplanes, however, has effected a revolution as complete in this respect as electricity in the matter of communication. This difficulty no longer remains.

The scheme now proposed would then have been ridiculed, and even to-day will strike many as being Utopian and impracticable. That, however, is possibly because we have not yet accustomed ourselves to a new order of things. We have already created a League of Nations, any weakening of the influence of which would be universally deplored, whose decisions are already held to be morally binding. A Council of the same League with powers to enforce its decisions would be a Government of the Federation contemplated. To-day it can recommend. To-morrow it would legislate within limits strictly circumscribed. Is the change proposed so vast?

I do not shrink for a moment from the position that the proposed body would need to be endowed with powers to legislate and create those sanctions which it deemed necessary for the performance of its functions. Why should it not do so, for the thing is either good or bad? If it is good, why should we hesitate to endow it with those real powers which would make it permanent and increase enormously its potentialities?

It is a sublime opportunity, I repeat, for statesmanship. The soil is well prepared. Imagination coupled with courage alone is needed. A call for common sacrifice and a common effort in response to a common danger would meet a surprising and almost universal response. If England led the way the result would be assured.

C. E. Losby.

MIAMI

I HAVE come to Miami, 'the Wonder City of the South' (to use one of the phrases which the Florida 'realtors,' or real estate agents, are so good at inventing). I have been lured hither not by the possibilities of investing money, but by the human interest of the scene; and, though there is much in this 'boom' that is repugnant to me, I think that a description of it might possibly suggest some ideas to the immigration agents of Canada and Australasia, from which countries I recently returned.

There is a curious similarity between this 'stampede of 1925' and the Californian 'gold rush' of 1849. There are also, of course, differences. This is a 'gold rush' without the gold, an oil bonanza without the oil. There were tangible values behind the boom in California, Klondyke, Oklahoma, Texas and Arizona, but in Florida the land is being sold and resold at ever-increasing prices, with which values have long since ceased to keep pace.

Superficially, also, there is a difference between the Californian boom of 1849 and the Florida boom of 1925 The adventurers who crowd into Miami do not wear revolvers strapped to their belts, do not bestride dusty horses, and do not treat strangers to drinks at bars. They drive their own automobiles, carry no weapons, and drink coffee or buttermilk. Yes, I have actually seen a bar full of hardy prospectors in their shirtsleeves drinking—buttermilk! The bar was labelled 'Dairy produce,' and the clean, well-dressed youths who acted as 'bar-tenders' had the air of English public school boys. I did not ask them how they had got to Florida, but I must say that 'bootlegging' is one of the main industries of this State—'bootlegging' of immigrants and liquor from Cuba. I might add that never, along any beach I ever traversed, in any part of the world, did I find so many empty whisky bottles as I have found along Miami Beach. These bottles all bore Scotch labels, and were especially numerous in the vicinity of the palatial hotels.

As for motor cars, they are legion. The motor car, indeed, and the good roads are the principal factors in the creation of this boom. One great open space in front of the Royal Palm Hotel

contains from 5000 to 10,000 automobiles, and in the city they are parked on the flat roofs of houses.

The automobile licence-tags on these cars indicate that they come from all parts of the United States, and an examination of the official statistics on the subject shows that during the month of September 50,000 automobiles crossed into Florida over the St. John River bridge. Among those cars were two from Hawaii, forty-six from Canada, and 443 from California, while the district of Columbia and every State in the Union were represented, save Idaho.

'Is there anything in this boom?' 'How long will it last?' One hears these questions daily, and hears all sorts of answers to them The pessimists say that, without industries or minerals or any great natural beauty, this swollen city of Miami cannot maintain its present position and is sure to get a bad setback. About half the population, they maintain, is composed of realtors, who are only gamblers, incapable of bringing permanent prosperity to the city.

The optimists, on the other hand, give concrete cases of success, and, though this proves nothing, it keeps the boom going, for people say, 'If *he* made $100,000 in six months, why shouldn't I?' The optimists are certainly able to indicate men who made over 1000 per cent profit. This is due to the fact that land in Miami is sometimes dearer than it is in New York. Several months ago the famous site of Delmonico's at the north-east corner of Forty-fourth Street and Fifth Avenue, New York, sold for more than $212 a square foot, and this transaction marked the highest price ever paid for land in the United States. But still more recently $300 a square foot was paid for land in Miami. And rents are higher in Miami than in New York. A tiny store in Flagler Street, Miami's main thoroughfare, covering only 15 feet by 25 feet, has been leased at $18,000 a year, and other stores in Flagler and Miami Streets bring an average rental of $30,000 a year, although similar locations in Broadway, New York, may be had for $5000 less A lot which sold for $800 in the business centre of Miami Beach when the development was young was recently leased for $150,000: $1000 a month rental was paid for the smallest lemonade-stand

It is the same in other parts of Florida. Last spring three men, one of them Mr John H. Perry, publisher of the *Jacksonville Journal*, bought 10,000 acres of land south of Tampa for $30 an acre, but before the papers could be drawn up and signed they had a firm offer of $60 an acre, an overnight profit of $300,000! A lady who had decided to live in Florida bought a house in St. Petersburg, Florida, last December for $12,000. Her furniture was still in the goods station when she was offered $20,000 for

the house. She sold, bought a lot, and went to an hotel to live while she was having a house built just as she wanted it, when she was offered a $5000 profit on her lot.

Space is certainly at a premium in Miami; and some owners of rooms are making money by letting out *desks* in these rooms to realtors. Each desk is an 'office' in itself and pays a rental of $100 a month. There are frequently a score or more of such 'offices' in a room. In Tampa the proprietor of a gasoline filling station recently refused $800,000 for his corner: he is holding out for $1,000,000. A Camden lawyer who invested a little in Miami Beach in 1917 now holds $20,000,000 worth of property. A soda-water clerk from New York made $100,000 in one year by lucky investments.

The optimists maintain that Florida has as much chance of permanent success as California, the principal asset of which also is its climate. They point out that whereas it takes five days for a New Yorker to get to San Francisco by a tiresome railway journey it only takes him about forty hours to reach Miami by railway or steamer. Most people come by motor. One can even come in a small boat all the way from Philadelphia by inland waterways

The fact that one can escape from a wintry Manhattan to a warm Miami in less than two days is certainly of importance. But will many New Yorkers make permanent winter homes for themselves in Florida? Many of them have already done so. Any schoolboy on Palm Beach will reel off for you the names on the long list of millionaires who have established themselves there. And, according to the optimists, when prices become normal, men of moderate means will also establish themselves in Florida, and the coming industrialisation of the new South on the basis of cotton, tobacco, and steel will send many wealthy people from Georgia, Alabama, and the Carolinas to join them. And once these wealthy people are interested in maintaining the prosperity of Florida they will succeed in doing so, if they have to create new industries. Even now, however, Florida is not purely agricultural: according to the census of 1920, the value of its manufactures was then worth over $200,000,000 a year.

I have already remarked that the Florida boom is partly due to good motors and good roads. I might add that it is also due to general prosperity in America, and to the incorporation in the constitution of Florida of a pledge that there shall never be any income or inheritance taxes levied by the State. How rapidly New Zealand, say, would fill up with the hunted middle class of England if only the Parliament at Wellington gave a similar pledge!

Even a cursory examination of American history shows that American economic progress is preferred in rushes. Forty years

ago there was a similar rush for land in Kansas and Nebraska. Then came the turn of Minnesota and California. The subsidence of the boom in those cases left many people with land for which they could not get a quarter of what they had paid for it; and, as I have already pointed out, the reaction will be worse in Florida, because many people have gone to Florida to consume and to speculate, whereas they went to the West and the North-West to produce. Ultimately the amazing profits in Florida will be paid by the unlucky final owners, who will find that there is no market for the lots they have purchased at prices far beyond any possible capitalisation of the land's earning power.

Individuals will lose, but Florida will gain. It will gain by the completion of enormous public works that will be of permanent benefit, of excellent buildings, of new steamship services, of new railways. New ports will be constructed; railways will be double-tracked; jetties costing nearly half a million will be built at Boca Raton. St Augustine proposes to build a sea-wall costing $500,000, Sarasota will build a sea-wall and water-front costing $1,000,000. The Peninsular Terminal Company has announced that it will undertake at Miami and Miami Beach harbour improvements costing $10,000,000. The Daytona-New Smyrna district has just voted an issue of bonds to the extent of $1,500,000 for deepening and developing the harbour of Daytona and New Smyrna. A Miami company will spend $6,000,000 on bulkheads and reclamation work. A Tampa company has secured a large tract of land for $500,000, and means to construct warehouses and docks on it. The water-front improvements at Fort Lauderdale will cost $10,000,000. Hollywood, Florida, is going to build a $15,000,000 harbour, for which General Goethals, of Panama Canal fame, is consulting engineer. These are only a few of the enterprises under way or projected.

When the present boom subsides there will be many fine buildings in Florida, and, presumably, they will not be so dear as they are now. At present house accommodation is certainly dear—so dear that, during the autumn, many artisans, unable to pay the exorbitant rents asked for rooms, slept in the parks with newspapers for bed-sheets. A room at a first-class hotel costs 5*l.* a day, but it is possible to get a very bad room in a tenth-rate hotel for $3 a day.

Owing to the freight congestion, due to the influx of visitors, even food supplies were at one time affected, and some localities were left for days without ice, eggs, fresh milk, and vegetables.

The Press has gained by the boom. Though Miami has a permanent population of only 150,000, it has four flourishing dailies, one of them so flourishing that it has built itself a tower twenty-six stories high. Another Miami paper, the *Herald*, is

said to have had during the first nine months of 1925 the largest volume of advertising of any newspaper in the world.

Whole streets of steel and concrete have been built in the towns of Florida. Mammoth hotels are being erected. Railway stations are being reconstructed. Thousands of miles of new paved highways have been laid down. Bridges, sometimes six miles long, have been flung over bays just to shorten the distances between cities of no great size. Best of all, the swampy Everglades are being reclaimed and drained of the water which annually inundates 5,000,000 acres. The reclaimed land is yielding a crop worth $500 an acre. May not a similar wave of enthusiasm bring under cultivation the Mali bush of Australia?

If we look at the matter from a different point of view, all the United States will become interested in Florida, and money from the North-eastern States will find its way to Florida. An American Riviera will be created, and will get many American dollars that would otherwise go to Nice and Monte Carlo. And after all, from the American point of view, the Mediterranean Riviera is not what it used to be. The royalty and the grand dukes who used to lend a lustre to it are not there now. It still, of course, has its long wine-lists and its gambling-tables—but I have already described the whisky bottles on Miami Beach; and as for gambling, the speculations in land, which I have also described, reduce the Monte Carlo style of gambling to the level of a hat-trick performed at a village fair. The development of Florida by Northern money will bring about greater intimacy between North and South, efface any traces of the old bitterness that may still remain, and conduce to the better mixing of the ingredients in Uncle Sam's melting-pot.

Some features of the 'boom' will repel Europeans. One feature is the unscrupulous realtor who sells worthless lots and gets widows of limited means to sign on dotted lines. Dickens' description of Zephaniah Scadder and Gen. Choke, promoters of the 'new city of Eden,' applies to some of the Florida realtors. As for the language used by those gentlemen in their advertisements, it would probably be less repellent to Englishmen of to-day than to Englishmen of Dickens' day, but sometimes it can only be described as ear-splitting. The painted and printed appeals of the realtors rise in intensity as one goes south into Florida, until they attain a frantic climax in Miami. The language in which those appeals are couched is slangy, ungrammatical, full of mixed metaphors, but eloquent in its own way, inexhaustible, and filled with a semi-religious, semi-patriotic fervour which is very effective in America. This religious tinge may be due to the fact that some of the realtors are clergymen. In the summer-time one real estate agent in St. Petersburg, Florida,

adorns a pulpit in an old Cape Cod church. The founder of Coral Gables is a clergyman's son. Great importance is attached to religion in Florida. Advertisers of desirable lots always take care to point out that those lots are close to a church. The proportion of churches in Miami is nearly as high as it is in Moscow; and though the men attend church in their shirtsleeves, they do attend, and in a devout spirit. When I speak of religion, I may add that there are many Jews in Miami, as is shown by the names, the synagogues, and the large number of Jewish eating-houses and restaurants.

To give an idea of the way in which the realtors draw up their advertisements, one who advertises in a high-class paper heads his column simply 'America's Big Problems,' and begins on a note of grave and stately eloquence about the divorce question. On paragraph 23 we are told that 'building a home is the duty of every man.' Then we are led, by an easy transition, to 'Schenley Park on Red Road, beside the Miami-Biltmore hotel,' where 'the man of means is advised to buy a home because 'it is close to the University of Miami, near the Mahi Temple of the Mystic Shrine, and adjacent to everything that makes life pleasanter and happier.'

Of course there are other styles of appeal, for the Florida realtor is all things to all men. He drags in everything that will help him to sell his lots—cupidity, religion, patriotism, romance, poetry, bad French, and the Gulf Stream. On the Venetian Isles the realtors have built an Italian campanile for the sake of the local colour it throws, and they stoutly maintain that their artificial isles are better than the real article. To throw a glamour over their 'garden cities' they use the names of the Spaniards (whom they robbed), the Red Indians (whom they exterminated), and the Buccaneers (whom they hanged). To 'boost' Miami they use the names of Mr Thomas A. Edison, Mr. Ford, Mr. Hamilton Holt, Mr. Arthur Brisbane (of the *New York Journal*), Mr John McCormack, and the late Mr. William Jennings Bryan, because Mr. McCormack once visited Florida, Mr. Ford has a house there, and Messrs. Holt and Brisbane have land there. Mr. Bryan also had a house there, and his presence in Miami was skilfully utilised by the realtors. One would continually find Mr. Bryan's name coupled with the name of Miami, and occasionally in the picture papers one would see beautiful coloured sketches of 'the silver-tongued orator of Nebraska' standing beside a royal palm on the Florida seashore while the red sun rose out of the sea.

A number of 'English aristocrats' have also, we are told, settled in Florida. Thus the serious-minded are won over by photographs of grave statesmen, while the young are impressed

by excellent sketches of lightly-clad ladies hovering over bathing-pools in the month of December. Lovers of the Orient are dazzled by pictures of camels and turbaned Arabs in the advertisements, though it is difficult to see what they have got to do with Florida.

As an ordinary rule this eloquence is aimed at the 'hard-headed' average man. A good specimen of what I mean is to be found in a half-page advertisement of a Mr. Williams, a Miami realtor, in the *Miami Tribune.* It is entitled 'Just Got Back! A Hot Shot from J. K. Williams,' and is in the form of a feverish telegram from which I take the following extracts:

> This is a straight-from-the-shoulder message to MY FRIENDS—GET IT AND GET IT QUICK! I had to make a rush trip to New York, and, believe me, I am glad to be back in time to get my friends in on the BEST THING YET. . . . NOW GET THIS QUICK! . . When I discovered Lake Stearns I knew I had found the best land in Florida . With me is Mr. Walter T. Spalding, President of the Spalding Construction Company of New York and Miami, . . a nationally known constructor. . . . He has put his OWN money into this proposition and will handle the construction of all utilities at Lake Stearns
>
> MR WALTER DUNHAM, . . a man of great vision, will direct the selling campaign of this property to the public
>
> These two associates and I are going to PUT THIS OVER, and YOU are COMING IN ON IT. . You ARE coming in with me on the first $150,000 we are going to put in because you KNOW ME and believe in my judgment. I want $5000 out of YOU for this proposition. . NOW DON'T WRITE ME. I WON'T HAVE TIME TO SCRATCH A PEN. I have given you the facts and am offering you a FINAL OPPORTUNITY to get in RIGHT NOW. SEND ME YOUR CHECK, and I will put it in the BANK. . . . This is a personal message from me to YOU You want to make some REAL MONEY NOW. Get in and come on while the PROPOSITION IS HOT.

In most of these advertisements there is that curious mixture of modern slang and archaic, semi-poetic diction which one notices so much in America, where the newspapers, for example, always use the verb 'slay' instead of 'kill.' Sometimes we find ourselves on the level of pigeon-English of the style employed by the Chicago eating-houses, which, for the benefit of their large foreign *clientèle*, advertise 'A Good Eat' when they mean 'good food.' Thus we have in Miami 'A Good Buy,' 'A Boca Raton Steal,' etc , the verb being used instead of the substantive. Less objectionable is the sham antique, also used in England, 'Ye Olde Tea Shoppe,' 'Ye Olde Beautie Shoppe,' and 'Ye Olde Motor Garage'—the last mentioned from Honolulu, though probably copied from an original somewhere in the United States.

Sentimental, sugary phrases beloved by the American school-mistress are also common, phrases like 'The Sun-kist City,' 'The City where a city ought to be,' 'The Latch-string City,' 'Great is Miami, and Miami's Greatest Unit is Coral Gables.' The 'publicity man' of every garden city gets hold of a pet phrase like

this, and uses it continuously, but instead of getting mad and 'slaying' him the public unconsciously adopt the phrase, which often influences their judgment to an extraordinary extent. This principle of suggestion and iteration runs through all American advertising. In the New York Subway, probably the worst underground railway in the world, the management praises itself in posters which declare that 'Ours is the Finest Railway in the World' and that 'Our Men Know their Jobs,' with the result that many New Yorkers take these two statements as axiomatic.

De Funiak Springs has for its motto the phrase 'Where the Highlands Meet the Gulf'; Sanford modestly calls itself 'The City Substantial.' R. L. Stevenson, the *Waverley* Novels, Zane Gray, *Hiawatha*, and the Bible have all, apparently, been ransacked in the hunt for poetic phrases.

The following is the beginning of an advertisement of Fort Myers, 'the City of Palms': 'Southern tropical winds as mellow and soothing as the lilting notes of the harp; sweet perfume zephyrs, fragrant with the rich aroma of orange blossoms. . . .' The whole passage is a wonderfully purple patch, but unfortunately it is too long to be given in full

One may scoff at the language of realtors, but it is not safe to scoff at their work, which sometimes turns out to be a success, beneficial to the whole State as well as to themselves. A seedy garage owner in Miami told me he had once scoffed at the Garden City of Coral Gables when that enterprise was in its infancy; now he earns his livelihood by taking visitors out to look at it. It has thousands of houses, a hotel larger than the largest in London (and with a separate bath attached to every room), and a great university To supply the building material needed for his colony the owner of Coral Gables recently chartered four large schooners, each with a carrying capacity of one million feet of lumber. But this gentleman deserves a word to himself. George E. Merrick, the owner of Coral Gables, is the son of a poor Congregational minister who built for himself near Miami a house which had more than the usual number of gables, and which was constructed of coral These two circumstances gave young George an idea. I must say, however, that the houses in his colony are solidly and even artistically built, for apparently he employed good architects and paid them well. The architectural style is a modification of the Spanish, the houses being yellow of hue, with spacious verandahs and flat roofs. Each house is surrounded by its own little piece of land, and is absolutely detached. Many of the new buildings about Miami are ugly; but modern architecture will, in my opinion, be a gainer by this building boom in Miami, where many millions of dollars have been spent in architectural experiments. A number of Cuban millionaires visited Coral

Gables this autumn to get plans of some of the houses which they most admired, for they themselves are thinking of building a 'Coral Gables' colony of their own near Havana. Englishmen, Australians and New Zealanders who happen to be in Paris this winter will have an opportunity of inspecting a typical American cottage at the Exhibition there, and I think they should examine it carefully. In Australia the corrugated iron roofs were an eye-sore to the American naval visitors last July.

Coral Gables is not, of course, the only pebble on the beach. There is also Del Verde, whose motto is 'Building a City where a City belongs.' Boca Raton boasts that 'never before has such a combination of Florida's genial climate and sapphire seas, golden coast and emerald verdure, been offered with such a background of social prestige and financial responsibility as assures the future of Boca Raton.' There is 'Picture City' ('Keep your eye on Picture City, its studio section, its gorgeous Olympium, with its royal homes and, above all, New Deauville, the colony *de luxe* and the pride of Picture City ')

The Ritz-Carlton Park is advertised in the following statement, which does not, by the way, savour of republican simplicity and equality:

> This section is sensibly restricted, perfectly plotted, and to be divinely developed for a carefully chosen *clientèle*. . . This is a mile-square residential section to eventuate as the acme of perfection To assure its completion and perpetuation as such, we have provided perpetual restriction against any form of commercial enterprise.

The hotel in this select area is called the 'Ritz' because 'Ritz is synonymous with Wealth, Fame, and Fashion; and the magnificent new Boca Raton Ritz-Carlton hotel WILL MAKE THE SAME APPEAL TO THE SAME STYLISH, IMPORTANT, AND PROMINENT ELEMENT.' (The small capitals appear in the original, which, had it been published in Europe, would have been probably quoted in America as an example of Europe's snobbery, effeteness, and materialism.)

Some of the realtors work themselves into a state of almost religious frenzy, and their prose, such as it is, takes on a curious rhythmical quality, and reads in parts like a bad imitation of *Hiawatha*. Examples of this will be found in the waggon-loads of 'literature' which will be sent by any of the great Florida realtors to whom application is made. I shall confine myself, however, to one pamphlet on the 'Latch-string City' by the owner of that city—which is not yet built, apparently. This gentleman uses the name 'Latch-string City' because of the good old custom which prevailed, he says, during the Golden Age, when doors were always on the latch, so that anyone might enter. In a burst of eloquence he calls for the founding throughout the length and

breadth of the United States of 'a latch-string society,' but in the end he 'takes it all back' by explaining that membership in his 'latch-string society' will not oblige the citizens of 'Latch-string City' to receive other members into their houses, even if those other members are also residents in his New Jerusalem. After all this sound and fury, it is simply a case of 'as you were.'

The reader may well feel disgusted with all this froth, yet, as I have already pointed out, solid work is being done. The city of Miami Beach is situated on an island, while Miami is on the mainland opposite. Not content with communication by steamer, the two cities are now connected by a causeway some five miles long and costing millions of dollars A second causeway, known as the Venetian Way, is being completed as I write. The ceaseless rush of automobiles across the first causeway is as great in volume as, and much greater in speed than, on Fifth Avenue, New York, or in the Strand, London. The first causeway passes close by several islands and is connected with them. The second causeway traverses four islands, the Venetian Islands as they are modestly called Now, all these islands are artificial, having been constructed of reinforced concrete 'bulkheading,' filled with sand pumped up from the sea bottom by dredgers and then covered with earth and buildings As they produced grass, and vegetables and flowers, and even trees, in the ordinary way, and bore without flinching the weight of bungalows, 'apartment houses,' and colossal hotels, the North Venetian Islands Company started to create another set of islands in Biscayne Bay, and had even the temerity to announce their sale at the end of October last, before even one of them had risen above the surface of the water. I do not know if this way of utilising the sand scooped up by dredgers has already been practised elsewhere, but it seems to be a good plan. The North Venetian Islands Company claims that it is 'the most stupendous development of the kind ever attempted in the history of realty'

The builders of the Venetian Way are also responsible for the reinforced concrete bulkheading which constitutes the framework of the new islands, the second set, which will, it is estimated, require 30,000,000 cubic yards of sand for their construction. Incidentally, the removal of all this sand from the sea bottom will help navigation.

Another island has been built in the same manner in Tampa Bay by a Mr. D. P. Davis, an ex-newsboy of Tampa, after whom it is named. A year ago this island was practically under water. Mr. Davis bought it for $50,000, pumped sand into it, and built on it, with the result that it is now 'a twenty-million dollar proposition,' covered with great buildings, one of them the largest auditorium in the South. Mr. Davis is going to repeat this

performance this winter at St. Augustine. Then there are 'the Genesee Islands' (name taken boldly from the book of Genesis)—'Florida's Venice *de luxe*' (whatever that means), where 'a man may anchor his own yacht at his own front door.'

Since Americans have thus the audacity to create new islands, it goes without saying that they do not hesitate to complete islands which Nature left uncompleted. The Florida boom has already reached that remarkable chain of coral and sandy islets known as the Florida Keys, which extend 200 miles in a south-west direction, which terminate in the Tortugas, and which are traversed as far as Key West by an extension of the Florida East Coast Railroad.

While crossing this railroad some time ago I paid particular attention to the Keys, some of which are covered with mangrove swamps and with tropical vegetation, and none of which, save Key West, can be regarded as inhabited, for one only sees here and there the hut of a railway employee and the huge cistern in which he stores his water, for water has to be brought by railway even to Key West. An enterprising company has acquired one of these islands, however, and is at present putting it into shape for inhabitants. A great concrete causeway is to be built through it from the mainland to Key West, and alongside this causeway will run a pipe-line to carry water as far as Key West.

I could not help thinking while looking at those islands that there are infinitely better islands belonging to Canada and Australasia which are practically uninhabited, and whose names are almost unknown in the countries to which they belong I saw many of those islands during a visit paid this year to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and I think that in order to attract colonists to them the immigration agents of those countries might do worse than copy some of the methods of Florida

Of course, there is a difference Florida is being settled by millionaires. Nevertheless, there is perhaps a lesson to be learned at the Antipodes, in Canada, and perhaps in the British Isles, from the 'publicity men' who are conducting this Florida boom.

FRANCIS McCULLAGH.

TWO CHIEFS OF THE GENERAL STAFF

THE last pre-war Chiefs of the General Staff of Germany and Austria-Hungary, the younger Moltke and Conrad von Hötzendorf, both assumed office in 1906 Their careers had been very similar in their respective services. Both were infantry officers. Moltke had taken part in the Franco-German campaign of 1870-71, whilst Conrad had fought in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 and 1881. This constituted their only active service in the field. Both were sent to their respective war colleges at a very youthful age—Conrad, indeed, having only three years' service. Both passed the greater part of their service on the staff, reaching the rank of divisional commander at about the same time—Moltke in 1902 and Conrad in 1903 At the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 Moltke was sixty-six and Conrad sixty-two years of age. The former, certainly, must be regarded as old for the exacting duties he was about to be called upon to undertake. Neither of the two chiefs possessed any pastimes outside the service, to which they devoted their whole time and attention. To our ideas the views of these two men must be regarded as uncompromisingly military in their nature and strictly European in extent.

Moltke and Conrad met for the first time in 1907, and in their confidences to each other they confessed that they had assumed office only from a sense of duty and after many refusals. Moltke remarked to Kaiser Wilhelm. 'Do you think, Sire, that you can draw two winning numbers from one and the same lottery?'—alluding to the fact that his famous uncle had also been Chief of the General Staff In answer to congratulations upon his appointment Conrad remarked to one of his admirers: 'On taking over an appointment such as mine, one is first wished well, often kindly greeted; then one is watched, later criticised and cursed, and finally pelted with stones.'

Whatever may have been the diffidence with which they commenced their work, Moltke and Conrad left nothing undone which would lead to co-operation between their two countries, and they worked in the most intimate touch and sympathy up to the outbreak of hostilities. Both had their stormy periods. Moltke

tendered his resignation in 1909, after a passage at arms with the Kaiser over a matter of principle, and Conrad was actually relieved of his duties during the whole of 1912, owing to a quarrel with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. They had both returned, however, to the direction of affairs by the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.

In both Germany and Austria-Hungary the position of Chief of the General Staff was one of immense importance, far outweighing in influence that of a similar chief in democratic countries. In the first place, he was a permanent official. In Germany the elder Moltke and his successor Schlieffen had held their appointments for thirty-one and fourteen years respectively, whilst the younger Moltke eventually held his for eight years. In Austria Conrad remained at the head of affairs for twelve years. The Chiefs of the General Staff were thus able to impress their personalities upon the situation to a greater degree than was possible for the statesmen and politicians who came and went at short and uncertain intervals. In the second place, both the Central Empires had been built up as the result of successful wars. From his youth up every boy in these two countries was impressed with the fact that his land was surrounded by enemies, and that the only hope lay in the maintenance of strong military forces. Thus the opinion of the military authorities carried great weight in political councils. The Chiefs of the General Staff were free from all matters of routine, and were in no way subordinated to the Ministers of War. They had free access to their sovereigns, who were the titular chiefs of the military forces. It was their business to study war in all its branches, to prepare plans to meet any eventualities, and to direct the operations in the field in the case of war. In these circumstances it is not surprising that in Germany and Austria-Hungary on many occasions the Chiefs of the General Staff actually dictated the foreign policy of their countries, and that they studied the political even more than they did the military situation.

The task of the modern strategist is no light one. The 'million armies' which are now placed in the field require the most accurate time-tables for their mobilisation and deployment. There is no place for improvisation in the early stages—up to the first contact with the enemy. No great alteration can be made when once concentration has begun. No one can count upon any particular set of political conditions being in force when mobilisation is ordered. The modern world is interlaced with treaties of alliance of varying strengths. Who will be friend, and who foe, when the acid test of war presents itself? Even nations closely allied together have each their own particular difficulties which they consider paramount in importance to all others. There is no

one who can sit in judgment upon the warring interests or who can order one ally to give way to the other. There are so many examples of the tearing up of 'scraps of paper' that the strategist must be very wary indeed in the preparation of his list of allies, enemies and neutrals He can rarely be in a position to throw in his whole force where militarily it would be of the greatest value. He must keep some reserve to meet the unforeseen.

The negotiations between Moltke and Conrad were most comprehensive It is only natural that their letters should be mainly of wars, but the whole tenor of their correspondence is frankly brutal in its political immorality. Further wars of aggrandisement are taken as a matter of course A successful war is regarded as a preventative of internal dissension. Unprovoked offensive against ally and neutral alike in order to secure the element of surprise is preached as a necessity for the welfare and safety of the nation. The weakness of the geographical position of the Central Empires is pleaded in extenuation of such conduct. Both men knew that each time they went to war they were risking an Armageddon, but this knowledge only tended to draw them closer together in the attempt to create a combined military Power which all would fear to attack War was desirable if waged at the proper moment They were always thinking and writing about the 'menacing' nations around them. In the end they assumed inevitably the position of the baited bull, seeing red at every corner and rushing out at the slightest movement of a bystander With such men wielding great power in the two empires, is it surprising that Armageddon really did become inevitable ?

When the British Expeditionary Force was transferred to France in 1914 few people except those immediately concerned knew what an infinity of work, tact, and secrecy must have been exercised by the officers employed by France and Great Britain in the preliminary arrangements. Principles have first to be laid down by the chiefs and then details elaborated by their sub- ... Each alteration in the plan, however small, must be ... every point of view before it can be incorporated ... the whole plan must be reviewed periodi- ... infinite amount of co-operation is

... gre... any ... final... ilisa- ... Wh... ties of ... menced ... who foe, ... would lea... ons closely ... worked in th... ulties which ... break of host... There is no

... l Empires were well situated for ... mon language in which to nego- ... the two capitals was quick and ... been joined by treaty since 1879, ... eemed to render the bond between

... both chiefs settled down to examine

Conrad had been appointed on the advice of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Dual Monarchy, and he seems to have received every support at his hands. He found much dissension between Austria and Hungary. Hungary did not wish to subordinate herself in any way to her sister in the Dual Monarchy. The Austrian and Hungarian armies were drawing apart instead of together, and the combined forces were not ready for war. One of Conrad's first memoranda is dated April 1907. In it he submitted many important recommendations for improvement, adding an emphatic footnote to his general review of the political situation

> Of all the Powers in touch with Austria-Hungary, Italy is the most menacing. She wishes to gain possession of the Southern Tyrol and Trieste in order to ensure her supremacy in the Adriatic and the Western Balkans. She is pushing forward her military preparations whilst we are doing nothing Though superiority still remains with us, every day that passes is reducing our advantage I recommend that immediate steps be taken to improve the army, or that we strike against Italy the sooner the better (*Je eher je besser gegen Italien losschlagen*)

He qualified the '*Je eher je besser*' by intimating that his preparations would be complete in January 1908.

Here was a definite incitement of the Government to attack an allied State without warning. Italy had been a party to the Triple Alliance since 1882.

Moltke had a different chief with whom to deal. Schlieffen had ruled the General Staff for fourteen years, and he had held on to his office until physically no longer capable of carrying out his duties He had brooked no interference from the amateur strategist, the Kaiser. The newcomer, Moltke, had some difficulty in maintaining the same attitude He seems to have been fairly successful, however, for in one of his letters he speaks of the Kaiser's behaviour at manœuvres: 'He did what I told him; and, particularly in the final address, he said exactly what I laid before him. He kept to the point and delivered the best critique that I have ever heard him give' And again: 'He did no leading himself, although it must have been bitterly hard for him, and he did not force his way into operations, so that we were able to avoid anything unlike war.' Moltke was no lover of pomp and glory, and he often complained of the way in which his time was wasted both by useless peace parades and foreign visits, in which he had to bear his part in the train of the Kaiser.

The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 gave Conrad an opportunity for testing the bond which united Germany and Austria-Hungary. The bond held fast. No other combination of Powers felt able to oppose the solid strength of the Central Empires. Conrad and Moltke became more aggressive as a result of this successful test.

In 1909 Conrad forwarded to Moltke a complete statement of what Austria-Hungary could do in various given circumstances, and asked for comments and counter-declarations from Germany. He pointed out that Austria-Hungary was surrounded by enemies. Although Russia was the most formidable, Italy and Serbia were both powerful and would have to be dealt with. It was a very likely event that Austria would be engaged with one of her southern enemies when Russia attacked her, and she would then be in need of help. What help could Germany offer? He then gave definite timings. If Russia were to be the only enemy, then Austria could deploy forty divisions in Galicia by the twenty-second day of mobilisation. If engaged already in the south, then Austria could deploy only thirty divisions against Russia by the same date

Moltke replied sympathetically, regretting that, owing to the activities of the Press, there was no chance of a personal interview with Conrad. He gave the definite assurance that, in the event of war between Austria-Hungary and Russia, Germany would stand by her ally with all her forces. 'But,' he added, 'the situation is not so simple as it looks.' He could not imagine France sitting calmly still whilst the two Central Empires mobilised against her ally Russia. She would certainly mobilise also, and it was unimaginable that two such armies as those of Germany and France could stay fully mobilised and watching each other without a conflict. It was Germany's intention, in such circumstances, to summon France to state her policy. If she declared her neutrality, then Germany could deploy thirty-seven divisions in East Prussia by the twentieth day of mobilisation. If France's answer was unsatisfactory, then Germany proposed to take the offensive against her at once. In this case Germany could leave but insignificant forces in the East, and must deploy her main strength against France. Moltke was at particular pains to impress upon Conrad that Italy was in no fit state to make war, and that in all probability Austria could continue to arrange her affairs in the Balkans without interference from anybody. He pointed out that Europe was honeycombed with treaties, *ententes* and understandings, and that hardly one of the Great Powers could draw the sword without involving the others. 'All the Great Powers know this, and herein lies the security that none of them will set alight the bonfire of war on account of mere Serbian ambition.'

Both chiefs were in agreement that if war on a big scale came then the main struggle would lie between Germany and France. Moltke expressed this fact by saying that the fate of Austria-Hungary lay on the Seine, and not on the Bug. There was no doubt that the French army would be deployed close to the

eastern frontier of France, and that it might even assume the offensive against Germany. A decision, therefore, must be arrived at shortly after deployment had been completed. Troops could then be spared from the West in order to seek a decision in the East also. As regards timing, Moltke would give no definite dates for this transfer of troops from West to East, and he avoided answering Conrad's most pointed questions.

> In 1870, on the twenty-second day of mobilisation, Germany had won two decisive battles, Worth and Spicheren, and by the thirty-third day had gained a decision at St. Privat Therefore about the fortieth day strong German reinforcements should be arriving in the East Am I right in calculating upon an even earlier decision ?

Receiving no answer, Conrad made a note to the effect that these strong reinforcements might be expected in the East between the thirty-sixth and fortieth days of mobilisation.

It will thus be seen that, over and above the common enemy Russia, Germany's particular difficulty was France, whereas that of Austria-Hungary was the Italian and Serbian question. Moltke regarded the attitude of Italy as favourable, whereas Conrad likened the Triple Alliance to a three-legged table which must collapse as soon as one of the legs was taken away, and was convinced that the Italian leg would certainly be taken away. Each thought his own particular difficulty the more pressing. However delicately the matter might be put, Austria-Hungary was being asked to subordinate her operations to those of Germany for the common good Conrad accepted this situation, and confined his subsequent negotiations to desires for the active co-operation of the German forces left in the East with those of Austria-Hungary. If a combined offensive could be carried out as soon after mobilisation as possible, they might be in a position to upset completely the deployment of the slow-moving Russian army. Moltke remained, however, steadily of the opinion that it was impossible to carry out a combined offensive, so wide apart were the two forces, and preferred his Eastern contingent to act according to the circumstances of the moment.

The calculations of Moltke and Conrad were often at variance, the former maintaining that the German troops in East Prussia would divert a large force of Russians from the army opposing the Austrians, and that it was practically certain that the Russians would seize the opportunity of attacking the German weakness and so hampering the German campaign in the West. Conrad was of opinion that the full weight of the Russian blow would fall on Austria-Hungary, and wished to be sure that the German forces in the East were employed to the best advantage, taking the offensive in conjunction with the Austrian army and not standing on the defensive.

For 1909 Moltke's calculations as regards the East were as follows:

Thirteen German divisions against eighteen and a half Russian divisions.

Thirty Austrian divisions against thirty-nine and a half Russian divisions

Surely forty-three divisions could carry out a successful defensive for a given period against fifty-eight Russian divisions?

The growing masterfulness of the Central Empires had now begun to frighten the other Powers of Europe. The Entente between France and Great Britain began to take definite shape.

Moltke and Conrad opened the year 1910 with letters of sympathy and confidence One Excellency thanked the other Excellency for the frankness of his letters. Both Excellencies were agreed that if their two countries stood closely together all would be well. Both were convinced that France, Russia, and Great Britain were planning the downfall of the Central Empires. Everybody was 'menacing' them Moltke's sole ray of sunshine lay in the fact that the Turkish army was German in sentiment and would soon be a formidable instrument of war Conrad continually deplored the lack of policy in the Dual Monarchy. He had not been having an easy time with the statesmen. He was for ever complaining to them and to Franz Ferdinand of the lack of attention that was paid to his various recommendations. He tersely stated his case in the following words:

> It is most convenient in the conduct of politics in peace-time to keep the leaders responsible in war-time at arm's length, and then when war comes to turn all the responsibilities over to them Statesmen of this school regard the army as an umbrella which they allow to rot in a cupboard and take out only when it begins to rain

He became involved in a ceaseless struggle with Aehrental, the Foreign Minister Aehrental was all for peace at any price, whilst Conrad regarded war as a definite specific for internal ills. He bombarded all and sundry with recommendations that both Italy and Serbia should be tackled whilst yet there was time before the inevitable struggle with Russia began. His summing up of the situation at the end of 1911 was as follows:

> Italy engaged in a war with Turkey in Tripoli, a war which is not going brilliantly for Italy, whose fleet is also much taken up Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece in process of military reorganisation, and compelled to reckon with the still undefeated Turkey and Roumania. Roumania still friendly to the Triple Alliance Montenegro isolated Russia disinclined for a European war, suffering from internal troubles, not yet ready in a military sense and engaged with England in disputes over Persia England, seemingly for maritime reasons, not ready for action France, under these conditions, not desirous of war, but ready to settle the Morocco question in a friendly manner. Therefore, Austria-Hungary in a position to advance

against one of her unavoidable and ever-aggressive opponents, Italy or Serbia.

His warlike urgings became in the end too much for Aehrental, and the Foreign Minister complained to the Emperor Franz Joseph. Conrad was relieved of his office on December 2, 1911.

Moltke had been somewhat ailing towards the end of 1910, and had been forced to betake himself to Karlsbad for a cure early in 1911. His correspondence with Conrad grew less in volume owing to the latter's difficulties and to the Franco-German discussions over Morocco. Moltke expressed himself forcibly over this latter situation:

> This damnable Morocco affair begins to hang round my neck like a millstone. It may be a sign of worthy endurance to sit unmoved upon hot coals, but it cannot be called pleasant. If we once more slink out of this affair with our tails between our legs, if we cannot summon up courage to make a firm demand, which we are ready to enforce with the sword, then I despair of the future of the German Empire. I shall take myself off. Before I go, however, I shall hand in a proposal that the army be abolished and that we place ourselves under the protection of Japan; then we can make money undisturbed and turn into imbeciles.

Moltke had now to undergo his cure at Karlsbad regularly. He writes cheerily, however, about his general condition. The doctors could find no radical ill. Manœuvres in Germany in 1912 had gone very well, and he had had a 'good Press.' He had enjoyed his yearly voyage to Norway more than usual, and he had made a wonderful trip in Germany's new airship *Hansa.*

Conrad, through the efforts of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was reappointed Chief of the General Staff on December 12, 1912. He had been absent exactly a year, and was not long in settling down to take stock of the situation. The Tripoli campaign had shown him that there were grave defects in the Italian military organisation, and he no longer regarded Italy as the chief danger. His brain, ever seeking for enemies, fixed now upon Serbia as the arch-conspirator in the plot against Austria. The years 1908 and 1909 had been most favourable for dealing with Serbia, but, since these opportunities had been neglected, he considered 1913 as the very last opportunity for settling the Serbian affair. It might perhaps be possible to incorporate Serbia peaceably in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but, peaceably or forcibly, she must be brought in, or she might prove a second Prussia and inaugurate a Southern Slav empire which would overshadow the old empire, just as the Germans had done in the past.

Moltke's early letters of 1913 are full of serious forebodings. If Austria-Hungary needed all her forces for her struggle with Russia, so also did Germany require hers for the struggle with France. France was improving rapidly. He would like to withdraw even those small forces designated for operations in the East

and to send them to the West. Only thoughts of Austria's position prevented him from rearranging his deployment. There could be no half-measures. He pointed out to Conrad that the coming struggle would be one to the death, and warned him that there must be a strong feeling amongst the people that the war was a just war before Germany could risk all for Austria's sake. He strongly recommended Conrad to set Serbia and Bulgaria by the ears and so obviate an Armageddon for some trivial political reason in the Balkans. He closed his letter with the words:

> Your Excellency may read this advice with astonishment. Such does not belong to the correspondence between two soldiers I am no politician, but the friendly relations between your Excellency and myself prompt me to speak thus openly As always, I am of opinion that a European war must come in the end, and that in the main it will be a struggle between the German and the Slav It is the duty of all States which bear the banner of German culture to prepare themselves for this struggle.

During the whole of 1913 and the first half of 1914 Conrad received the most voluminous reports from the Austrian military attachés abroad These reports are for the most part political, and disclose a surprisingly small grasp of the true position of affairs in the countries to which the attachés were accredited. Military men mixing with the upper classes of a foreign capital are seldom capable of judging the state of public opinion.

The Redl affair, where a colonel of the Austrian Staff of that name was detected forwarding information to Russia, upset for a time the balance of the Austrian General Staff. Moltke wrote to Conrad to commiserate with him over the '*verabscheuungswürdige*' behaviour of one of his officers, and to ascertain how far German plans had been disclosed to the enemy. 'I should have liked to write before,' he says, 'but diffidence held me back from touching upon so deep and painful a wound.' Conrad was able to reassure Moltke about the extent of the treachery, and both chiefs expressed their relief at the narrow escape they had sustained. Conrad was congratulated over the Austro-Hungarian *rapprochement* with Italy. General Pollio, the Chief of the Italian General Staff, had been invited to the German manœuvres, and if Conrad could come also he would make his acquaintance. 'I promise myself much,' said Moltke, 'from the personal touch between the three Chiefs of the Staff, all the more since General Pollio has expressed a desire to meet you.' Manœuvres would not be of very great importance, since, for economy's sake, they were pitting only one corps against another. 'So, do come!' said the friendly Moltke. Conrad accepted with alacrity, but one of his politico-military attachés informed him that he considered Germany to be at the bottom of General Pollio's desire for Conrad's presence. Germany was flattering Italy and wished to diminish the im-

portance of Austria in the Triple Alliance. Conrad felt compelled to write and say that he must now change his mind and must *refuse the kind invitation. Moltke replied expressing regret, adding: 'As is so often the case, diplomacy has thrown a stone in the path of the soldier.'* Finally, however, the invitation was accepted. General Pollio confirmed the intention of Italy to employ against France four or five corps on the Franco-Italian frontier and other troops in South Germany. Conrad returned from his visit much heartened.

Shortly after his return to Austria, and after some trivial incident at manœuvres in Bohemia, where the Archduke Franz Ferdinand treated him somewhat coolly, Conrad tendered his resignation. The Archduke made ample amends, and prayed him to remain in office at least until the spring of 1914.

The final agreements between Moltke and Conrad as regards the Eastern theatre were as follows: That Austria-Hungary should oppose Russia, helped as circumstances should dictate by twelve to fourteen German divisions in East Prussia. Austria was to act offensively in the territory north of the Carpathians, doing all she could to bridge the period up to the arrival of strong German reinforcements.

In 1914 Moltke wrote to say that he had seen General Zuccari, who was to command the Italian troops in Germany in the event of war, and that he felt quite certain that Italy would play her part. This drew the answer from Conrad that perhaps the employment of Italian troops in South Germany might free some German troops for the united deployment in East Prussia. Moltke was, however, not to be caught. In March he replied that, despite the certainty of Italian action, Germany would have to begin the campaign against France as if the Italians were not coming in, though the very moment the arrival of the Italian corps was a fact, then troops could be drawn from the West for the East. He then added:

> The Italian corps can be ready only on the twenty-second day of mobilisation. We cannot wait for them to begin against France I hope that the most important decisions will have been reached by that time. We do not know whether the Italian troops can be detrained at the proposed detraining stations or whether they will have to be brought further back in face of a determined French offensive It would be very advantageous if the Italians could come five days earlier But we must take conditions as they are at present and begin the war as if the Italians were not coming. We cannot, therefore, make any alterations in the dispositions we have taken, but I reckon with certainty upon sending some corps to Russia when the Italians have come in.

April 1914 found Moltke taking his usual cure in Karlsbad. Conrad was invited to pay him a visit there. The Austrian chief replied that there was nothing that he desired more than a personal chat with Moltke, but that the Press was so active that he

must first ask the Emperor. The visit actually took place on May 12, and Conrad returned in triumph with a definite timing as regards the German reinforcements for the East. Nothing was put on paper by Moltke, but Conrad records his words as follows 'We hope to be finished with France in six weeks from the commencement of the operations, or at least to be so far forward that we can turn our main forces towards the East.'

The summer of 1914 was to bring the great decision. The situation of Austria had, however, become most complicated. On June 28 the heir to the throne of the Dual Monarchy, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was assassinated in the town of Sarajevo, and relations with Serbia became most strained. On July 2 General Pollio, the Chief of the Italian General Staff and the great upholder of the Triple Alliance in Italy, died in Turin. Roumania appeared to be drawing further and further away, and Moltke wrote despairingly of the Turkish army:

> Turkey has no military value The reports of our military mission give no hope The army is in a condition which defeats description If one used to talk of Turkey as the 'Sick Man,' one must now talk of the 'Dying Man' Our military mission may be likened to a party of doctors who stand at the bedside of an incurable

What was to be done now? Could Austria risk a European conflict by starting a campaign against Serbia? Were the conditions sufficiently in her favour to justify the risk?

On July 5 Conrad had an interview with the Emperor Franz Joseph He expressed the opinion that war with Serbia was unavoidable if the Dual Monarchy was to continue to hold together. The Emperor replied that they must first be certain of Germany No one knew what had actually passed between the murdered Archduke and the German Kaiser at Konopischt. A request had been sent to Germany, but the Emperor Wilhelm was in Norway, and a reply might be delayed. If Germany stood by Austria-Hungary, then Franz Joseph was prepared to advance against Serbia. On July 6 Conrad was informed that the German Kaiser had promised his personal support, but that he wished to consult further with the Chancellor. On July 7 the Austrian envoy, Count Hoyos, returned from Berlin with the definite promise that Germany would stand by Austria-Hungary whatever might befall—small war or great war—and that she advised Austria to advance at once against Serbia.

At a full meeting of Ministers held on July 7 in Vienna all, with the exception of the Hungarian Minister, Count Tisza, were in favour of proceeding against Serbia, being fully aware that such action might provoke a European war, but being assured of the unconditional support of Germany. Tisza considered that by provoking such a war Austria-Hungary would place herself in

an unfavourable light in the eyes of the world. Further, despite the confidence of Berlin, he was by no means certain of success for the Triple Alliance in a European war.

On July 8 the decision was made to forward an ultimatum to Serbia on July 22. Conrad was to make all preparations for the occupation of Serbia, whatever might be her answer to the ultimatum. To allay all suspicion Conrad and the Austrian Minister of War were to go on leave at once.

Both Moltke and Conrad knew that action against Serbia might well cause a European war. They were, however, in the state of mind of confirmed gamblers who have been having an unprecedented run of luck Why should not they go on winning? Conrad thought that the solidarity of the alliance between Austria-Hungary and Germany would prevent a world war. Germany was much too strong Moltke had great belief in the German army. He still hoped that Italy would stand by the Triple Alliance. If the worst came to the worst, Germany had a good chance of winning, and was it not preferable to have done with the most 'menacing' of her enemies, in order to secure a little peace?

Both chiefs miscounted the snowball effect of even a partial mobilisation in Europe. The first blow in a campaign had become so important that the placing of an army upon a war footing, its strategical deployment, and actual advance against the enemy followed in such quick succession that the various phases could hardly be separated one from the other. How complicated these movements had become is well illustrated by an incident which took place between Moltke and Kaiser Wilhelm before the first day of mobilisation in Germany. The Kaiser had received some information which led him to believe that France might be induced to remain neutral, and he turned to Moltke with the words: 'Then we all march to the East.' Moltke replied that the deployment could not now be altered, to which the Kaiser said: 'Your uncle would not have given that answer'

The Austrian ultimatum was handed to Serbia on the afternoon of July 23, and events followed one another thereafter with lightning-like rapidity:

July 23.—Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.

July 25.—Serbia orders general mobilisation.

July 26.—Austria orders partial mobilisation.

July 28.—Austria declares war on Serbia.

July 31.—Russia orders general mobilisation Austria orders general mobilisation. Germany declares a state of imminent war.

August 1.—Germany orders general mobilisation. France orders general mobilisation. Germany declares war on Russia.

August 2.—German ultimatum to Belgium. Hostilities between Germany and France.

August 3.—Belgium refuses German ultimatum. Germany declares war on France. Great Britain orders general mobilisation. Italy declares her neutrality.

August 4.—Great Britain declares war on Germany. Germany declares war on Belgium.

August 6.—Austria declares war on Russia.

The divergent strategical needs of Germany and Austria now began to cause misunderstanding. Conrad wished to gain a quick success against Serbia, hoping thereby to localise the struggle. If he could present a *fait accompli* to the Powers of Europe, it was unlikely that any of them would take action. Austria had no desire for a European war. Conrad, therefore, did not wish to do anything to antagonise Russia, and was even prepared to let her go a long way without taking any counter-measures. As regards Moltke the matter was different. If Germany went into the war, there could be no question of localisation. Her plan was to attack France at once. Moltke was depending upon the slowness of the Russian mobilisation for time in which to defeat France. He could not allow any advantage to Russia in the matter of mobilisation. But for Germany to provoke a European war there must first be created in the country a proper war atmosphere. This could be done if Austria were in conflict with Russia. Germany could then support her ally. Austria seemed to be hanging back unnecessarily, and Moltke decided to force the situation. On July 30, after an interview with Moltke, the Austrian attaché in Berlin wired to Conrad:

> Russia's mobilisation no motive for mobilisation here; only when state of war between Monarchy and Russia. No declaration of war against Russia, but await Russia's attack.

On this Conrad wired to Moltke on the same day:

> We will not declare war against Russia, nor begin the war.

Conrad was not rising to the bait, and during the night of July 30–31 Moltke continued the attack with the following wire:

> Russian mobilisation continuing. Austria must be ready to mobilise at once against Russia. Germany will mobilise. Italy will be held to the alliance through compensations.

This was amplified by the military attaché as follows:

> Moltke said that he considered the situation critical if Monarchy did not mobilise against Russia. Counter-measures to Russia's mobilisation necessary on the part of Austria. This will give Germany motive for backing Alliance. Honourable settlement will be arranged with Italy through compensations, so that she will support Alliance actively, no men on Italian front being necessary. Refusing renewed steps on part of England to keep the peace. For Austria last hope is to support European war. Germany unconditionally with us.

Conrad exhibited these telegrams at a council on the morning of July 31, and the Austrian statesmen were satisfied. Demand was at once made to the Emperor to declare a general mobilisation. Whilst matters were being further debated Italy showed her hand in the following telegram:

> *Since the Triple Alliance has a purely defensive character, and since the Vienna Cabinet has provoked a European conflict by its violent action against Serbia, and moreover did not previously take the Italian Government into its confidence on this subject, Italy has no obligation to take part in the war*

General mobilisation was actually ordered in Austria at 12.23 p.m. on July 31, and at 4.45 p m. news was received that Germany had ordered a 'state of imminent war' with Russia.

Moltke appears to have thought that Austria's action was still too mild for his purposes, for he wired to Conrad that night: 'Will Austria leave Germany in the lurch?' Poor Conrad then sat down and sent off a long communication to Moltke explaining why Austria had hung back, and assuring him that Austria intended to stand true to her treaties.

The position of affairs did not look favourable for Austria. Nothing seemed to have gone right. Italy would not come in, and might even be actively hostile. Bulgaria would not attack Serbia, and Roumania seemed to be drifting away. A great European war was now certain. The aged Emperor Franz Joseph expressed his misgivings with the words: 'If the Monarchy has to go down, then at least we shall go down like gentlemen (*anständig*).'

On August 5 Moltke acknowledged Conrad's letter of explanation and thanked him effusively:

> I did not need your assurance, dear Comrade, that Austria would stand true I would rather have doubted God than the faith which we swore to each other.
>
> Our advance in Belgium is certainly brutal, but we are fighting for our lives, and all who get in the way must take the consequences
>
> This war which sets alight all Europe may probably cost us our fleet, but the decision will lie on land.

How many commanders in Europe have thought the like with regard to a great war in which the British Empire has been involved? Moltke erred, like many another, in underestimating the effect which can be produced by a naval blockade. His last injunctions to Conrad were to concentrate against Russia and to follow no side-issues:

> The Italians cannot really be such swine (*so hündisch gemein*) as to attack you in the back. Let the Bulgarians loose against the Serbs and let the whole pack devour each other. There is now only one objective. Throw the knout-carriers into the swamps of the Pripet and drown them.

On August 9 Moltke assured Conrad that every effort was being made to keep Italy at least neutral, but not very successfully: '*We cannot* have much effect here. The brute wants to gorge itself, and won't allow itself to be disturbed by us.'

Both chiefs then left for the front to direct operations, and their relations ceased. Conrad was to continue in the direction of affairs until the end. Moltke was to remain in power for little longer than a month. Broken in health and moral, he was to retire to Germany to die. At the last his conscience must have struck him, for on September 9 he was writing to his wife:

> Things are going badly The battles to the east of Paris will go against us How different it all was when we opened the campaign so brilliantly only a few weeks ago . Bitter disillusionment follows How we shall be made to pay for all that has been destroyed

Moltke, happily for him, was not to live to see the collapse of the German army, whereas Conrad was to see both the dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy and the dispersion of the army he had directed for so long.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

SOCIAL HYGIENE: THE BIOLOGICAL APPROACH

THOUGH the term Social Hygiene is new, many of the ideas which underlie it are old enough. The term implies, I take it, a concern with the health of society as an organism—if I may be permitted to use the word 'organism' in a somewhat vague sense, without committing myself or my readers to any purely organismic theory of society such as that held by Herbert Spencer. Society does resemble an organism in being self-perpetuating, in being composed of self-reproducing units, and in being held together in an organic way.

Social hygiene concerns itself chiefly with the biological foundations of society, with the quality of the population, with its changes from generation to generation, with the social effects of disease, and in especial with those racial aspects of the social problem which are almost invariably neglected alike by the economist, the medical man, the social reformer, and the statesman. Plato in *The Republic* tackled the questions of social hygiene; so have most writers of Utopias. But to-day social hygiene is no longer Utopian We may not be able to see very far in advance; but we can see clearly, we can point to immediate and practical application, and we can link our ideas on this subject on to a broad basis of facts and ideas in other spheres This has come about through the rise of scientific knowledge in general, and biological knowledge in particular. It is a part of the new humanism which is arising out of scientific advance.

It is the claim of the biologist that some knowledge of the simple facts of biology should be an essential part of the equipment of every educated man; elementary biology should be as much a part of the common mental stock-in-trade of a country as to-day are writing or arithmetic. And it is my business here to point out some of the ways in which through biology the aim of social hygiene may be furthered.

Biology is not a difficult subject to teach; for a great part of the necessary material of demonstration lies in our own human bodies, and much else, in the shape of familiar plants and animals, is at our doors: not only that, but almost every child has naturally

a deep interest in the workings of its own organism, and the great majority at some time or another pass through a phase of interest in Nature.

Nor is the arrangement of the teaching in the subject one on which there should be much difference of opinion. It can be begun with what is usually called Nature study, until the external forms and something of the life-histories of common plants and animals are known.

From this level, at the age of ten to twelve, further advance can be made. The human body can be taken as the chief object of study, and its various functions gone through one by one, till the child is familiar with the outline at least of its wonderful machinery. Meanwhile, other lines can be pursued. The details of life's chemistry can be studied by the aid of quite simple experiments on plants, and so the more complex chemical physiology of man and the higher animals, which is not capable of practical demonstration in schools, made more real. Then the life-histories of a number of animal and plant types can be studied in detail. This will give the opportunity for a biological understanding of what reproduction means; in the Protozoan type or in Hydra the child will see reproduction for what it essentially is—continued growth followed by separation of one part from the other And sex will slip into its proper place in the scheme of things.

If the school can boast a microscope, a whole new world of interest and wonder can be brought within the grasp of the boys and girls, and they can profitably spend much of their biological time simply in the absorption and realisation of some of the thousands of new facts and things and existences which, through the microscope's mechanical eye, are revealed to them in this new world.

Just as sex finds its proper level when introduced as part of a biological course, so does hygiene Hygiene alone can be a dreary performance. A French boy of my acquaintance tells me how in his lycée the class had to learn and recite by heart large chunks of a text-book on Hygiene—with peculiar appropriateness when the subject was the value of fresh air, the class large, and all windows tightly shut! That is an extreme case. But hygiene is only applied biology, and without biology in general and physiology in particular it is as uninspiring as all other applied sciences when studied in themselves apart from the general principles of their parents the pure sciences.

Starting from the 'web of life' as seen in Nature around them, the children's attention can be directed to parasites, their biological meaning, and their practical importance. Building on these foundations, the human moral can be pointed by stories of Pasteur and Lister, of Manson and Ross, of Gorgas and the

Panama Canal, of the meaning of the campaign against yellow fever, malaria, hookworm and sleeping sickness. Each story is a romance, but each romance had its basis in hard-won new knowledge. The value of sanitation, light, exercise, can all be emphasised in the same way, beginning from pure biology.

Finally, there is the collecting instinct to harness. A schoolmaster or schoolmistress who is anything of a naturalist, or indeed anything of a Nature-lover, can do a great deal with this driving force. School collections of flowers, mosses, insects, fossils, flint implements, and many other objects can be amassed and added to year by year. The class can make, not collections only, but can start a survey of the country round. Geography, geology, agriculture, and natural history here all join hands; nor need history be left out of the band. Such 'regional surveys,' with a map to be completed as a tangible goal before them, with the healthy rivalry of successive classes, year by year, each aiming to outdo the one before in helping on the work, with their focussing on a near-at-hand problem, followed by discovering that this links up with every imaginable theory and general principle—such surveys are among the finest instruments of true education that exist. It is, alas, true that in large towns much of this is impossible or far more difficult. In towns, however, there is the partial compensation of a museum, and by visits to this, aided by occasional excursions, the same sort of end may be attained.

On the purely biological side, the ecological point of view should be stressed—the strictly-balanced interplay of each organism with its neighbours and with its lifeless surroundings; plant and animal parasites; partnership between two separate organisms, as in the lichen or the orchid or the hydra; the differences between the plant communities of down, field, fen, pond, stream and woodland, and their whys and wherefores; the same, so far as possible, for animals; the cyclical recurrence of summer droughts and hard winters, and their effects on the plant and animal population of the country; the 'food-chains' stretching up and out from grass and other green plants through various strange transformations, some passing up to man, others short-circuited through humble scavengers, all reverting at the last to grass and green plants once more.

At the age of fifteen or sixteen the child is growing up. If it is ever to have any interest in general principles, now is the time to rouse that interest. Perhaps the greatest general principle which can now be put before the growing mind is that of evolution. After its previous acquaintance with the variety of living and past organisms, it will slip into the evolutionary idea as readily as a duckling into the water, and will float upon it as easily too. Direct observation can now be more and more supplemented by

books; and evolutionary progress, culminating in the evolution of man himself, can be firmly established as a vital fact.

Next there are the principles of heredity The laws of Mendel are simple enough in their arithmetic, but involve thinking in a new way of the relation between parent and offspring. Once the ideas of constancy of hereditary units or factors, and of their constant shuffling and recombination in each generation, have been grasped, human variety takes on a new interest. The effects of mutation and of selection can also be illustrated from domestic animals and cultivated plants.

Some further knowledge of immunity and bacteriology may then easily be given, and this leads on to further studies in hygiene, now along the lines of Public Health and Preventive Medicine.

If possible, the development of some higher animal, like frog or chick, should be studied and the amazing facts and generalisations of embryology brought before the mind.

Various specialisms can be introduced according to taste—that must be the affair of the particular teacher; but in general the aim should be to take the simple facts which had been studied in the earlier periods and give them new meaning by illuminating them with the light of general ideas and principles

Finally, there is one much-neglected branch of scientific education—the history of Science If this is intelligently taught it has the greatest value. As part of a general history of thought and civilisation it opens the eyes of the growing boy or girl to the slow but steady progress of the human mind in its dealings with the surrounding universe, shows the value of scientific curiosity, of abstract thought and of apparently useless researches. While, on the purely scientific side, it illuminatingly warns against dogmatism By pointing to the abundant scientific theories in the past which to-day seem ludicrous or fantastic, such as the Ptolemaic astronomy, or the views of the early anatomists on the course of the blood, or the phlogiston theory, it reminds us that many of the current theories of the science of our own day are doubtless destined to be relegated to the same limbo among similar curiosities of human thought.

Some of my readers will perhaps ask what all this detail of possible educational methods in biology has to do with social hygiene. But the answer is simple and clear enough. If once such teaching were introduced and efficiently carried through, it would in itself constitute the best possible biological approach to social hygiene that could be imagined. For now let us think what are the biological prerequisites or foundations for an enlightened public opinion on social hygiene.

First and foremost among these is the idea of man as an organism. Man is a unique organism. he differs in various

extremely important and indeed fundamental ways from all other organisms; but organism he is. His fundamental differences from other animals are manifold: he has at his command new biological methods, such as the new form of inheritance we call tradition, and the new tool which consists in the making of tools; and he lives according to a scale of values many of which are new and quite different from the values implicit in the lives and actions of lower animals. That is to say, clearly, that much of his life, and that the most important part, can never be interpreted on the principles of pure biology. On the other hand, the *bases* of his life are all biological—his organs and their functions, his instincts, his diseases, his senescence and death, his reproduction and the methods of his physical heredity. Only his brain and mind have achieved radically new departures To put it in briefest fashion, pure biology alone is not sufficient for the science of man; but the science of man without biology is unintelligible, a building without foundation.

Next is the concept of evolution. This in a sense is but an extension of what we have been saying; but it is a very important extension, and opens many new windows. We find that change is the order of things among organisms, that the two immediate results of change are either better adaptation or extinction, and that when we look at life as a whole, and not merely at particular species, there is a broad trend of change that we must call progress—an average change in a direction which to our ideas implies increasing value. What is more, through the genius of Darwin we are enabled to see in general *how* all the changes can be explained on natural principles, and do not require the intervention of an external creator or a guiding 'vital force' or similar power. Variation, heredity, and the struggles for existence: as consequence, natural selection; and as further consequence, extinction of some types, special adaptations of others, and general progress in regard to the highest level of organisation—there we have the links in the causal chain.

Man himself is seen to be only intelligible in terms of his past. His past will not (in the present state or any likely future state of our knowledge) explain all of him; but his present is unexplainable without a knowledge of his past.

In the larger vista provided by evolution, historic events dwindle to small irregularities on a general curve, and historic time shrinks in length when its centuries are confronted with the ten-thousand- and hundred-thousand-year periods by which organic evolution must be measured. We see, further, that there is no reason why human evolution should not advance further in the future. It is still obviously and rapidly going on as regards our tools and machines and methods of organisation, this very

advance in tradition (to use the most general term) has prevented there being any great pressure of natural selection upon the human type itself. But now that we see that progressive evolution has occurred in the past, and may be continued into the future, by that very vision we are become responsible for its continuance and proper guidance in our own race. It is at this point that the definitely eugenic point of view enters. Eugenics is the stepchild of politics. It deals only in long views and fares badly in consequence, just as afforestation has fared badly, for the same reason. So far as social hygiene is concerned, politics deals only with improvements in the conditions of living—with housing, wages, education, sanitation, hours of labour and the like. It deals only with each generation as it comes along. Any serious attempt to understand the relation of one generation to the next is still beyond it.

What is above all wanted is an informed public opinion on the subject How many people have really grasped the idea that 'the race' (using that much-abused word in its incorrect but ordinary sense) has a material basis, consisting of the sum total of hereditary factors handed down from generation to generation ; that these factors may have good, bad, or indifferent effects, and that, accordingly, the innate potentialities of the race depend upon the relative proportions of good, bad and indifferent factors in the whole population ; that these proportions may alter through the greater fertility of some strains or the dying out of others, and that therefore the inborn character of the race may change from generation to generation ?[1]

How many realise that there might well exist an improvement in individual health going hand in hand with deterioration of racial health ? Each individual person might come much nearer than before to realising the physical and mental possibilities that were in him , might run less risk of early death from disease ; might, through education and other social agencies, come to a greater degree of mental and spiritual self-expression ; and yet the average of physical and mental possibilities that were open to the individuals of the race might be far lower than it had been before, through elimination of the best factors of the stock.

How many realise that at the present moment the national stocks of all civilised peoples appear to be definitely, if slightly, deteriorating ? The realisation is made harder by the fact that much of the effect is masked through the antagonistic but non-hereditary effects of sanitation, good housing, physical exercise,

[1] [The reader may be interested in this connection to refer to the article 'As a biologist sees it,' by R C Punnett, F.R.S , in the number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* for May, 1925, at p 705 —EDITOR]

better medical treatment, etc., so that human individuals are, on the whole, bigger, healthier, and longer lived than they used to be. The deterioration is due to two causes—in the first place to the less rapid rate of multiplication of the best stocks; and secondly to the fact that many defects which in past centuries would have been grave hindrances, physical or economic, to their possessors are so no longer; or else that we do not allow the sufferers from defects to suffer from them, but keep them alive in special institutions. Bad sight, defective teeth, poor resistance to various bacteria, under-developed thyroid or pancreas, these and a host of other defects can be artificially compensated for; while mental defectives, congenital deaf-mutes, and cripples of various kinds are cared for and as a result often allowed to reproduce.

A few years ago I saw a paragraph in a newspaper sentimentalising over the marriage of two congenital deaf-mutes; and quite recently I heard of a woman who suffered from epilepsy being treated at a hospital to cure her of sterility! Public opinion does not tolerate a sufferer from small-pox attending a public celebration, or a homicidal maniac let loose in the streets of London. Why does it tolerate, and even encourage, such things as I have been referring to? The answer is partly that it has never thought straight about the matter, but also partly that, in so far as it has tried to think on the matter, it has been puzzled by the apparent irresponsibility of human heredity. When the average man sees a genius and a dunce in one and the same family, or a mentally defective child cropping up isolated in apparently sound stock, he may be pardoned for a little puzzlement, and for doubts as to whether any definite conclusions can be drawn on the basis of such a tricky process. It is precisely here that a little biological knowledge will be of the greatest help. A quite elementary knowledge of Mendelism will make it clear that such events are to be expected. New recombinations of old factors, leading now and again to startling divergencies from the normal, must occur; and whenever a character depends upon one or more recessive factors it will turn up, apparently *de novo*, when two 'carriers' of the recessive factors, themselves quite healthy, are married. Further, however, a little knowledge of biometrical results will convincingly show that, while these apparent individual exceptions are and must be constantly occurring, the average of parents and offspring in bulk shows a high correlation. With such facts in mind, what we may call the eugenic idea becomes obvious, and public opinion will come to demand action.

The differential fertility of different stocks and classes within the nation brings us up against the population question, and the problem of the limitation of numbers, in the family and in the

nation; and here, again, some biological knowledge is of very real importance for obtaining a sane view. The opponents of family limitation by whatever means are given to expatiating on the 'right of the child to be born.' A little biological knowledge will show the meaninglessness of this. The ordinary woman is capable of producing between three and four hundred ova during her lifetime—each a potential child. Which of these have the right to be born? which have we the right to suppress? Not only this, but at each act of fertilisation not only thousands but thousands of millions of male reproductive cells are swarming round the ovum, and the child produced by the success of any one of these would be different in character from that produced by the success of any other. Two plain facts must strike those who take long views—the first is that rapid multiplication can only be a temporary phase in man's history, for the world will in quite a few generations be full up with people, and that the only alternative to methods of barbarism like war, famine, plague, or infanticide is some form of voluntary limitation. The other is that if, as is the case to-day, the more desirable stocks are increasing definitely, if slightly, slower than the less desirable, and if this relative infertility of the better stocks is, as again appears, due mainly to voluntary limitation, then we should do all that we can to spread the knowledge and equalise the degree of limitation throughout all grades of society, so that limitation no longer has a dysgenic effect

We may now pass to the topic usually known as 'sex education.' It is of course obvious that a right attitude towards sex questions is among the most important aims of social hygiene. But the right course is hard to steer, for it lies between the devil and the deep sea. On the one hand there is the all-too-common attitude that the whole matter is somehow inherently degrading Innocence—by which is meant ignorance—is to be encouraged, the whole attitude towards sex and its problems tends to become one of sentimentality combined with a furtive and often prurient prudery. On the other is the danger of over-familiarity, of treating sex and sexual relations on an easy-come easy-go basis, like any other function of the body, and so encouraging promiscuity, low standards, loosening of the bonds of family life, and thus, indeed, accomplishing a degradation.

However, the right attitude is perfectly possible, and we can achieve the result symbolised by George Meredith as a centaur—the union of brilliance of animal nature and animal vigour with the best of human nature, and with the higher in control of the lower. All psychologists are, I think, agreed that to achieve this with the minimum of struggle and difficulty in adolescence it is important that the child in its early life should not have acquired

the common unnatural attitude towards sex, as of something strangely secret and wrong, but, by having its natural questions simply answered as they arise, should never become burdened with this dark load on its conscious and subconscious mind.

It is here that biology may help, for if biology is taught, the facts of sex and reproduction must be taught too It is not pretended that any amount of mere facts, however well inculcated, will prevent boys and girls having a stormy passage through the sea of adolescence. Abstract knowledge is one thing, but gradually to become aware within one of forces and desires that were not part of one's earlier nature, overpowering in their strength and vast in their inspiration—that is another thing

But biological fact can help It can help to introduce the subject and to make it natural instead of unnatural, so helping to release inner strains And it can help the more mature to understand what not unnaturally puzzles many thoughtful people, namely, the extraordinarily large place which sex holds in human life. This becomes at least intelligible when we take our evolution into account and remember that we are descended from creatures in which competition held full sway, the devil took the hindmost, and the strongest sexual instincts were a necessity if the individual was to achieve the goal of reproduction.

With a saner attitude towards sex there would inevitably come a saner and more humanist attitude towards other vital problems, such as those of birth control and of divorce

Finally, the biological approach is the best approach to the problem of disease and of health Here there are two great antithetic problems—the prevention of definite disease and the enhancement of the active vital principle of health itself. We have done a great deal in the last century to counter the attacks of bacteria and other parasites, but an enormous amount remains to do. Relatively few people know much about hookworm disease, and yet it moulds whole nations One of the universal symptoms of hookworm infection is general lassitude and a 'don't care' feeling about life At least half the rural population of the Old South in the United States and at least three-quarters of the population of the plains of India are afflicted with this pest. Infection can be totally prevented by the wearing of boots (since bare feet are the chief channels of entrance to the body) and cleanliness and sanitation (since the parasite passes out with the fæces). The man who persuades the Indians into the use of boots and water-closets will alter India's soul.

That is but one example out of many. Those who want to know what can be done in changing the face of a land by applying simple methods based on biological fact should read the Rockefeller Foundation's reports on their yellow fever campaign.

It will not be in the least unreasonable in a hundred years or so to hope for an uninfected humanity. But, again, it is needful first to persuade the populace of the truth of your facts before you can get them to move in practical measures based upon those facts.

But as such wished-for consummation is more nearly realised it will become increasingly important to lay stress on the other side of the picture—on health as an active principle, to be won, like all the rest of the things that are valuable in life, by the art of right living. Here, again, biology can help. It can show the *rôle* of quantity and quality of diet, of sunlight, of exercise, of rest. It can demonstrate that play and sport are of biological importance even to animals; it can point, with obvious morals for humanity, to the difference between the alert, thrilling vitality of the wild creature and the dull nature of its stall-fed cousins.

It can emphasise the desirability, to man the organism, of periodic contact with Nature, and so help us towards obtaining real 'Nature Reserves,' such as those established in America, as a necessity for any socially hygienic nation

There are other points which I would have liked to raise, but I have not the space. I would close by asking my readers to think forward a little—into the future In the future, as war becomes less frequent, conditions of life improve, inventions multiply, and the pressure of population slackens off so that we are not all the time presented with new urgent problems, due merely to increase of numbers, humanity will be able to devote more of its energies to the things that are of lasting importance, to the improvement of living, and will be able to lengthen the views which it takes. As this happens, is it not certain that the science of racial biology and the art of social hygiene must come to play an increasingly important part ?

For the present the growth of public opinion on the subject is what is most urgently needed, and the best way to achieve such an intelligent public opinion as is wanted is to make some knowledge of the facts of life a part of a general education.

JULIAN S. HUXLEY.

THE BOTANICAL CASE FOR EVOLUTION

1. NEW RACES

IN looking at the wild flora it is the *fixity* of species which chiefly strikes the observer. There is very rarely any evidence for the appearance of new plant forms in Nature. The work of Mr. and Mrs. Clement Reid on the later fossil remains of plants shows that the same species have existed in Europe since the Glacial epoch, and that they were much the same before the ice appeared. Hybrids (crosses between species) are, it is true, common enough, but the origination of a permanent new form has seldom been observed. The most remarkable case is that of *Spartina Townsendi*, a new species of grass, first recognised about 1870 at Southampton. Since then it has spread enormously, occupying the mud flats on the south coast of England, and more recently on the opposite coast of France. Its origin is still uncertain; it may probably be a hybrid between two older and less successful species

This wild grass, *Spartina Townsendi*, is an exceptional, perhaps a unique, case. What we know of new races we learn chiefly from cultivated plants and breeding experiments. The innumerable garden forms of roses, tulips, apples, plums, cabbages, and potatoes have all come from wild species, and the changes that man has produced are often so great that the original type can scarcely be recognised. We now know that the cultivated forms are the result chiefly of crossing followed by selection.

Of late years deliberate breeding experiments, carried out with a scientific purpose, have yielded surprising results—for example, the crossing of two white sweet peas has given a purple-flowered offspring: Dr. Lotsy by crossing different species of *Antirrhinum* (snapdragon) has produced forms so peculiar that they would, if found wild, be put in a different genus; from two species of campion with the usual petal-bearing flowers he raised a race wholly without petals.

Plant-breeding, whether carried out by the cultivator or the experimenter, shows that species are not unchangeable—that under new conditions they can give rise to new forms, widely different from the wild originals, though not shown to be new species. In this process crossing has been a main feature, and

there is plenty of evidence that crossing goes on freely in Nature also. Thus all the plant forms of which we actually know the origin have been derived from different forms by descent with modifications That we have not obtained definite new species is, perhaps, not surprising, for we cannot hope to reproduce in our gardens the conditions under which natural species arose.

2. Classification

A 'natural' classification of plants has been sought by botanists at least since the time of Jussieu in the eighteenth century Such a classification, as has always been recognised, is the expression of *affinities* Let us consider what we mean by affinity. This conception is the basis of evolution. Indeed, without it the evolution idea could never have arisen

Affinities are of every degree Beginning with the lowest units, the closest affinities are those between the 'little species' of such a genus as *Rubus* (bramble), of which 133 are recognised in the British flora by Dr Druce. The relations among most of these forms are so close that none but a specialist can distinguish one from another. If we take larger units, such as the four Linnean species of *Rubus,* alone admitted in Hooker's *British Flora,* we find a degree of affinity still close, but the units are evidently distinct

Then we have affinities between genera, *e g*, *Rubus* and *Fragaria* (strawberry) or *Potentilla* (cinquefoil), and more remote relations with apples, plums, roses, and all members of the family *Rosaceæ*

Next we come to affinities between families, *e g*, between the rose family and the saxifrages—a very clear case. Successive grades of relationship are shown by all the families with separate petals, and further by all Dicotyledons.

The two classes Dicotyledons (plants with two seed-leaves, or cotyledons, like bramble) and Monocotyledons (plants with one seed-leaf, or cotyledon, like lilies, grasses, and orchids) still show evident affinities, uniting them in the sub-kingdom of the Angiosperms, or true flowering plants. Where are we to stop?

Beyond such a great group as the Angiosperms affinities become more difficult Yet zoologists tell us that the whole range of the vegetable kingdom is comparatively small. A botanist will hardly admit this, but the remark suggests that affinities, at least between most of the main groups, are indubitable.

Angiosperms, or ordinary flowering plants with seed-vessels, clearly have a good deal in common with the Gymnosperms (conifers, etc.); the older botanists used always to class the latter

under Dicotyledons. Thus we arrive at a still greater unit or group—seed plants. When we come to the spore plants or cryptogams (flowerless plants), there seems to be a great gap; yet the work of Hofmeister, three-quarters of a century ago, showed us how spore plants and seed plants may be compared.

Between the three existing lines of the higher spore plants—ferns, horse-tails, and club-mosses—there are many points in common, but we have no proof of direct affinity. It is rather a case of parallelism, but this in itself implies some degree of affinity. The position is much the same when we get down to the *Algæ* (*e.g.*, seaweeds). The members of the main groups show evident affinities among themselves, but between the main groups we find only general correspondences. A relation between the *Algæ* and the higher plants is suggested by recent discoveries in the early Devonian flora The *Fungi*, such as mushrooms and moulds, at present stand by themselves

When we consider the simplest *Algæ* a most significant point arises, for we often cannot tell, for certain, whether we are dealing with a plant or an animal. Creatures like the beautiful *Volvox* (beloved of pond-life enthusiasts) are in active movement all their life, just like animals, yet they are green, like plants, and are nourished in the same way. A still smaller creature called *Euglena*, which swarms in stagnant water, inclines more to the animal side, but this, too, is usually green, though some euglenas are colourless and adapted to an animal mode of nutrition All such organisms are in locomotion all the time, they are only stationary, like hen's eggs, in the reproductive phase

Even higher up among the *Algæ* animal characters appear, for a great many of them, including some of the largest seaweeds, revert to the animal stage when they reproduce their spores (zoospores) swim about like animalcules. When this was first discovered, a great botanist wrote an essay entitled *The Plant at the Moment of becoming an Animal*. But we may go further. In the higher cryptogams the spores are no longer active, but in mosses, ferns, and all their allies the male cells are still lively, and swim on their own account to the egg-cell which they have to fertilise. Only in the seed plants (and not in all of them) is this kind of locomotion wholly lost. The higher the plant, the more completely does it drop its ancient animal habits.

Going back to the simplest living things, we have the 'slime fungi,' or *Mycetozoa* (popularly called 'creepies'), while in the feeding stage they are naked, protoplasmic bodies (sometimes as large as the human hand) moving slowly about and swallowing solid food, like an animal, but they crystallise out, as it were, into beautiful plant-like fruits when they are about to reproduce their kind. They have been classed in both kingdoms.

Now, what is the meaning of all these strange creatures, half plant, half animal, unless the animal and plant kingdoms have a real affinity? In fact, the relationship between the two great kingdoms is often more obvious than that between some of the classes in each.

But now comes the question, What does affinity mean? The older naturalists recognised affinity quite as clearly as we do—they were particularly good at it. Yet they did not usually believe in evolution. Why, then, do we?

In the first place, the idea of affinity is taken from human relationship When, among living things, we find resemblances and correspondences comparable to those among members of one's own family, the thought of blood-relationship is inevitably suggested In fact, that is the most natural interpretation, and alone fits the observed facts Otherwise we have to take refuge in 'archetypes,' supposed ideas in the mind of God But that is no scientific explanation, anything whatever might be explained in that way without calling in natural science at all. The idea of archetypes is a survival from a pre-scientific age

It is true that there is also a classification of minerals; we might speak of degrees of affinity among them also, though no idea of descent can come in here. But so-called affinity between minerals depends on a certain likeness in the chemical reactions which produced them Nobody will suppose that the species of living organisms arose from the non-living by chemical reactions. We know that living things arise, within our experience, by generation only, hence the only natural explanation of the origin of their various types is by generation The theory of descent alone gives us a scientific interpretation of affinities among organisms

3 Community of Organisation

If there is a blood-relationship, nearer or more remote, between living things, this demands a certain identity of structure, or community of organisation, among them, extending to both the animal and plant kingdoms This common basis of organisation was revealed as long ago as 1839 in the cell theory of Schleiden and Schwamm They showed that all animals and all plants are made up of the same units, the cells, however much they may be modified as the organism reaches maturity Further, every animal and plant, in the regular course of generation, begins life as a single cell.

Certain families of the *Algæ* and *Fungi*, which are commonly spoken of as non-cellular, can scarcely be regarded as exceptions to the rule. The formation of internal cell-walls is omitted, so that the body of the plant consists of continuous tubes. The essentials

of cellular structure, nuclei and protoplasm, are, however, present as usual.

Modern research has greatly emphasised the unity of fundamental organisation throughout the living world. The most minute phenomena, especially the changes in the constituents (chromosomes) of the nucleus during division, are exactly paralleled in the two kingdoms. It makes little or no difference in such investigations whether one examines a worm or a lily, a fly or an evening primrose. The identity of essential organisation is complete.

It is the same with the work of the geneticist, or student of heredity—a subject, indeed, closely related to the nuclear phenomena just mentioned. The laws of Mendel can be equally well tested and verified whether the breeder crosses peas or mice, stocks or cocks and hens. We see, then, that in plants or animals, however different in their mature character, the basis of organisation and the process of generation are fundamentally the same.

4. Comparative Anatomy

I use this heading because the phrase is well known, and I mean by it the comparison of organs and structures generally in different plants or groups of plants.

Evidence of descent is afforded if we find an organ, functional in certain species, present as a useless rudiment in allied plants. For example, in the figwort (*Scrophularia*) there are four functional stamens; a fifth is also present, but in the form of a mere scale, producing no pollen. In the allied mullein (*Verbascum*) all five stamens are perfect, while in foxglove (*Digitalis*) and most other plants of the family the fifth has practically disappeared altogether. These different conditions are at once explained on the hypothesis that the members of the family *Scrophulariaceæ* with four stamens are descended from plants with the number five (as in most related families), and that, in certain cases, the superfluous fifth stamen has not yet wholly disappeared. In *Pentstemon*, commonly grown in gardens, the fifth stamen is represented by a larger rudiment, which appears to play some part in guiding the movements of the insect fertilising the flower.

Rudimentary or vestigial organs are good evidence of descent, and can hardly be reconciled with the doctrine of Special Creation. But they are only, after all, a particular case, for we constantly find organs modified, not indeed into apparently useless vestiges, but into different organs with a new function. We have just referred to such a case in the staminode of *Pentstemon*. The whole of botany abounds with examples of these changes. One or two instances will suffice.

In most of the vetches (*Vicia*) the end of the leaf is modified into a tendril, an organ for grasping the surrounding herbage, and thus enabling the vetch to climb. In an allied vetchling (*Lathyrus aphaca*) the whole leaf has become a tendril; the functions of a normal leaf are here taken on by the enlarged stipules at the junction of leaf and stem—organs small and comparatively unimportant in other species. In another kind of vetchling (*L. nissolia*) there is no tendril; the stipules and the blade of the leaf have vanished and the work of a leaf is done by the flattened leaf-stalk, so that the plant, when not in flower, looks more like a grass than a vetchling

In the vine, as we all know, there are large tendrils, and very efficient they are in climbing But here the tendril has nothing to do with a leaf, it is a whole branch modified, comparable to the branched stalks which bear the grapes.

In the guelder rose (*Viburnum opulus*) the outer flowers are sterile and of no use for reproductive purposes But they are very conspicuous and serve to attract the insects which carry the pollen and do the work of fertilisation. In some of the dogwoods (*Cornus*) the whole group of flowers is small and unattractive, but the leaves (bracts) surrounding the flower are large, white, and very handsome, well adapted to attract the necessary insect visitors. They play the same part as the petals of an ordinary flower, but are totally different in origin.

Such employment of an old organ to serve a new purpose is like a human makeshift (*e g*, beating swords into ploughshares —a bad way to make ploughs), but in plants it is the rule; we seldom find a really new organ Nature does her makeshifts well, but there is no need to attribute such contrivances to the ingenuity of a Divine Artificer when descent with modification gives a simple, natural explanation Do we not see stamens modified into petals in every double rose in our gardens?

The subject of the modification of organs is closely connected with the question of the relations between the great classes of plants. We are here concerned with comparative anatomy on the grand scale

When Linnæus in the eighteenth century drew up his famous artificial classification he divided the vegetable kingdom into twenty-four classes, and the last class of all was the *Cryptogamia*, embracing the whole of the spore plants. All this heterogeneous mass of seaweeds, Fungi, mosses, and ferns was lumped together in a single class, because in these plants the sexual process was 'hidden.' Now it has been revealed, in the utmost detail, in all the great groups of cryptogams But even after the cryptogams had ceased to be wholly mysterious in their reproduction there

still seemed to be a wide gulf between them and the seed plants.

The cryptogams, or spore plants, are, as is well known, reproduced by exceedingly simple bodies—the spores, usually unicellular and always small The seed plants, on the other hand, are reproduced by seeds—complex bodies, sometimes of large size, always built up of various tissues, and usually containing an embryo, the rudimentary plant of the next generation.

The great Hofmeister, about the middle of the last century, bridged this gulf by showing that in those spore plants, such as the Selaginellas, which have two kinds of spores, the large female spores correspond to the embryo sac of the young seed, while the small male spores are identical with the pollen grains of the higher plants This result, which he established in full detail, was a great step towards demonstrating the unity of structure throughout very diverse classes of the plant kingdom

Hofmeister was not an evolutionist, but his discoveries prepared the way for the recognition of the descent of the seed plants from some form of cryptogams His work applied immediately to the gymnosperms (conifers, etc), plants with naked seeds ; the exact relation of this class to the true flowering plants is still uncertain.

After Hofmeister's work one great difficulty in bringing the spore plants and seed plants into line still remained The egg-cells of the spore plants in question are all fertilised by means of minute, actively swimming cells, essentially the same as the sperm-cells of animals. The seed plants, on the contrary, are fertilised by means of a pollen tube, by the growth of which the male cells are borne passively to the ovum (egg)

This distinction appeared absolute down to the year 1896, when two Japanese botanists discovered that in *Cycas* and the maiden-hair tree, living seed plants of an ancient type, active male cells like those of the cryptogams, are formed. A pollen tube is indeed developed, but the male cells escape from it and make their way to the egg by their own powers of locomotion The discovery has since been extended to other members of the cycad family.

Thus we see that in certain groups of seed plants the mode of fertilisation is exactly intermediate between the cryptogamic and phanerogamic processes. Actively moving male cells are produced, as in the former , but they are helped on their way by the growth of a pollen tube, as in the latter.

It is remarkable that Hofmeister himself anticipated this discovery, for he wrote about the year 1854 that impregnation in the higher cryptogams ' takes place by free spermatozoa, and in the *Coniferæ* by a pollen tube, in the interior of which spermatozo

are probably formed.' The maiden-hair tree was, at that time included under *Coniferæ*, and the cycads are an allied family. So Hofmeister was essentially right, though in the true conifers, as now limited, the male cells have lost the power of active movement.

The importance of the discoveries just mentioned is that they serve to prove that between the spore plants and the seed plants there is no impassable gulf, but just such a relation as is demanded by the theory of descent. This does not, of course, mean that any existing cryptogams represent the ancestors of the seed plants; they certainly do not. But they enable us to realise how a transition from one type to the other was possible.

5. Geological Record

It has been well said that in the question of evolution 'the last word must lie with palæontology.' This is true, for the record of the rocks can alone afford direct evidence of the past history of plants and animals, and show conclusively whether this was an evolutionary history or not. On the animal side the evidence is clear enough. In particular, there has been great success in tracing the gradual development in past ages of living species, such as the horse, the elephant, and the camel. Among plants little has been done in this way, for the later geological records have not been sufficiently studied from this point of view. There is, however, an interesting exception in the work of Miss Chandler on the history of the water soldier (*Stratiotes aloides*), a common aquatic plant in some parts of England. This is now the only species of the genus

Miss Chandler, working with Mrs. Reid, has followed the history of *Stratiotes*, as shown by its well-preserved seeds, from early Tertiary times to the present day. The water soldier is itself found fossil, and there are eight extinct species, making nine in all. Seven of them form a continuous sequence, from the Upper Eocene onwards The successive types of seed have been compared in every detail of structure; they 'furnish a connected series, the members of which constitute links in an evolutionary chain.' The two other species appear to form a branch line of descent ending blindly in the Upper Oligocene.

There seems to be no doubt, judging from the characters of the seed, that our living species, the water soldier, has descended by gradual change from ancestors that lived in early Tertiary days.

The general geological history of the plant kingdom tells us much of interest, but leaves many gaps. In fact, the record of the rocks shows us a series of successive plant dynasties, floras distinguished by different dominant races. Each such epoch of

vegetation has a character of its own, and appears to pass over into the next by a well-marked transformation. [1]

The seaweeds of the Cambrian and Ordovician are succeeded by simple land plants in the Upper Silurian and Lower Devonian. In the Middle Devonian these archaic forms are mingled with much higher types, probably already including early seed plants. In the Upper Devonian flora advanced families, gymnosperms, fern-like plants, and huge club-mosses dominate the vegetation. A like flora, but far richer, prevails throughout the Carboniferous age; there are many changes, but the same general character persists all through this period of luxuriant growth.

Then comes a profound transformation: the Palæozoic is succeeded by the Mesozoic age, and new races of plants overspread the earth. The old gymnosperms of the Carboniferous are replaced, partly by conifers of almost modern types, partly by maiden-hair trees, but most abundantly of all by a host of cycads. The little surviving family of cycads is the last relic of a vast complex of Mesozoic plants, most of them far more advanced than their nearest living representatives. Ferns, of comparatively familiar aspect, are scarcely less abundant

During the Cretaceous period the last great change came on. The typical Mesozoic vegetation made way for a completely modern type of flora, with our flowering plants as the ruling dynasty. Since the Cretaceous period the changes have been small compared with the great transformations of earlier times.

This story of the succession of definite and distinct floras in the past has been called by an opponent 'damning evidence' against the doctrine of evolution Yet any botanist who has studied the geological record of plants is, as a rule, a convinced evolutionist. The reason is plain: while the fossil history of the plant world, as at present known, does not of itself suffice to prove the truth of evolution, it is perfectly consistent with the doctrine, and there is no other scientific theory in the field.

To show the consistency of the plant history with the theory of descent one or two examples may be taken. We have pointed out that the cycads (in a broad sense) were the dominant race in the earlier Mesozoic flora. In the preceding Carboniferous age there was the great group of the so-called seed-ferns, plants with the habit of ferns, but bearing true seeds on their fronds. Now the seeds of these long-extinct Palæozoic plants were organised just on the same lines as those of the cycads still living; they have a very peculiar type of structure, now only paralleled in the seeds of the maiden-hair tree. There are other points of structural correspondence, and it is a perfectly tenable view that the cycads

[1] See 'The Succession of Floras in the Past,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, December 1924.

of the Mesozoic and later days were descended from the Palæozoic seed-ferns.

In like manner, the maiden-hair tree, the last survivor of an important Mesozoic race, shows a clear relation to a group of Palæozoic plants, the Cordaitean trees. It is most probable that this now isolated type traces its descent from that great Carboniferous family of forest trees.

The horsetails of our swamps and fields are a modest race compared with their relations the tall calamite trees which flourished in the wet forests of the Coal age. In the older Mesozoic beds we still find horsetails of great stature, showing much in common with their Palæozoic predecessors. During the succeeding Secondary ages the horsetails dwindle, becoming more and more like those of our day, until, in the Wealden formation, we find forms almost identical with living species. This succession may not be a direct evolutionary series, but, to say the least, it is highly suggestive of descent.

The reader may naturally ask if we have any light on the origin of the flowering plants (angiosperms), which are now dominant throughout the world. As we have seen, they appeared in full strength during the Cretaceous period, and were then, broadly speaking, essentially like the flowering plants of the present day. Their apparently sudden development was called by Darwin, with his usual honesty, an 'abominable mystery.' It is still by no means cleared up

But since Darwin's time we have learnt two things: First, the flower itself was not a new invention on the part of the angiosperms Most of the cycads of the earlier Mesozoic differed from the surviving family in bearing (instead of mere cones) very fine flowers comparable to those of a *Magnolia* in size and form, though very different in detail Whether these flowering cycads had anything to do with angiosperm descent is a disputed question; they show, however, that the flowering plants of our own epoch are not an absolutely isolated class. Secondly, Mr. Hamshaw Thomas has recently described some very curious fossils from the Middle Jurassic of Yorkshire of an age far older than any angiosperms known before He finds fruits ranged in two rows on a common stalk, these fruits are closed, and each of them contains several seeds Now we know that a closed fruit is the character of angiosperms, from which they take their name Further, the male organs associated with the fruits bear anthers of the same form as those of our living flowering plants. Mr. Thomas's fossils appear to have been very different in other respects from typical angiosperms, they may give us the clue to the descent of the leading modern class from earlier and more archaic forms.

It is unnecessary to pursue the subject of the fossil plant

record further. It is no doubt very incomplete compared with the wonderful animal history, which gives such ample and even conclusive evidence of evolution. I do not, as a botanist, regret the present imperfection of the geological record on the plant side. We have enough to suggest evolution at every point; the vision may be dim, but the more is left for future research The 'attractions of the ancient plants are enhanced by the mystery which still hangs round their origin.'

Conclusion

One of the strongest arguments for organic evolution, or the theory of descent, is that it is in perfect harmony with the development of the earth itself, as shown by geology We know that the surface of the earth has attained its present configuration by processes of ceaseless change, due to natural causes, such as are in operation now In this changing world we find the living population, plants, and animals likewise changing as period succeeds period

It never occurs to a geologist to call in the intervention of a Creator to account for the elevation of a mountain range or for the change of dry land into sea If the Alps and the Himalayas, the seas and the oceans, owe their origin to natural causes, why appeal to a Deity for the creation of a cabbage or a turnip?

The doctrine of Special Creation (the only alternative to evolution) in its thorough-going sense means that every species was created separately by Divine power, or one may imagine that the type of each genus or each family was created and evolution left to do the rest Such half-way houses are not of much account, and we may as well assume the creation of species at once. Obviously everything can be 'explained' in this way. All relations between species, all vestigial organs, all embryonic phenomena, and all geological sequences can at once be accounted for by the will of God. Clearly we could equally well apply the same method to the earth itself and dispense with the geologist altogether

But all this is no scientific theory Natural science is concerned with natural causes; an appeal to the direct action of a Creator amounts to no more than a confession of our ignorance; it is the negation of science, an evasion of the work of investigation by calling in the arbitrary act of a supernatural power which, just because it explains everything, explains nothing. For a naturalist, at the present day, to accept Special Creation is to give up the game. If Special Creation were true, any scientific and rational conception of an orderly universe must be false

A wholehearted acceptance of evolution must enhance our

conception of the grandeur of the universe and our reverence for the All. Old Witham of Lartington, the first man to investigate the structure of fossil plants, wrote in 1833, in the preface to his classical book:

> To lend my aid in bringing from their obscure repositories the ancient records of a former state of things with the view of disclosing the early and mysterious operations of the Great Author of all created things will ever be to me a source of unalloyed pleasure.

For my part I can never read these noble words without a thrill of admiration and sympathy. Witham (himself a leading Roman Catholic) approached his work in the right spirit. He had probably heard little or nothing of evolution, or development as it would have been called in his day. But the evolutionist can adopt his words with a deeper significance. For him, too, the 'early and mysterious operations' are there, and he, like Witham, finds unalloyed pleasure in his efforts to disclose them. But he has learnt that all the creative operations of which he can have any knowledge work through natural causes. All the more does he recognise 'the Great Author of all created things,' for to him Nature and God are one

DUKINFIELD H. SCOTT.

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FARMING IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE A CENTURY AGO

WHATEVER may be his more substantial grievances, the modern farmer cannot complain of any lack of literary attention from publicists and politicians. New agricultural inquiries and land policies follow each other with a rapidity more conducive to prosperity in the printing trade than to confidence in farming. Amidst this multitude of counsellors it is interesting to look back a hundred years to those early days when the pioneers of Norfolk agriculture undertook missionary work in the more backward counties, and it may be a valuable corrective to-day to re-read some of their 'inquiries,' made village by village, and see how static have been our agricultural conditions during the last century. Such an inquiry was made by a certain Mr. Gooch, a clergyman, in Cambridgeshire during the years which followed Trafalgar, and his *General View of Agriculture* proves, especially to those living and farming in the county to-day, how deep into the past go the roots of the modern industry.

Mr. Gooch was an enthusiast, but he was also a conscientious investigator, and his profession gave him an ally in every village. Finding that 'farmers attentive to inquiries of this sort are not numerous in Cambridgeshire, owing perhaps to the want of a Bedford or a Coke,' he could send round elaborate lists of questions to his brother clergy, a large proportion of whom were themselves practical farmers. He was also helped by the landowners and larger farmers, and his grateful reference to the hopeful prospects of a county 'having in it a Hardwicke, an Adeane, a Tharpe, a Mortlock, a Jennyns, etc.,' shows that even in an arable county there is a remarkable continuity in personnel as well as in methods. Mr. Gooch in 1811 was able to note the first effects of the inclosures which had been made since 1770, and his book really marks the beginning of an era of which we are perhaps seeing the declining years.

Except for the development of dairy farming, and the introduction of steam-power, the tractor, and certain artificial manures, the farmers' problems of a hundred years ago read very much like those of to-day. Mr. Gooch's arguments against farmers

vning their own threshing machines might be heard any market ıy. Horse ploughing, harrowing, and rolling took just about ıe same time, and the question which he discusses about the use ' stetches ' for growing roots on heavy land is still a matter for gument where farmers meet The ' mole draining ' of grass nd has been much discussed recently Gooch tells us that

c mole plough has been tried on pastures at Madinglay by Sir C Cotton d approved, the saving is great, ten to twelve acres may be done in a y with twelve horses, expense, men and horses, about 3*s* 4*d* per acre, t Mr Young gives an account of this implement drawn by a windlass, ned by eight women, this method would be executed in the best style, re it adopted at Madinglay, the admiral would certainly be *at home* ıle directing it

Wheat was, of course, the basis of the old farming, but the nous crop rotations which are mentioned could be still found practice, though bare fallowing is less common. Farmers her ' dibbled in ' their wheat or broadcast it Drilling had en tried, but met with little favour, the arguments used against e practice suggesting that the tilth was not usually very fine ıe average produce was about twenty bushels to the acre, a ure which proves that the very heavy yields which are a tradition every Cambridgeshire village did not become general till higher ces led to higher farming in the middle of the nineteenth ıtury Conditions must have been still very primitive, and not couraging to scientific farming ' Gleaning is a general evil in s county,' wrote Mr. Gooch, who generally saw things from the mers' point of view

The depredations committed by the gleaners are very great, and the lefined right which the poor claim of gleaning amongst the sheaves, even amongst the gavels before tied up, is a source of perpetual disputes dissensions

When we look into the farmers' accounts certain figures m to have altered very little Arable land was rented at about an acre, and the figure given for my own village would apply day, so also would the tithe charge Implements were simpler l cheaper, and less horned stock was kept, but horses were rer. The average capital invested by the tenant farmer is en at 7*l* an acre; his modern successor probably needs some- ıg under twice as much The labour bill per acre is given by Gooch at 1*l* 6*s* 4*d*., a figure which is remarkably close to the rage of 1*l* 5*s* 7*d* given for the years 1913–14 by Mr J. A. ın in his *Foundations of Agricultural Economics*. Seed cost farmer rather more, but he spent less on manure. With wheat 70s. a quarter and beans and barley about 36*s*., the farmer coned to make 5 per cent on his invested money, and a little 10*s*. an acre. It is probable that then, as now, the farmer

who made money, and 'went ahead,' did so by being a good hand at a bargain and having a good eye for stock rather than by his handling of arable land.

Although the cost of labour per acre was very much the same a hundred years ago, the rate of payment and the methods of work show a greater alteration than in any other department of farming Most of the work was done by casual labour and paid by piece rates. The permanent staff, chiefly shepherds and dairy-maids, received a very low yearly cash wage—about 10*l.* for men and 5*l.* for women. The 'usual advantages,' however, were reckoned at another 25*l*, which included board Mowing grass was paid at 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre, hoeing turnips from 2*s* 6*d.* to 5*s.* per acre, 'paring and burning' at 30*s* per acre. This last operation was the usual method of bringing overgrown rough land into cultivation, and was also widely used on all kinds of soil. The turf was skimmed in May and the turves heaped every few yards. They were burnt when dry and the ashes scattered, a green crop being planted soon after Most of the fens must have been 'burnt' at some time, and anyone who has noticed the extraordinary patches of heavy crops which come on the places where 'twitch' and hedge trimmings have been burnt in a previous year must wonder whether this treatment might not be revived. The labour costs would perhaps be prohibitive, as the piece-work charges we have quoted are generally about an eighth of those in force to-day.

The harvest wages were the farm labourers' sheet anchor, and varied between 6*l* and 8*l*, much of this amount being paid in kind. 'Foreigners' were often hired to help with the harvest, and Mr. Gooch says that the wheat harvest was 'reaped, generally by "acre men," viz, strangers (mostly Irishmen), who come over in large companies, and do that work only' These gentry are still to be found in the West of England, but do not penetrate often so far east For the men who were 'boarded in,' the harvest was a time of good eating and drinking rather than for making money. The following was their fare·

> At six in the morning, one pint of strong beer, and bread and cheese. At eight, breakfast of cold meat and beer At eleven, one pint of strong beer, and bread and cheese At one, dinner, one day roast beef or mutton (pork will not do) and plain pudding, next day boiled beef or mutton and plum pudding At four, one pint of strong beer, and bread and cheese. At seven, hot hash or hot mutton pies On Saturday night, an addition of good seed cake of 1 lb covered with sugar, and a quart of strong beer poured over it

Mr. Gooch was more interested in farming than in farm-workers, and it is only incidentally that we have glimpses of the lives of the men and women who must have formed the greater

part of his cure of souls. The first part of the following extract has a very modern ring:

The farmers not only complain of the rapid advance of wages, but of the difficulty of procuring steady and deserving labourers; they are much less industrious and respectable than in many counties In the fens it is easily accounted for, they never see the inside of a church, or anyone on a Sunday, but the alehouse society, or that of their neighbours met together to drink away the day. Upon asking my way (towards the evening) in the fens, I was directed with this observation from the man who informed me 'Are you not afraid to go past the bankers at work yonder, sir?' I was told these bankers were little better than savages, they gave me, however, civil answers

Living conditions seem to have been worse in Cambridgeshire than in surrounding counties:

Cottages are wretchedly bad, speaking generally Lord Hardwicke has set an example worthy of imitation in having built several comfortable cottages and having attached gardens to them, some few other gentlemen have done the like, but, 'tis to be lamented, it is only a few

The low standard of living was reflected in rough-and-ready methods of farming which shocked Mr. Gooch.

I witnessed at Shelford a most barbarous and disgraceful way of killing hogs, viz, a man standing in the middle of a stye, and striking them on the head (by an instrument somewhat like a cricket-bat) as they run round the stye

The 'condition of the poor' brings us to the larger question of inclosures, and here our reverend author is very explicit. He sent a list to every clergyman giving a number of points on which he wanted information, and amongst these points were the effect of inclosures on the population, and also on the standard of cultivation The general result of his inquiries suggests that where there was a large area of good land to be inclosed the result was a slight increase in land under crops, and in the produce per acre, and the extra employment compensated the farm-workers to some extent for their loss of common rights. When the land was poor there were no compensating advantages and the effect was disastrous. In all cases the number of those who gained was small and the expenses high. Amongst those who profited, as Mr. Gooch is careful to ascertain, were the tithe-holders. A few examples will show how the system worked:

Abington Piggotts—'Enclosed 1770 Quantity 1000 acres, of which a common of 80 acres Rent before inclosures 7s per acre, quality price 16s., now raised to 20s Corn increased, sheep much the same; cows greatly lessened Poor A very bad and melancholy account; before the inclosure they had no rates, and were forced to find out an old woman to take 6d a week in order to escape being rated in aid of other parishes, but since inclosing the rates have gradually risen to 2s., 2s. 4d., and 2s. 6d. in the pound. Formerly every poor man had a cow, some by right, some

by permission; on the inclosure the whole parish belonged to one person, the rights had allotments assigned to them, and were thrown to the farms.'

Bottisham.—' Lay impropriator and vicar benefited, the latter very considerably; rents more than doubled; expenses about 23*s.* per acre; common rights worth before enclosure 20*l* have now been sold for 200*l*.'

Longstowe.—' Where there is not a considerable quantity of common, inclosures do not answer. Fewer sheep kept; former privileges of the poor greater than the compensation given them, rectory improved; less arable land; rents doubled. Cottagers who hired cottages, that had common rights and kept cows, kept them no longer'

Guilden Morden.—' Common rights. these are nineteen, some cottagers have a right to keep only one cow, some two, some three. Some farmers have six of these rights. They winter their own labourers' cows in the strawyards. . . . The rights will receive allotments, these thrown together to their respective proprietors, and there will be an end of cow-keeping amongst the poor, as in the neighbouring parish of Abington Piggotts. The poor are therefore greatly alarmed, and view the steps taken for inclosure with horror When an evil could so easily be prevented, and inclosure converted to their advantage as well as that of every other class, it is to be lamented that measures are not taken with that view The expenses of inclosing this parish were 4404*l*. on 2508 acres'

When we remember that Mr. Gooch was a strong supporter of the principle of inclosing on the ground of better farming, his evidence makes gloomy reading. It shows how easily the Inclosing Acts could have been turned into a great instrument for building up a population of small holders. All that would have been necessary was to have given a fair acreage in exchange for the rights which were being extinguished. There were certain people who saw what was happening and attempted to deal with the problem.

Mr. C Pemberton of Cambridge has found cottagers much benefited, and their comfort greatly promoted, by land being let to them, and he has let from three to five acres to each, and on rent day they meet him with cheerfulness and gratitude, their money in their hand.

The demand for land was clear enough, but unfortunately those who demanded it had no way of making their voice heard. Only in a few villages were the inhabitants strong enough to resist inclosures which, while they might improve the land, would certainly injure the majority of the inhabitants.

Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, has very extensive fens, some 1000 acres which are constantly under water in the winter. They have 1500 cows, besides dry stock and horses, they mow sedge, etc, and hire land at a distance The right of keeping several cows (five or six the informant thought) lets at 9*l* a year, this shows the real value of these commons in their present state, yet a surveyor would be knocked on the head that went there with a view to inclose

It may be said of Cambridgeshire villages as a whole that those in which the inclosures were most complete and successful are to-day the poorest and most backward villages in the area,

[illegible] prosperous and independent [illegible] fruit-farmers. There seems [illegible] immediate effect of large areas being given [illegible] individuals was a general improvement in cultivation ; [illegible] a short time the higher rents and the absence of small holdings led to a general deterioration, and during the long agricultural depression of the last fifty years the villages with large arable farms are those in which population has most rapidly decreased. There are many villages mentioned in Mr. Gooch's book as of some importance which have now almost disappeared from the map.

G. T. GARRATT

THE FLEMISH BORDER

THOSE opinionated men who ran the French Revolution divided France into departments. Of all those departments none is so straggling as that called Le Nord The upper portion of it, containing the arrondissements of Hazebrouck and Dunkirk, is almost severed from the rest And rightly, for it is an ethnological frontier, where the mysterious race sometimes described uncertainly as Celts, but more definitely by Cæsar as Gauls, stands divided from a non-Gaulish race of more recent northern origin The land and the people have the distinction of a strong local type. Have not all peasant communities a strong local flavour? Certainly, but generally as a result of their undisturbed isolation On the other hand, the French-speaking farmers of that strip of the Department du Nord owe their special character to the fact that they have never been undisturbed or remote. Of all the picturesque catchwords of the history books of our school days, none was so exact, certainly none so vivid, as the description of those marches as 'the cockpit of Europe' True, that term was applied to the Lombard Plain with as much superficial exactitude, but with how much less weight, for the battles fought in Northern Italy were so often to redress the balance of some denomination, to give effect to some political project The battles of the Flemish border had all the inevitableness that belongs to racial conflicts, the importance that attends decisions destined to govern the language or religion of a continent for centuries. It was on these low plateaux, so slightly raised above the rivers that empty into the North Sea, that the ambitions of Spain, of France, and finally of Germany to dictate to Europe have been cut short This is the first and predominant characteristic of these people They are borderers. They have the tenacity and caution that characterises Carlisle and Dumfries. Over and over again the political boundary has been shifted The Austro-Spaniards under Alva must have built these towers one sees along the Lys at Aire, Merville, and Estaires, or at Bailleul, Hazebrouck, and Bergues Now, for the last 150 years France has thrown its centralised government and invincible language over these parts. But only superficially, for one hears complaints: 'One is more *pratique* in Belgium.' The

tongues these people speak are even more puzzling. To the younger generation French has been well taught in the schools where the masters (it cannot be entirely a coincidence) are always 'strangers' from St. Omer or beyond. But in the family, and by the elders, Flemish is still spoken, and often Flemish alone. And what a Flemish! It seems to vary almost with each village. The Belgians of Courtrai, the poorer classes of Lille, cannot understand it. At Esquelbecq is an old, old wooden windmill If you ask its owner to read the inscription carved over the door, he will reply, 'Ah! I cannot. It is Vlamsch!' 'But don't you speak Flemish at home?'—'Yes, but I can't read that sort there!'

Again, in the slopes of the Mont des Cats, the backbone of that slight ridge between the Yser and the Lys, runs a lane called 'Vlaming Strat' Why? Obviously to identify it to people not Flemings. But whoever they were, they have been so long forgotten that now the name exists in Flemish only. Similarly 'Ferme L'Espagnole' is a moated grange, with water still about it, with 300-year-old walls, 3 feet thick, built by an Austro-Spanish general in order that Neapolitan mercenaries should keep Frenchmen out of Holland. Remoter and even more forgotten are the Roman roads, and, reminiscent of the Crusades, those old farmhouses called 'La Commanderie,' where Templars lorded it over these rich wet meadows and these dumb, defiant people.

But civilisation has, after all, its advantages. The Austro-Spanish Empire may be nearly as forgotten as the Holy Knights, but 'the cockpit of Europe' holds now some of the richest and best tilled fields in the Continent There is nothing languorous about the climate. The cold and damp of the North Sea bid the borderer be stirring if only to keep his blood warm. He does stir to some purpose, and not unaided. There is little or no real peasant ownership in that square of country that lies between the sea and the Lys, the Aire-Gravelines canal and the Belgian border. The land is owned by landlords approximating to the English model, and mainly Belgians. The usual tenancy is half-yearly, the average holding about 200 acres English, the yearly rent often as high as 50 francs pre-war—2*l*. for the 'mesure,' which very roughly equals our acre. Very roughly, for let the French Government lay it down, generation after generation, never so strictly, that the superficial area unit is the hectare, the farmer of these parts goes on dealing with his land by 'mesure,' that holds a varying number of ares in nearly every commune. Over the canal westward, or over the river to the south, you soon come to the real peasant—the man in rags and sabots, whose one boast is that he can tell you to get off his tiny plot of land. But the borderer has a more real sense of value, similar to that to be found in Scotland. You may call him *only* a tenant farmer if you

like, but he has good clothes and boots, and money in the savings bank, and pays rent regularly to M. le baron for the best land in the world.

What crops! People who think of France as a wine-growing country should stop at Steenvoorde—for choice, on a Saturday in the autumn:—*all the potatoes of Midlothian, the grain of York, the hops of Kent (these latter grown on stout wires stretched on great timbers like telegraph poles); and besides, sugar beet, that England is only just beginning to think about; chicory,* that has had to be legislated against because it was displacing grain on account of its extreme profitableness; and flax—flax, the lovely eyebright flower, the delicate green plant, difficult to grow; then the straw-like bundles, soaking in every pool, turning the water to ink. Finally, if you are both patient and inquisitive, you will see some day an old man or woman beating out the golden silky fibre, like children's curls, on a smooth, worn old hand-wheel, and you will know how *linen* got its name. Then there are the berries—for oil.

The live stock looks familiar enough, but is very much more strictly used than in England. The typical big-boned white horse may be seen harnessed to the handy 'cultivator' with a gennet. It you tell Jerome Vanderlynden about Mr. Collings' 'three acres and a cow,' he will say ponderously that one acre is enough. And you will see his cows tethered, so that they eat what they are allowed and not what they like.

With pigs and fowls the strictness takes another form. Neither time nor attention, food nor house room, are wasted on them. They do what they can for themselves before they are killed. There are, in that corner of the earth, no sheep. Two flocks perambulate the roads, eating from the sides of the ditches. If you ask Achille Delbaere why, he will look at you and say: 'But, sir, we have no land poor enough to put beneath sheep. Over by St. Omer, that may be all very well; but here—No!'

It certainly looks as if he were right. From the Forêt de Nieppe, on the south, to the sluice-gated marshes that surround Dunkirk, you may, if you look hard enough, find some few acres of ground in each commune that are doing nothing more exciting than growing timber: that does not mean that the trees just grow until someone thinks of forestalling Nature by cutting them down. Those woods are regularly marked off into areas and cut according to size and age, by which they can be marketed. With much difficulty may there be found some of the steeper slope of Mont Noir, Mont des Cats, or Mont Cassel where nothing grows. And there you will find quarries.

But Achille's great grievance is those Holland elms that the baron has insisted on growing all round the pasture. They suck

up all the manure. It cuts Delbaere to the heart, for, unused and unwilling as he is to show his feelings, manure is the one thing about which he is really enthusiastic Not only the golden store that lies rotting beneath the windows of his living-room, in sight of which he never loses heart, and from which he appears to draw inspiration, but all those chemical compounds, sulphates and nitrates, that a fatherly Government ensures his obtaining—for in this, at least, he has moved with the times—they are wasted on his landlord's trees

May it then be said that here, at last, is to be found the earthly Paradise, where Peace and Plenty till the smiling plain? The inhabitants think so, and cannot bear to leave it for 'foreign parts,' by which they mean other departments of France Families are larger here than in any part of France, and the surplus goes to Lille or Dunkirk. There is no emigration And Belgians who occasionally find their way in are marked men, held a little aloof by the native born The local gentry, small nobles whose families and seats the French Revolution appears never to have obliterated, thrive there, and well they may, for in what part of the world is one better fed? The one grievance of the titled classes (if they may be so called—they approximate much more nearly in habits and outlook to the squirearchy of Fielding) is the disabilities under which sport suffers There is shooting, but the farmer, it is bitterly complained, poaches the hare or rabbit, and if he finds a partridge nest sets his heavy nailed boot upon it. No sportsman he, and not likely to waste good marketable produce on the beasts of the soil or the birds of the air But the solid little moat-defended chateaux are rarely empty, and the upper classes being more volatile than the lower, here as elsewhere, it is in these that you will find the few strangers who have gained admittance—factory owners from Lille, or successful lawyers The attitude towards sport brings out perhaps better than anything all that an Englishman deplores in the life of these parts

Yet, for those who can afford to hire it, some amount of mixed shooting exists But for the 'people,' as they would be called in England, there is nothing—no cinema, cricket and football, of course, are unknown, and the weekly visit to market, instead of being the occasion, as with us, of spending, some proportion of which is always for pure enjoyment, is a hard business of making money and banking it. The men, of course, do, some of them, sit in the *estaminet.* The really gay spirits on Sunday afternoons gather round a 40-foot pole and shoot arrows at the objects mounted on it. But national dress and local dances seem to have disappeared with equal completeness. There are pictures of the saturnalia of the old-time fair at Cassel; but Cassel is moss-grown, half deserted. There are tales of the wakes of

Hazebrouck; but who goes to them now? Solid acquisition is the order of the day. Some effort, no doubt, is being made to revive, or rather invent, a carnival week for Malo-les-Bains, grim suburb of Dunkirk. But it is for visitors. No, the Flemish border is not gay. On the other hand, it is extremely devout. In the smaller villages the old churches linger with cracked chimes in bat-ridden belfries. But in all the larger and more prosperous ones a big new church of red brick has been built within the last half-century The church-going is wonderfully general, not left to the women by any means And the last relic of the old joyful mediæval tradition lingers perhaps in the processions of Easter and Whitsun and in a certain pomp of ritual. Even in religious observance the curious dual nature of the borderland creeps in. At Wormhout the Easter sermon is given in Flemish first, then in French And these exercises, so far as the cursory observer can discover, are the only alleviations of a life that, although it contains no starvation and a good deal of small independence, is monotonous to a degree almost impossible to conceive Granted that a healthy man, brought up to agriculture by primeval methods, can find a fair contentment in seeing his crops heavy and unspoiled, in the knowledge that they have been harvested without loss and sold without sacrifice, yet what of the women? Where are the gay scarves and vineyard songs of the South? Their work, however much they may do in the fields, lies necessarily and properly within those old damp houses, so many of them still moat-surrounded or standing upon the dyke of the canal. How damp and cold those tile floors must be, how dark the scullery kitchen with its small window upon the midden. Never a carpet, much less a book, picture or musical instrument, to be seen, and if there be an armchair, the master sits in it Or, again, in those little towns smaller than many an English village, what of the sombre faces that look out on you, a moving object on those few square yards of 'Grand Place' that alone are visible from that particular doorway, a woman's world, while the man is in his workshop—not silent, not without means of avoiding thirst? Him you may hail as you pass, and he will sometimes respond, especially if he wants anything: 'Aha! It's you, my good sir. Wait a moment; I will walk with you as far as the "Sapeur Pompier," and we will have something to take!'

The woman, if you happen to find her alone, will gravely offer you a chair in the best room while she finds the man of the house. It is not that Eastern ideas have penetrated France and throttled Liberty. Not at all It is a very free country. The sum total of Freedom is as high as in any other. But it is divided up so equally that everybody gets only a tiny bit, for the man business, for the woman domesticity, fill life amply full. Hence the extra-

ordinary ascendency which the notaire, the local lawyer, has established. There is no competition, and he has to deal with the slow-minded farmer, whose thinking power is limited to thinking twice before parting with cash. As one moves among these people one does not wonder any longer at the difficulties attending direct taxation in France

It is said that a different spirit is coming over them, and that the younger generation is leaving the land. Confronted with the possibility of the eventual disappearance of these folk, one's feelings are mixed. Admiration—Yes, of course. Emulation—No! If and when they go, France will feel it. But only for the worse? One wonders They produce immeasurably more than they consume But are they not part of a dead weight of reaction that serves France so ill? At any rate, one need not decide for or against them in a hurry. Be the process good or bad, it will take a long time For many a year they will go on, ignoring Lille and Dunkirk, scoffing at St. Omer, content to be ruled by their curé, their baron, their notaire. They have survived many 'European' wars and centuries of evolution. They will survive many more!

R. H. MOTTRAM.

ANDRÉ CHÉNIER: HIS MANUSCRIPTS AND HIS EDITORS

THE production in 1925 of the opera *André Chénier* in London, though the libretto was not in strict accordance with fact, brought vividly before an English audience the tragic and early death of the great French poet. In the French, as in the Russian, Revolution the reformer, as distinguished from the destroyer, was overwhelmed, in each individuals emerge struggling in the flood. Among these may be discerned the figure of André Chénier.

In 1787, two years before the revolutionary outbreak in France, the Government appointed a new Ambassador to England The post fell to Monsieur de la Luzerne, who had successfully concluded an important mission in the United States and who was given the rank of a marquis on his new appointment He being a friend of the Chénier family, André was offered and accepted the post of Secretary. He was in London when the Revolution began, but he had been given more than one *congé* and had kept in close touch with current events in France. On the death of the Marquis, after four years of service, Chénier returned finally to France The fateful year 1791 found him in Paris, the centre of an eager, hopeful, confident group of young men, representatives of that large effort for the regeneration of their country among the choicest of the youth of France, only to become victims of revolutionary frenzy.

In one of the greatest of modern novels, *Les Dieux ont Soif*, Anatole France describes the mental and emotional effect of the French Revolution on the people of Paris, the story of André Chénier from the year 1791 until his death in 1794 stirs mind and heart still more deeply, because it is reality

It is said that the Frenchman, in the clear logic of his thought, is the inheritor of the ancient Greek. The son of a Greek mother, André Chénier may be said to have possessed this inheritance in double degree, for he was born when his father, Louis Chénier, the author of standard works on Morocco and the Near East, held the post of Consul-General for France in Constantinople. But the life which began in Oriental calm amid the sunburnt streets of an

indolent Eastern port was ended as the shouts of the *sans-culottes* of Paris arose around the barrier of Vincennes.

It is not my purpose in this short paper to dwell on the dramatic incidents of André Chénier's too brief life, his days as a student, as a soldier, as a traveller, as a member of the French Embassy in London, or on the stormy and tragic hours of the Revolution Nor will I enter on a critical appreciation of his work, which has been the subject of so much controversy as to whether he belongs to the Classical or to the Romantic schools of poetry. It is the story, as it may be called, of his manuscripts that will shortly be narrated, of the literary curiosity excited by their dispersion and distribution, and of the unexampled devotion which they have aroused among men of letters.

With the few exceptions which will presently be noted, the manuscripts of André Chénier were unpublished in his lifetime, and after his untimely death were kept from view by his family with a too pious care, and thus for many years were inaccessible to the public He was celebrated, yet unknown. Though so closely hoarded, many of Chénier's manuscripts were lost, but, once in contact with his writings, more than one of his many editors made the study of the material at their disposal the main purpose of their lives, and the publication in Paris, by Professor Paul Dimoff, of a definitive critical edition of his poetical works, an edition to which will soon be added a life of the poet, again brings into prominence a remarkable and interesting episode in the history of French manuscripts of which no notice has been taken in England

The double appeal which in ever greater degree since the French Revolution André Chénier has made in his own country as poet and patriot is scarcely realised in the English-speaking world The broad scope of his genius was not lost on Continental Europe. In Russia, where he was translated and imitated, notably by Pushkin, his influence on literature is important. Something of his life, his tragic death at least, is not forgotten here, and his shorter poems are appreciated by those who have a knowledge of French literature

In France no writings have aroused more comment or received more attention than those contained in the portfolios left by André Chénier Little as was at first known of his work, from the moment of his death desire for further knowledge of his writings is always apparent. Seldom have manuscripts aroused so much curiosity, and seldom has curiosity with so much difficulty been satisfied. A semi-literature grew up about them Access to them soon met with opposition or became impossible, and their publication caused for years sharp disputes between Chénier's passionate literary devotees who, after the appearance of the

first edition of his poems, begged for the privilege of further examination of the manuscripts, and the remaining members of the Chénier family. Especially was the controversy warm and bitter between Gabriel de Chénier, Andre's nephew, who also brought out an edition of his verse, and Becq de Fouquières, the outstanding figure among the poet's many editors

On the large canvas of the French Revolution, which surprised him in his work, André Chénier, as time goes by, becomes increasingly conspicuous. An actor in the first scene of the drama, he was freed early from the optimistic illusions which dominated all sections of French society, including the throne, he foresaw the imminent dangers which threatened both the individual and Government

Prose writings inspired by the Revolution were the only works of André Chénier known to his contemporaries, except two poems, also the product of the times, his intellectual concepts, his literary power and literary projects, his diversified erudition, were known to few in his life, which was brought prematurely to an end at the age of thirty-one.

The patriotic ode *Le Jeu de Paume*,[1] which was dedicated to the painter David and printed in the form of a brochure in 1791, and the satirical *Hymne aux Suisses de Châteauvieux*, which appeared in the *Journal de Paris*, April 15, 1792, are the only poems published in his lifetime; but within a few months of his execution the *Décade*, 20 nivose an III. (January 10, 1795), printed the exquisite poem, the best known to-day in England of Chénier's short lyrics, *La Jeune Captive*, the manuscript of which was given by Chénier to Mellin, a fellow-prisoner at Saint Lazare Written when awaiting trial, *La Jeune Captive* was inspired by, and addressed to, the young and seductive Duchesse de Fleury, who, too, was confined in Saint Lazare as a political prisoner. More fortunate than Chénier, the Duchesse escaped the scaffold, a hundred gold louis purchasing her freedom

Though the fact that *La Jeune Captive* was copied in various publications showed instant appreciation of the author, six years went by before Marie-Joseph Chénier, the younger brother of André, and in their time the more widely known of the two both as a writer and as a politician, and who then had charge of André's manuscripts, thought the time favourable for a further proof of his brother's poetical genius by the publication of another short lyric, one equally enchanting.

La Jeune Tarentine, which should be regarded as a pure antique, was printed during the Consulate, 1er germinal an IX. (March 21, 1800), in the *Mercure*. Even in those disturbed and

[1] *Le Jeu de Paume*, à Louis David, peintre, par A Chénier Paris, Bleuet, 1791.

changing times, by their novelty, as by their perfection and by their touching beauty, these publications could not fail to attract attention, and soon *La Jeune Tarentine* was followed by a few fragments collected by Chateaubriand and other writers of the time less well known who had the good fortune to be favoured with glimpses of the autographs. Chateaubriand was among the first of men of letters to bring André Chénier to public notice, introducing some of his verses in his notes to *Le Génie du Christianisme* (1802), and he likens him to Theocritus, and laments his early loss

It is possible that Marie-Joseph thought of editing his brother's manuscripts, but it was not until 1819, nine years after his death, and twenty-six years after André's death, that the first volume of verse was selected from the manuscripts and printed.[2]

More particulars must be given of the manuscripts, the history of which soon becomes involved, and which developed into the famous quarrel which has been discussed in turn by every editor of the poet, and indeed in every literary circle in France

Family love for André Chénier was strong and lasting, and from the time of his execution his manuscripts were regarded as a sacred legacy. His father, haunted by the thought that he was in some measure responsible for the tragedy of his son's death—for, by an irony of fate, probably André would have escaped the guillotine had it not been for the ill-directed efforts of Louis Chénier to effect his favourite son's release—survived him but a few months, when his eldest son, Constantine, as the head of the family, received André's papers Constantine was in the consular service and, official duty calling him away for long periods, the charge of the manuscripts eventually fell to his brother Marie-Joseph, who, unknown to his family, appears to have permitted some of them to pass out of his hands. It was the beginning of their dispersion.

On the death of Marie-Joseph, his executor, Monsieur Daunou, the eminent politician and scholar, became responsible for the care of the manuscripts Appreciating that they were of a new and remarkable order, Daunou showed them to the poet Chêndollé, who urged that they should be published. Millevoye, too, must have seen them, as, in a note to his *Elégies*, he cites fragments from Chénier's Homeric poem *L'Aveugle ;* and Fayolle about this time (1816) inserted a part of the *Mendiant* in his *Mélanges littéraires*.

At length the surviving members of the family of the poet, at the urgent instance of Daunou, consented to the publication of the manuscripts, and the work of editing a selected volume of

[2] *Œuvres poétiques d'André Chénier*, par H. de Latouche. Paris, Beaudouin Frères, 1819.

verse was finally entrusted to Henri de Latouche, a young poet and dramatist of whose future much was expected and whose skilful work on André Chénier's text has been universally acknowledged by succeeding editors, with the one exception of the poet's nephew.

Latouche, who was an English scholar, was thirty-four when he accepted the arduous task of editing André Chénier's poems. It is interesting to note that when in later years the editor of the *Figaro*, he tried, but in vain, to make a journalist of George Sand. They came from the same countryside, and in her difficulties on her independent venture in Paris, knowing nothing of writing, she turned to him for advice but, try as she would, short articles she could not write. Perhaps it was fortunate that George Sand did not have journalistic facility, for she began, instead, to write novels, and in *Indiana* Latouche was the first to see the beginning of a famous career.

In *Histoire de ma Vie* George Sand relates at length this passage of her life. And, again, *La Vallée aux Loups*, a book of short articles by Latouche, is preceded by a study written by her at Nohant, June 15, 1851, which offers some first-hand facts about the able editor of Chénier's poems to whom his successors so often returned for guidance

To Latouche belongs the credit of being the first to recognise that Chénier's manuscripts were not, as was generally supposed, those of an interesting young poet who promised much and who had left uncorrected fragments which in time he would have perfected, but of a master already powerful and new, bold and pure at the same time, ' pure even in his negligences '[3] Latouche himself writes that to have made André Chénier known as a poet was his best title to fame[4] The issue of 1819, the first publication of any substantial part of the writings of André Chénier, revealed his true genius and remained, as I have said, the principal source from which later editors gathered their material until, after many years, the manuscripts remaining in the hands of the Chénier family were released to the public.

From the time that Latouche received the manuscripts the narratives in regard to them differ.

The history of the manuscripts develops into a strange story from the time when the *Iambes*, written in fine but distinct characters on both sides of narrow strips of paper within the prison walls, were slipped within the poet's changes of linen which were sent for by his family, until, after nearly the lapse of a century (May 1892), those which remained in their possession were given into the safe keeping of the Bibliothèque Nationale,

[3] *Causeries du Lundi*, par Sainte-Beuve, t. III., p. 481

[4] *La Vallée aux Loups*, par Henri de Latouche : Michel Levy Frères, 1875. p 99.

but even then saddled for the impatient editor with the proviso that the seals should not be broken for seven years.

By the time of the Revolution André Chénier had obtained, not alone a personal knowledge of life in the army, but also some experience of the world in the diplomatic service, and he had found existence outside France as intolerable as he had military life To him his literary work represented past, present and future, and he looked forward as his true career to that of a man of letters His manuscripts, when not in his own possession, were in his father's keeping, but, absent, he was often uneasy about them From Rouen, on September 29, 1792, he sent a letter charging his father to watch over them. 'If they should be lost,' he wrote, 'all the pleasures, the studies, the amusements, of a lifetime would be lost'

This material, which represented an immense volume of work, can be regarded as fragmentary only, but it was in conception of such vigour and power, so fresh and new in execution, that it had only to be seen to be recognised that France had suffered the loss of a great genius in the premature death of André Chénier, and year after year, from the first edition of his posthumous verse in 1819, reprints and new editions emerged from the press

The first question in dispute in the history of the manuscripts now arises More than once Latouche makes a statement in regard to their distribution [5] which the editors who followed him for the most part have treated as legendary

Latouche states as a fact that André Chénier, a few days before his imprisonment, classified his manuscripts, placed them in three portfolios and numbered them, that the contents of the first were ready for publication and contained a preface, on those of the second, though in an advanced state, he was still at work, and that the third portfolio contained merely unfinished sketches and projects He states, further, that the manuscripts contained in the first and second portfolios were lost, and that the third portfolio only was preserved and furnished the material for his edition of André Chénier's verse, issued in 1819

Although Latouche's work on André Chénier has been placed so high, not only Gabriel de Chénier, from the first jealous of family rights and an adverse critic, but Sainte Beuve, Becq de Fouquières, and Abel Lefranc, the latest editor of Chénier's prose works, among others, have questioned Latouche's account of the

[5] In the preface to Latouche's edition of 1819, in the *Revue de Paris*, December 1829—March 1839, in the preface to Latouche's edition of 1833, in the chapter 'Sur les Ouvrages Inédits d'André Chénier,' contained in *La Vallée aux Loups*, by Henri de Latouche, 1833, which is a reproduction of his articles in the *Revue de Paris*

three portfolios, which could not be verified, and which they all term legendary. But Becq de Fouquières, for one, reconsidered this verdict, finding, after long and critical examination of the manuscripts, that it was certain that Chénier, at the end of 1793 or at the beginning of 1794, recopied a number of his poems, classifying and numbering them preparatory to early publication. Also Monsieur Paul Dimoff, André Chénier's last editor, has established that besides these there were other poems, also, that were classified and paged by Chénier ready for publication. Dimoff considers it probable that Chénier on the eve of imprisonment, fearing at any moment to be arrested, revised and divided the manuscripts as stated by Latouche, but he does not think it possible that two portfolios, the first and second, as described by Latouche, could have entirely disappeared.

The work of division and revision of André Chénier's manuscripts, complete or incomplete, was, at all events, undertaken twenty-six years after his death, when they were examined by his surviving heirs with the assistance of Daunou and by Latouche, the editor chosen by Daunou and accepted by the Chénier family.

The second dispute in the history of the manuscripts, which became a *cause célèbre*, began when Becq de Fouquières, whose life work was the reconstruction of André Chénier's writings, entered on the scene.

The history of the manuscripts at the time of the first edition of Chénier's works is still, and, it would seem, will always remain, obscure. According to Latouche, the manuscripts then held by Monsieur Daunou on behalf of the family were offered for sale and were bought by the publishers, Beaudouin Frères, from whom they came into the possession of the editor of the projected volume. Twenty-six years had gone by since the death of the author, and the difficulties of editing for the first time a volume made up of fragmentary material were obvious. Selection was imperative, and the material had been divided for this purpose by Daunou when Latouche received it.

But so remarkable did Latouche find the material in his hands, that he was anxious to see those portions which had been rejected, and which were still in the keeping of Sauveur Chénier, the sole surviving brother of the poet. Though the publishers maintained that they had purchased the right to have their edition as complete as possible, it was only after some opposition that Sauveur Chénier allowed Latouche to read with him the manuscripts in his possession. A further choice and division followed, and a copy was made of these by Sauveur in his own hand for use, if desired, in the forthcoming volume.

These two dossiers, the bundle of original documents and the

copies furnished by Sauveur Chénier from the manuscripts which were at first discarded, were thus the materials for the first edition. This publication was anything but final, and some of the pieces which Latouche did not think it advisable to publish at the time were not issued until ten years later,[6] in the *Revue de Paris*, where the lines beginning 'Sans parents, sans amis et sans concitoyens,' written on a December day in London [7] and betokening an unhappy hour, first appeared.

Quite another, and a contrary, account of the dispersion of the original manuscripts in the possession of the family was given years later by Gabriel de Chénier, after the death of most of the persons involved, but no contradiction had been offered either by Daunou, who was still living, or by Gabriel de Chénier himself, who was a witness of, if not a participant in, the distribution of the manuscripts held by Sauveur Chénier, after Latouche had twice narrated his version in print.

In 1864, in letters to the paper *L'Ordre et la Liberté*, of Caen, Gabriel de Chénier asserts that the bundle of manuscripts which Latouche first received from his father contained copies only of the original manuscripts, and that the only original manuscripts ever held by Latouche were loaned to him for the purpose of correcting the proof sheets of his edition of 1819, that their return was many times demanded, but that a part only was restored

A sharp division of opinion was the result of these charges, which developed into a prolonged controversy when Becq de Fouquières came forward to defend Latouche

There can be no doubt that Latouche regarded the original manuscripts that had been given him by the publishers, who had bought them, as rightly belonging to him, and the consensus of opinion to-day would appear to be that Latouche was sincere in his statements, and that Becq de Fouquières was correct when he wrote that Gabriel de Chénier's accusations showed at least failure of memory in regard to what had passed so many years before. In any case, the broad fact remains that one set of material, comprising original manuscripts and copies of others, continued in the possession of Latouche, and that after his edition appeared, in 1819, he returned some of the original manuscripts to the family and retained others. A few were distributed among his friends. The *Ode to Charlotte Corday*,[8] for instance, was given to the Marquis de Chateaugiron, whose celebrated collection was dispersed in 1851, and the remainder

[6] In 1829 and 1830

[7] In 1787.

[8] This manuscript was in the collection of the late Earl of Crawford, and was sold at Sotheby's on December 3, 1924, for 175*l*.

came into the possession of Mademoiselle de Flaugergues, who was Latouche's heir.

The house at Aulnay where Latouche died in 1851, afterwards occupied by the poet Sully Prudhomme, stood not far from the historic domain of Sceaux, and near where Chateaubriand lived when he wrote *René* It was the refuge for more than half a century of these much-disputed papers, but Aulnay, unfortunately, happened to be in the path of the German army in its march on Paris in 1870. The population fled before the enemy, and when Mademoiselle de Flaugergues returned to her home in the spring of 1871 she found it empty. The house had been systematically pillaged, and not a vestige of Latouche's library of 5000 volumes, not a book or paper, was to be found. The very few manuscripts in the hands of his friends are the only remains, so far as has been ascertained, of the original manuscripts in the keeping of Latouche.

Careful inquiries were made in Germany at the end of the war, especially by José-Maria de Heredia, in the hope that Chénier's manuscripts might be traced. Becq de Fouquières sought by publicity to bring them to light By newspaper correspondence, in *Documents Nouveaux sur André Chénier*,[9] and in the small volume which comprises the second of his editions of 1881,[10] he made public appeals which he thought might possibly reach the eyes of the recipients of these manuscripts and lead to their restoration As late as 1914 Monsieur Abel Lefranc, of the Collège de France, in his preface to his volume on the prose works [11] of Chénier, inserts a moving appeal to the possible unknown collector who might have in his hands the manuscripts which disappeared from Aulnay, but no trace of them has been discovered or is ever likely now to be found [12]

Such, in brief, is the history of the manuscripts of André Chénier which passed out of the hands of his family Those remaining in their possession were, from a public point of view, too well secured Though from the time of the publication of the first edition in 1819 access to them was asked again and again only reluctantly and at rare intervals were they permitted to be seen. It is this latter quantity which has enabled the latest editor to enlarge and correct previous editions.

In the intervening years between the appearance of Latouche's edition of 1819 and the opening of the manuscripts to public

[9] *Documents Nouveaux sur André Chénier* Charpentier, 1875, 1 vol.

[10] *Poésies d'André Chénier*, nouvelle édition, petite bibliothèque Charpentier, 1881.

[11] *Œuvres Inédites d'André Chénier*, publiées d'après les manuscrits originaux par Abel Lefranc Paris, Edouard Champion, 1914

[12] The manuscript of the magnificent poem *Le Mendiant* was among those either taken or destroyed by the Germans in 1870.

inspection in 1899 little new material was gleaned. Latouche's issue became a standard work and was followed by edition after edition by him and by other editors, all of which were reproductions mainly of Latouche's first work, until the advent of Becq de Fouquières with his masterly grasp of the poet's genius.

Meanwhile the fame of Chénier was increased by the warm admiration of Sainte Beuve. He thought himself of editing André Chénier's manuscripts, but was discouraged by the labour involved. Yet he did not rest until he gave to the world a striking contribution [13] to the literature which had gathered around Chénier, emphasising his freshness and his universality. In 1839 he published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* fragments which had been overlooked of the cherished poet who, to him, was the precursor and the master of the Romantic movement, fragments which he likened to Madame de Sévigné's basket of cherries: 'At first the best are taken, then the next best, then the best which are left, then all.'

In 1851 appeared a personal study of André Chénier in the Revolution from the same eminent critic [14] 'Assume,' he writes, 'not in the very least a Montaigne, but an Etienne de la Boétie, living in '89 or in '93, or a Vauvenargues at this double date, and you will have André Chénier' Sainte Beuve never ceases writing about him. Strangely enough, he compares him to Sir Walter Scott, who especially delighted the French of that generation 'C'est Ronsard et Chénier qui nous continuons,' he elsewhere declares

In 1842 appeared a new edition of Malherbe,[15] which, containing the comments made by Chénier on the margins of the copy he had read, brought anew to public notice the taste and feeling of Chénier and also his acumen as a critic Now and then a few more fragments from Chénier's manuscripts, rare but precious, found their way into print, but after the death of Marie-Joseph, and in a yet greater degree after the publication of Latouche's volume of 1919, access to the manuscripts in the possession of the family was, with few exceptions, denied.

The famous critical editions of Becq de Fouquières began with that of 1862;[16] his name has already occurred, and will always occur, in any study of André Chénier.

Like André Chénier, Becq de Fouquières received a classical

[13] *Tableaux de la poésie française au XVIe siècle*

[14] *Causeries de Lundi*, Vol IV

[15] *Poésies de Malherbe, avec un commentaire inédit par André Chénier, précédées d'une notice sur la vie de Malherbe et d'une lettre sur le commentaire.* Seule édition complète, publiée par M de Latour . Paris, Charpentier, 1842

[16] *Poésies d'André Chénier, édition critique, étude sur la vie et les œuvres d'André Chénier, variantes, notes et commentaires lexique et index*, par L. Becq de Fouquières : Paris, Charpentier, 1862, 1 vol.

ducation and then expected to enter one of the services. He ecame, in fact, a soldier, but in 1858, at the age of twenty-seven, e again followed the example set by Chénier and resigned his ommission as lieutenant in the army for the career of letters. The study of André Chénier soon became his chief and absorbing task.

If Henri de Latouche could claim that his best literary title was his work on André Chénier, it was true of Becq de Fouquières n still greater degree and, like Latouche, he had the sympathy nd encouragement of French men of letters, not alone in respect of difficulties with text not completed by the author, but also ecause he was without recourse to the original manuscripts.

Deprived of these, Becq de Fouquières demonstrated what nay be accomplished by faithful application united to analysing ower. He did not live to benefit by the unsealing of the manucripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and, examination of the riginal manuscripts being definitely refused, he returned to the irst edition of Latouche, criticising and often explaining the text vith marvellous insight and lucidity.

Ten years later, in 1872, after years passed in the same minute esearch and study on the same task, when André Chénier's riends became his friends, and the Greek and Latin authors eloved by Chénier the authors among whose works he lived. Becq de Fouquières brought out a second revised and perfected dition of Chénier's poetical works [17]

In 1874 appeared the impatiently awaited edition of Gabriel le Chénier,[18] now the guardian of the manuscripts Extraordinary xpectation preceded the publication of this edition, but, though ew material was introduced, which revealed the poet in greater ichness and variety, the editor was adversely criticised as unequal o his task, as inaccurate, and for the indifferent arrangement of he contents. The hopes which had been raised remained nfulfilled

The faults and the omissions of this edition, in which the dmirable work of Becq de Fouquières had been wholly overlooked, were not likely to pass unnoticed by an editor who had been thus lighted, and they were exposed by him in a new volume, in the ollowing year, under the title *Documents nouveaux sur André Chénier et examen critique de la nouvelle édition de ses œuvres*, which has before been cited As might have been expected, he calls attention to Gabriel de Chénier's blindness to the necessity of

[17] *Poésies d'André Chénier, édition critique, étude sur la vie et les œuvres d'André Chénier, bibliographe des œuvres posthumes, aperçu sur les œuvres inédites, variantes, notes, commentaires et index*, par L Becq de Fouquières, deuxième édition revue et corrigée : Paris, Charpentier, 1872, 1 vol.

[18] *Œuvres poétiques d'André de Chénier, avec une notice et des notes*, par Gabriel le Chénier : Paris, Lamerre, 1874. 3 vols.

the aid of Greek and Latin scholars and of those who already knew André Chénier better than he.

We now come to a later date, 1881, when yet another and very attractive book [19] on André Chénier by Becq de Fouquières appeared, unburdened by critical additions, and at the same time another small volume [20] by him, of which mention has been made, also beautifully printed.

In this last book appeared a reprint of the correspondence published in the *Temps* of Paris and in the *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres* of Bordeaux, with the design to give further publicity to the efforts made to discover the whereabouts of the manuscripts which had disappeared.

These were the last of the works on André Chénier by Becq de Fouquières, whose death occurred in 1887, and whose single-minded devotion largely increased the comprehension of the poet's work and at the same time established his own reputation as an incomparable critic.

Anatole France relates, in *La Vie Littéraire*, that one summer, by the shore in Normandy, he came upon Becq de Fouquières and Heredia walking together. They were deeply engaged in conversation Becq de Fouquieres' long labour on André Chénier was at an end. His companion was the enthusiast to follow and offer his interpretation of the master to a new generation, when the manuscripts were finally released. Who can doubt that their talk was on the subject nearest to the heart of each?

José-Maria de Heredia is too close to us in time to need any particular notice here. Born in Cuba in 1842, and so Spanish by birth, he was partly French by blood, and was educated in France, and, except for short intervals passed in America, lived in France, where he came to be considered one of the most gifted and accomplished of French poets and was elected a member of the French Academy. One must regret that Heredia, who regarded himself as peculiarly the pupil and the disciple of André Chénier, did not live to achieve the exhaustive edition to which, like Becq de Fouquières, he had consecrated himself, but he lived to be able to consult the manuscripts bequeathed to the Bibliothèque Nationale by the last member of the Chénier family, the first editor to have that privilege. He left a volume [21] on Chénier's *Bucoliques*, illustrated by Fantin Latour and edited with extreme care and skill, where Chénier's exquisite idylls are reconstituted from the original text. It was dedicated to Becq de Fouquières,

[19] See footnote (9), p 279

[20] *Lettres critiques sur la vie, les œuvres, les manuscrits, d'André Chénier*: Paris, Charavay, 1881, 1 vol.

[21] *André Chénier Les Bucoliques, publiées d'après le manuscrit original dans un ordre nouveau avec une préface et des notes*, par José-Maria de Heredia: Paris, Maison du Livre, 1907.

'for the love of André Chénier'—that 'divine young man.' As a poet Heredia regarded Chénier as a second Virgil, and he called Keats Chénier's prototype, the English André Chénier.

Anyone may now have before him the celebrated manuscripts of André Chénier, long withheld from Becq de Fouquières and other lovers of the poet. We may turn over the pages, some crowded, some with a single verse, or a few lines of prose, written in fine, close, but beautifully legible script, and among these precious remains, in their variety, note the Greek characters which Chénier used as guides in all this medley. The Latin verses inscribed to Maria Cosway, the wife of Richard Cosway, artists so popular in London society in the eighteenth century, recall Chénier's life in England We live with him in his prison when we have before our eyes the long bands of paper on which the memorable *Iambes* were written, beginning

> Comme un dernier rayon, comme un dernier zéphyre
> Animent la fin d'un beau jour,
> Au pied de l'échafaud j'essaye encore ma lyre
> Peut-etre est-ce bientôt ma tour.

Frenchmen may take pride in the thought that the martyrdom of the innocent victims of the French Revolution did not pass without a voice being raised in protest, but that their sufferings were immortalised by a great poet.

With Anatole France the continuity of criticism on André Chénier is brought down to the present day. The great writer was not an editor of André Chénier's works, but the poet's name was often on his lips and in his writings On one occasion he imitated him so well that even Becq de Fouquières, believed to be infallible in all that relates to Chénier, was deceived, and published verses of Anatole France in one of his editions of Chénier's poems.

Anatole France cannot praise Chénier too highly. He imitated him in his youth, and in his last days Chénier's verses were a treasure-house to which he withdrew for refreshment, and he never tired of reciting them :

> He is a pure and a delicious poet. After Racine he is the poet I love best. His language has the resonance of crystal, his thought is the richest which proceeds from the antique culture. He enraptures me I recite them to myself and am enchanted.[22]

There were, in fact, two André Chéniers—Chénier the poet and Chénier the politician, the one living in a world of imagination, an admirable literary craftsman, nourished on the antique Greek and Latin masterpieces ; the other a practical, clear-sighted and

[22] *Anatole France à La Béchellerie* · *Propos et Souvenirs*, 1914-1924, par Marcel Le Goff : Paris, éditions Léo Delteil, 1924, p. 230.

courageous publicist, whose writings were vigorous essays animated by ardent patriotism. For the most part these appeared in the *Journal de Paris*, from November 1791 to July 1792, others in the *Moniteur* and the *Journal de la Société de 1792*, or as a separate brochure. Becq de Fouquières issued his edition of Chénier's prose writings, preceded by a study of his life and works, complete so far as was then possible, in 1872.[23]

Chénier's reputation in this field was further enhanced in the present century by the publication of the handsome edition, in 1914, by Abel Lefranc, of prose matter hitherto unknown,[24] which reveals Chénier's capacity, not alone as a political reformer, but as a scientific, literary and philological critic.

The final seal has been set on Chénier's fame by the publication from the original manuscripts of a definitive critical edition of his complete works by Monsieur Paul Dimoff, of the University of Nancy, mentioned early in the article. This publication, one of the most important which have recently appeared in France, was begun in 1914 and is not yet completed, though three volumes have appeared. The work of an eminent scholar who has spent many years on his task, to which he has given immense labour, it will, when its publication is concluded, end the long series of works whose appearance from time to time has been a source of unceasing interest to literary France, and will be a permanent monument to André Chénier, the poet and patriot, not alone in his own country, but wherever the literature of France is studied.

Although it was at first my intention to confine this paper to a short study of the editors of André Chénier's works in connexion with his manuscripts, neither Sainte Beuve nor Anatole France should be omitted from an account of those who had dwelt in thought with André Chénier and had assisted in disclosing his genius. Nor should be left unnoted the work of the well-known critic Emile Faguet, whose admirable monograph [25] on Chénier in the series *Les Grands Ecrivains Français* was published in 1916.[26] Faguet takes a contrary view to these predecessors as to the category in which the poet should be placed, ranking him with the pure classicists. Chénier saw and wrote with the clearness and

[23] *Œuvres en prose d'André Chénier, nouvelle édition, revue sur les textes originaux, précédé d'une étude sur la vie et les écrits politiques d'André Chénier, et sur la conspiration de Saint Lazare accompagnée de notes historiques et d'un index*, par L Becq de Fouquières Paris, Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1872.

[24] See footnote (11), p 279

[25] *André Chénier*, par Emile Faguet Paris, Libraire Hachette et Cie, 1916.

[26] I have mentioned the chief only among the editors of André Chénier. A volume which does not claim to be a complete bibliography of Chénier, but which gives the names of his editors and of his chief critics, and their points of view, is that of Glachant, published in 1892 (*André Chénier · critique et critiqué*, par Paul Glachant: Paris, Alphonse Lamerre, 1892)

the precision of the ancient Greek: 'He so saw Nature, the human figure, the works and acts of men.'[27]

Taking into consideration the possible loss, in the first place, of finished and partly finished material of André Chénier; the fragmentary state of that which came into the possession of his heirs; the dispersion of those pieces which passed probably from Marie-Joseph Chénier's hands into those of a friend, the disappearance of the manuscripts held by Latouche in the course of the Franco-Prussian War; and, finally, the hoarding of those which remained in the possession of the Chénier family, it will be admitted that those writers have encountered unheard-of difficulties, and that they must have been moved by some special affinity, who have undertaken to edit the works of André Chénier.

HELEN CLERGUE

[27] Page 62.

THE CLASSIC PASTORAL AND GIORGIONE

EVERY visitor to the picture-galleries of the Louvre has seen consciously or unconsciously the picture by Giorgione called *La Fête Champêtre*, if only for the reason that it now hangs beside Da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*, the best known and most visited picture in Europe And in this position it makes a fine contrast to the mysterious lady of Leonardo's imagination, so inscrutable and superior in expression and form that Walter Pater's eloquence does not really persuade us that she is what 'men in the ways of a thousand years had come to desire.' How much more simple and direct is the beauty of Giorgione's picture, where in the full light of a Venetian summer day a group of men and women are gathered together in the shade by a well to make music. Once a brilliant star in the galaxy of masterpieces which decorated the walls of the Salle Carrée in days before the war, *La Fête Champêtre* has now been transferred, together with Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* and *St. Anne* and a few favoured Titians and Correggios, to a Tribuna which breaks the endless vista of the Long Gallery. And there amid the other masterpieces of the full Renaissance this work triumphantly abides all comparison, not only by splendour of colour and beauty of painting, but because it presents in imaginative form an ideal of life constantly recurring in the history of civilisation since our primitive forefathers ceased from their nomadic existence and began the long process of civilised life in villages and cities. And this picture has also won for itself a second kind of immortality by finding an interpreter of its subject-matter in the poet Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

In general, poems upon pictures are but the pale reflections of bright originals, belonging to the world of descriptive culture rather than of art. To communicate by words the significance of a picture is beyond the power of any poet, for the final effect of each art is inextricably involved in its own peculiar medium of expression. This sonnet by Rossetti is the most successful of such ventures, because the work which he interprets combines in a perfect balance illustrative and decorative qualities, and is inspired by a feeling for the preciousness of poetry and music in life. And in the appreciation of such a moment the poet's delicate

insight and gift of language may enable us to perceive better than we could do for ourselves the fullness of its illustrative genius, and intensify our enjoyment of it as a work of art.

Water, for anguish of the solstice :—nay,
    But dip the vessel slowly,—nay, but lean
    And hark how at its verge the wave sighs in
Reluctant   Hush ! Beyond all depth away
The heat lies silent at the brink of day ,
    Now the hand trails upon the viol string
    That sobs, and the brown faces cease to sing,
Sad with the whole of pleasure. Whither stray
Her eyes now, from whose mouth the slim pipes creep
    And leave it pouting, while the shadowed grass
    Is cool against her naked side ? Let be —
Say nothing now unto her lest she weep,
    Nor name thus ever   Be it as it was,—
    Life touching lips with immortality

Rossetti has entitled his sonnet ' For a Venetian Pastoral by Giorgione,' and the word ' pastoral ' inevitably carries the mind back to the earlier manifestations of the pastoral in European art. His great predecessors in this style are not painters, but poets, and, in spite of the immense popularity of pastoral poetry in Italy during the fifteenth century, nothing had been produced which could in any way shake the supremacy of Virgil and Theocritus. With the revival of Greek learning, Theocritus was born again into the world as a direct influence and model, now capable of being clearly distinguished from his curious reflection in Virgil's *Eclogues*. Virgil, on the other hand, was the one poet of antiquity whose fate it had been to live on in continuous activity from the ancient through the mediæval into the modern world, as poet and prophet, a spirit naturally Christian, who had entered by countless ways into the general consciousness of the civilisation of the Renaissance. We cannot, of course, put our fingers on this or that detail in Giorgione's work and say that it shows the direct influence of Virgil or Theocritus. We know little enough about the painter's life, still less about his education and the associations of his short career. He must, as a finely gifted nature, have been very susceptible to the richness and variety of Venetian life at the end of the fifteenth century, with its unique combination of the sea and mainland, and the remains of his art express that peculiar moment when life, secure in all that it has won for itself from the past, becomes conscious of its own goodness, and desires to have that feeling presented to itself in concrete form   And it is the complete seriousness and harmonious presentation of such an ideal, as something final in this picture which is the measure of the difference between the Venetian and all other expressions of the pastoral spirit, breathing into it the passion which is

wanting in Theocritus and the unity which is wanting in Virgil's early work.

The scenery of the Venetian and Lombardy plains is generally considered to be an uninspiring stretch of agricultural land, devoid of beauty or romance in the eyes of the modern tourist on his way to Venice or Central Italy. Yet it is to artists born and brought up in these districts that we owe the most satisfying and poetical treatment of the Italian landscape in the true pastoral sense. Mantua, Correggio and Castelfranco, the birthplace of Giorgione, rather than the Venetian Alps and the mountainous scenery of Central Italy, have moulded the eyes and minds which have wrought out most successfully the truly permanent and pervasive forms of Nature on which alone true intimacy of feeling can be established. Archæologists have not yet decided, and without the appearance of fresh facts there seems no hope that they ever will be able to decide with certainty, the locality of Virgil's form. Nor, indeed, is it a matter of much importance Whether it lay to the east of Mantua near Pietole, or to the north-west at Calvisano, as some recent scholars suggest, the immediate physical nature of the land and the distant horizon of northern Alps would be the same Verona, the most important town to the north of this district, is only fifty miles west of Castelfranco, and though Mantua, properly speaking, is outside the Venetian province, the tradition exists in ancient grammarians that Virgil was of Venetian stock, possibly on his mother's side. And there is much to support this tradition in the similarity with which both artists, essentially imaginative and meditative temperaments, reacted to the landscape and the business of country life which surrounded them during the years of their development.

The level and fertile fields which stretch in all directions round Mantua, bounded on the north by the line of the distant Alps, bear much resemblance to that district of the mainland north of Venice in which Castelfranco lies. Venetia seems a little more luxuriant, the sheltering barrier of the Alps a little nearer, but in both places there is the same bounteousness of earth, inviting man to active work upon it and to quiet enjoyment of its delights. It is a landscape in which the grander effects of Nature are wanting: the Alps are too far away to be a dominating influence; the big rivers flow down into the Po or the sea unobserved, and the serene air and perfect lines of the hills in Umbria and Tuscany are altogether wanting in Lombardy. There are no romantic elements in this landscape, and neither Arcadia nor Sicily has anything to show more strictly pastoral than the scenery in which Virgil and Giorgione grew up. Yet the relationship between pastoral scenery and the pastoral as a form of art is by no means simple. The artist is more than a photographer of his surroundings, and

the work which he finally gives to the world is not the form in which reality first came to his eyes, but a fusion of external things with the forms of his imagination effected by the fire of emotion—that is, by temperamental qualities. And, in view of their greatness, it is not without interest to see how Virgil and Giorgione, familiar with the same kind of landscape and country life, sprung perhaps from the same stock of people, and creative at the same age, have used the pastoral theme as a significant mode of self-expression

Virgil is not the founder of the pastoral, though with him it may be said to have been born again, for he, rather than Theocritus, has been the dominant influence in the development of the pastoral in European literature. It is traditional in literary criticism to consider Virgil's *Eclogues* as closely modelled upon the work of Theocritus, and critics and commentators of those poems have too often succeeded in transforming the *Eclogues* into variations in a minor key upon the finer themes of the Greek poet. All through these poems we continually meet with motives taken from Theocritus, thoughts and lines and half-lines translated literally into Latin Yet in the final result the debt is seen to be purely nominal, and the pattern which Virgil has woven with this borrowed material is utterly different from the original. In the process of translation the plumes have become dyed with Virgilian colours; they have suffered in their passage across the Sicilian sea 'a change into something rich and strange,' so that any attempt to judge the Virgilian pastoral by the standard of Theocritus' work must end in misapprehension and disappointment.

> Theocritus [writes Mr Mackail in his book on Greek poetry] is the first and greatest of the pastoral poets In him the pastoral became classic, and that was the last transmutation which the spirit of poetry took fully and with complete success in Greek hands before she passed westward from the Greek world.

In the single word 'classic' the vital difference between Theocritus and Virgil is completely expressed For though Theocritus lived when the flower of free life in the cities of Greece had faded into the formless monotony of Alexandrian civilisation, he possesses by a peculiar gift the earlier and essential artistic qualities of the Greeks, their objective vision, their flawless unity and transparency of form. His mastery over the technique of formal presentation is perfect, and the fascination of that technique so great that every mode of pastoral life which he handles seems to stand before us as a permanent model. He is 'classic' in the narrower or conventional signification of the word by which the great writers of Greece are thought to be inordinately occupied with the creation of severe and impersonal form. But the poets and prose writers of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. are classical

in the deeper and truer meaning of the word; they rest upon t central issues of life, and the true classical writers of Greece a those in whom art and life are coextensive, who are dominated citizens no less than as artists by the desire to give satisfacto form to life as the all-absorbing and sole activity of man.

The change which came over the world with the establishme of Macedonian power in Greece completely altered the relatio ship of State and individual. The old unity of life was broke and with it of necessity was broken the unity of art as an inte pretation of that life; nor has that unity ever again been r established. As the conquests of Alexander became consolidat into various kingdoms the age of the professional classes bega when the mass of men in cities, freed from most political ar military duties, were occupied with the gaining of their livelihoc in business, and the variety of individual experience was immense narrowed A contrast arose between the business life, with i times of leisure and amusement when a man wished to be 'tak out of himself,' and the other forms of life in the world outside h city of which he had no experience. And here it was that ar entirely released from her service to the State, came forward relieve the tedium and restrictions of the monotonous city li by holding up the image of other forms of life, showing first or and then another of the facets into which the clear uniformity the old Hellenic life had been cut When the city dweller wishe for an extension of his horizon, artists were not slow in presentir to him scenes of high adventure and romance in strange and di tant lands, or, with an equally welcome contrast, humble scen of country life in which shepherds and herdsmen express in nai or quaint fashion the common joys and sorrows and interests men. The creation and perfecting of these pastoral poems is th peculiar glory of Theocritus, 'the last poet among the Gree classics,' facing both ways, like Janus, towards the earlier poe of Greece in virtue of his form, towards Virgil and the world modern poetry by the quality of his subject-matter.

The charm of Theocritus is that of selected moments. Ov most of the idylls, at least the most popular ones, there is sprea an atmosphere of dramatic self-consciousness, due, no doubt, t the influence of the popular Sicilian *mime*, or dramatic sketc whose realism is touched by no finer purpose than the presentatic of a quaint or piquant situation, and is sometimes satisfied b the direct reproduction in verse of the conversation of shepherd Just as the pastoral poem itself is short, so the action represente is short without extension to past or future, taking that life, n at its own most significant value, but at a moment which ma appeal to others by its difference from their own mode of lif and by the absence of all those more serious issues or mysterio

moments which bring home to us both the beauty and the pathos of things. The passages in the pastoral life which Theocritus selects are for the most part only true to Nature or life in a secondary degree; they interpret, not the country life over which trouble and toil and uncertainty are always imminent, but a certain aspect of the consciousness of the city dweller, not wholly satisfied with his own mode of existence and seeking distraction in the choice moments of a different life, where the emotions of ordinary humanity are shown in fanciful and novel characters and in musical surroundings Consider, for instance, the famous poems on the love of the cyclops Polyphemus for Galatea. The traditional figure of the bloodthirsty giant is presented as a youth still living with his mother, undergoing the fancies and pangs of first love. His uncouth face and huge force disappear in the gentle sentimentality of his love; his strength is used to gather flowers and train animals to be the pets of Galatea. He is playful and fanciful as he sits upon the rocky shore making music to his thoughts, waiting for his loved one to appear, while behind him on the sloping pastures his flocks feed, and above the rocks and woods of the higher ground is seen the snowy summit of Etna. The charm of these poems lies in the unexpected association of many slight but essentially human characteristics in the mind of this externally strange creature, sensitive, vain, truthful and sincere, so strong and yet a child in the hands of Love And in the same kind of poetry we must include the highly-finished serenade (*Idyll* III.), where the love-sick shepherd enchants us by the perfection of his verse harmonising so admirably with the delicate curiosity of each succeeding fancy, so that the touches of rustic realism and the beauty of mythological legend, as in the sequence of a dream, cease for the moment to be incongruous And in the purely pastoral idylls, where the quaint or fanciful has no place, we do not find any depth in the feeling for Nature, anything beyond the immediate sensuous and physical enjoyment of sunlight and shade, of murmuring breezes and rippling water It is the mirror-like reflection of perfect weather. The travellers' songs are heard in the cloudless heat of midday when the lizard is asleep on the wall, and even the birds have ceased to sing, then from the heat and brightness of the open road they pass into the orchard of Phrasidemus, and rest in the long grass beneath the fruit trees whose laden boughs bend to the earth, while the air all round is filled with the murmurings of grasshoppers and bees and doves. The scene is almost too rich, too much like the dream of one who has been 'long in city pent,' yet this is perhaps the only idyll in which the poet is himself moved by the memory, as he was by the actual experience, of a day of untroubled felicity and complete physical well-being, in which the process of life disappears from

consciousness, and he prays to Demeter, whose statue stood close beside the threshing floor of Phrasidemus:

May I oft again
Set up my shovel in her golden heap,
While she with radiant bounty beaming holds
Poppies and sheaves of corn in either hand [1]

For the truth is that the pastoral poetry of Theocritus is not an interpretation of life, not even of the pastoral life. The time was past when life could be viewed either steadily or whole. His poetry is rather a refuge from life, something that holds the attention and charms the thoughts without stirring the emotions, realistic in detail without touching the deeper reality of the country and life in it. How often the empty adjectives 'sweet' and 'beautiful' do duty for all determination of content, expressing the simple and immediate enjoyment of fine weather, of the breeze heard in the trees, of rippling water on hot days, of the freshness of the sea, delights as fragile as the verse in which they are described, which the first cloud, or the first chill of autumn, will dispel, for they are presented without relationship to the more permanent and intimate interests of life.

To turn from the pastorals of Theocritus to those of Virgil is in some degree to repeat Alice's experience of passing through the looking-glass. The figures and phrases of the conventional pastoral are there, but their relationships are utterly different. It is not simply that Virgil is a Roman and Theocritus a Greek poet. Virgil is different from any Roman poet. Lucretius may be as great, perhaps a greater, poet, the greatness of Virgil rests on his being something more than a great Roman poet. He is the last great poet of the ancient world, reaching out by some mysterious quality of thought and language, due, perhaps, to the North Italian or Venetian blood in his veins, from the ancient into the modern world.

Last in the train of night
If better thou belong not to the dawn.

And it was from him that thirteen hundred years after his death Dante received the torch of poetry, spreading the grace of Christian sentiment over him by making him his guide through hell and purgatory to the earthly paradise.

The *Eclogues* are the record of Virgil's early inspiration, written before he was much over thirty, with his genius well developed, but by no means at the full height of his powers. There is not a single eclogue that has the unity or objective transparency of Theocritus' *Idylls*. Allegory, erudition, political allusions, inconsistencies of scenery, are all apparent in the *Eclogues*.

[1] *Idyll* VII.: trans. Kynaston.

The rustics, if they are meant to be such, are stiff and artificial without the quaintness or naturalness which are the assets of the Theocritean shepherd. In his external form Virgil is the father of all that artificial pastoral which flourished so abundantly in Italian poetry, and passed from it into the court pastorals and country pleasures of the French painters in the eighteenth century. Yet the qualities which make the poetical magic of the *Georgics* and *Æneid* are present too in the *Eclogues*, illuminating the new motives, the deeper content which Virgil infuses into the traditional form of the *Eclogues*. His relationship to the country is personal, and carries with it a force of emotion that Theocritus never achieves; the more humble and permanent facts of country life, the varied pageantry of cloud and shadow on hill and plain, make the beauty of song in the midst of Nature more real and lasting. Thus at the end of the first eclogue, which is a curious mixture of personal feeling for home and of political allusion with idyllic description and geographical learning, we come suddenly upon two lines of simple observation which bring us back from Augustus and Amaryllis to the eternal process of life and Nature, to the smoke which curls up from the cottage in the evening air and to the lengthening of the shadows as the sun sinks behind the western hills

> Et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant,
> maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae
>
> And, see, the farm roof chimneys smoke afar,
> And from the hills the shadows lengthening fall.[1]

And again towards the end of the second eclogue:

> The ox comes home
> With plough uptilted, and the shadows grow
> To twice their length with the departing sun[2]

And then there is the spell wrought by the transition from the light rhythms and music of Theocritus to the Latin hexameter moulded by the art of Virgil. The beauty, for instance, of the last eclogue or of the famous poem to Pollio lies in the variety and depth of the verbal music harmonising the strange collocations, the actual and ideal into the delight of song in and for itself, a constant delight, too, in poetical colour, in richness of language and rhythm, existing also in the *Georgics* and *Æneid*, but in a much more subdued form, as though advancing years and the scenery of the South had chastened that serene and luxuriant imagery which has shown itself again and again in the history of art as the peculiar possession of artists from the plains of Lombardy and Venetia.

[1] Trans. Rhodes.
[2] *Ibid.*

It distinguishes Catullus and Livy, natives of Verona and Padua; it is the transcendent dower of the great Venetian painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, so that it may not be entirely fanciful to trace in the pastoral pictures of Giorgione and his school a reminiscence or a reincarnation of the spirit of the Virgilian pastoral. For the *Eclogues* of Virgil present, not the pastoral life as a moment of amusement or distraction, but a certain ideal of civilised life, the passionate enjoyment of music, or of life itself, in a favoured spot on a summer day when men, fatigued with the meaningless series of practical affairs, hope to realise all the possibilities of life, of which they are now conscious, the harmony of inner and outer beauty in the happy union of art and Nature.

O mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae.

In 1495 the printer Aldus published at Venice the *editio princeps* of Theognis in which were included thirty poems of Theocritus. Giorgione must have been in Venice then or shortly afterwards. Born at Castelfranco in 1478, he went to Venice to study painting in the studio of Giovanni Bellini, and it is very probable that he may have heard translations of some of the idylls at the musical festivals of those distinguished personages with whom Vasari says he was so popular on account of his musical talent. The simple beauty of Theocritus' seventh idyll, with its songs and scene of harvest happiness, would have impressed an artist's imagination, and the first idea of the *Fête Champêtre* may have been founded upon some echo of the Sicilian poet. But, though the idea of the picture may have arisen in this way, the elaboration of this masterpiece, and of all the school of Venetian pastoral, has nothing of the peculiar qualities of Greek or even Alexandrian art. The style of Giorgione's painting is entirely derived from the traditions of the Venetian school, or, more narrowly considered, it is an adaptation or enlargement of his master's teaching in the service of a new ideal. In the *Madonna Enthroned* at Castelfranco, the chief surviving specimen of his treatment of religious subject-matter, we can perceive at once the working of a new motive in the way in which he reduces the values of the figures to the scale and tone of the serene landscape, while in his pastorals we can feel how much he has carried on from the solemn intensity of Giovanni Bellini's colour. Giorgione died in 1510, thirty-four years old, a year after the death of Bellini, yet between the work of master and pupil lies the discovery of a new world. Man has discovered himself, has discovered the beauty of the world and the beauty of art, and it is Giorgione who has left us the typical expression of this discovery in pictorial form, in the *Shepherd* at Hampton Court, listening to and enjoying the melody of his

music after the actual sounds have died away, and still more fully in the *Fête Champêtre*.

This picture marks a new moment in the history of painting, the appearance in the fulness of perfection, sudden and mysterious as the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, of a new kind of art form. It may be the strange suddenness of this apparition which has caused some critics to take away this picture from Giorgione and give it to a painter of later date, although no one has succeeded in finding a painter whose temperament and surroundings and upbringing would render his claim to this work more persuasive. With it the life of the pastoral in painting begins and at once reaches maturity; no further development of this spirit, only variations upon it, are possible, and those variations we find in the other pictures which are generally assigned to the author of this work, such as the landscape in the Giovanelli Palace at Venice, the *Venus* of Dresden, and the *Shepherd Boy* at Hampton Court. Nor is it difficult to find in the work of his master, Giovanni Bellini, premonitions—*splendores antelucani*—of this new creation; his treatment of landscape always shows great feeling for it, and in his later work tends to become something more than the background upon which the figures are placed That wonderful picture in the Pitti Palace called *A Sacred Allegory*, where a number of saints are grouped together in contemplation in a splendid landscape, shows his art verging upon the transition which Giorgione made. Given a pupil whose emotional power was deep without being religious in the formal sense, and the transformation of a Sacred Allegory into a Pastoral was easily made. And the figures in Giorgione's *Fête Champêtre* are no less seriously and intensely absorbed in their music and in the appreciation of the moment than the saints of Giovanni Bellini in their contemplative devotion

The pastoral in general lacks what Matthew Arnold calls ‘ high seriousness.’ Theocritus never strikes such a note, while it is the presence of this seriousness which makes the pastoral spirit of Giorgione akin to that of Virgil. It is a quality of his colour felt in the whole and in the individual figures and forms of Nature, just as it pervades the Virgilian hexameter, passing from these formal or structural elements into the subject represented and endowing it with a deep significance. And this suggestiveness is the peculiar genius of the Virgilian and Giorgionesque art. The paintings of Jacopo Bassano and many another lesser Venetian, which are conspicuously pastoral in spirit, do not pass beyond the direct beauty of Nature and country life. They do not demand a certain relationship to the subject on the part of the spectator. But the appreciation of the *Eclogues* and of Giorgione's work depends upon an intellectual and artistic

development of mind, and this dependence is to some degree a limitation of their aesthetic value. They do not work upon our emotions directly by their form or colour in the way in which the frescoes of Michael Angelo or a Romanesque building affect us. Undoubtedly they possess a certain direct beauty of form and colour; but this was not all that the artist intended to express. He refers deliberately to the emotions of life by expressing in ideal form the highest value which, in his judgment, life can afford, and he counts upon the sympathy of his audience. In this respect his appeal is limited. The *Eclogues* of Virgil are addressed primarily to a circle of poetically gifted men, intimate friends of the writer, eagerly pursuing the art and the delight of poetry, then to a timeless audience who, very sensitive to the beauty of Nature and of art, find in this serious pastoral poem or painting the simultaneous satisfaction of those two emotions. That the actual scene depicted by the painter or poet may be far from the experience of that audience is of no account, for it is only the symbol, clear and monumental in proportion to the greatness of the artist, of a whole series of personal emotional experiences. It is this essentially personal element, this reference to a particular experience of art and natural beauty, which makes the limitations of this revelation of the pastoral spirit in Virgil and Giorgione. The illustrative element in such work is too pronounced to allow it to exercise so universal or powerful a sway as the poetry of Homer or the art of Michael Angelo or Titian. It belongs to a refined form of material development when the long process of culture culminates and pauses, as if conscious of its completeness, for a moment of reflection upon itself. Virgil is the focus in which the genius of Italy as well as of Rome is centred. At the age when Giorgione died, Virgil, under the prompting of Augustus and his own patriotic feeling, widened and deepened his artistic form to consider the larger aspects of the country in the *Georgics* and the national significance of Italy in the *Æneid*. And in the same way Giorgione's life comes at the culmination of Venetian civilisation, when, though her political power was failing, the external splendour and grace of life in Venice were at their highest point. 'It is the most triumphant city I have ever seen,' wrote Philippe de Comines in 1494. Yet there is a sense of sadness in the comment which both these artists make upon the beauty to be realised in such a life, coming from the same quality of artistic temperament, worked upon by the same local influences and warmed by the same racial blood.

The delight in noble landscape without his reflective entiment is transmitted from Giorgione to the great Venetian painters of the sixteenth century, romantically magnificent and vital in Titian and Tintoretto, or unaffectedly pastoral in the best work of Palma

Vecchio and the school of Bassano. But the higher pastoral harmony of man and Nature could not be recaptured. The curiously meditative standpoint of such pictures as *The Three Ages of Life* at Bridgewater House and *Sacred and Profane Love* in the Borghese Gallery at Rome shows how strong was the influence of Giorgione's vision upon the virile genius of Titian. And, externally at least, it was to the narrower form of pastoral that Titian returned in extreme old age, when he painted the wonderful *Shepherd and Nymph* in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. But the harmony of music and life and landscape, such as Giorgione knew, is now dispelled. Rocks and broken trees replace the serene summer landscape of the *Fête Champêtre*. The atmosphere as well as the splendid forms of nymph and shepherd have something tragic about them, very different from the sadness of 'the whole of pleasure,' as though, for once, the proverb *si jeunesse savait* was reversed and youth knew and was powerless.

It is in the work of Watteau, 'prince of court painters,' that we find again the peculiar pastoral feeling of Virgil and Giorgione. The elegant lords and ladies whom we see in his pictures sitting together talking or making music in a park, or standing idly by a pool, or wandering over grassy slopes to embark for Cythera, are transfigured by the painter into something greater than they know. Here again, at the full blossoming of an elaborately civilised age, life pauses to reflect upon its achievement, and, attaining consciousness in the artist's mind, reveals to us by the magic of colour the beauty and significance of things in the gathering together of a few people for a simple act of amusement

> Ay, in the very temple of delight
>   Veiled melancholy has her sovran shrine
> Though seen of none save him whose strenuous tongue
>   Can burst Joy's grape against his palate fine ,
> His soul shall taste the sadness of her might,
>   And be among her cloudy trophies hung.

G. M. SARGEAUNT.

JOHN SINGER SARGENT

The news of the death of Sargent was a shock to all who admired his work such as few events of the kind produce The man himself and all the works of his hand were so positively alive that it seemed impossible that he should be alive no longer and no more of his works would ever see the light of day. Moreover, so physical was the quality of that life, so little remote from this world, that its removal seemed an eclipse—even an annihilation. But when we visit an exhibition of Sargent's paintings such as the one now to be seen at Burlington House we feel again the immense, dominant, triumphant, indestructible vitality which he infused into all he ever did; and the thought of him as dead becomes, not strange and appalling, as it did at first, but unacceptable and impossible. Here he is; here is life, if there ever was life:

> Enough if something from our hand have Power
> To live, and act, and serve the future hour.

To the remotest generations Sargent lives; they will behold his works and feel a new reinforcement to their own smaller and shallower stream of life from his superabundant strength. The energy in such heads as the brilliant and amazing Coventry Patmore and Henry James, the sculpturesque power of the large portraits of Mrs. Roller, Carmencita and many more, the weight and impressiveness of his mural decorations, all will realise.

This quality of strength all men can feel; and it is not my purpose to praise again either the energy of mind or the virtuosity of technique which all have praised, because it is too overwhelming for any to deny. Many have even spoken as if strength and energy were his only qualities and have tried to imitate him by merely attempting the bold accents, the sweeping brush-strokes, the planes of definite tone and colour, without his knowledge, sensitiveness or control; and some mean-spirited, chicken-brained detractors have perhaps intended to suggest that he had only force by their exclusive attention to it. For strength—and every great artist must have strength, both of body and mind—does not confer other qualities; it only enables them to be forcibly expressed. It cannot ever be the only quality, but it can be so strikingly the most characteristic that some artists are valued

more for it than for anything deeper, subtler or finer. They may even be deficient in every other noble gift. The lusty and robust exuberance of Rubens, the impetuous activity of Tintoretto, though not their only virtues, are yet those most generally enjoyed; and this energy can indeed suffice for many as the sole source of enjoyment and exhilaration. There are, in fact, many, both writers and painters, in whom it is a large proportion of their effect—Homer, Rabelais, Cervantes, Fielding, Scott, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Macaulay; Byron, Polycleitus, Mantegna, Tintoretto, Veronese, Rubens, Hals, Courbet; and Sargent is among these. When the creative strength is very great—either in prodigality of expression, as in Tintoretto or Hugo, or in heroic simplicity of feeling, as in Giotto and Scott and Homer—it may balance more complex, more subtle, or more original qualities. Handel, for instance, holds his place among the giants of music by virtue of his unique simple and monumental virility, though he has neither the amazing intellectual invention of Mozart nor the immense range and depth of Bach or Beethoven, neither the magical sensibility of Chopin nor the Protean complexity of Strauss; he has not even the genius for effect which makes Wagner so easily enjoyable. [Brahms, also, though his style is far more sophisticated and less inventive than that of Handel, has raised himself into the great company by something of the same quality of virile strength.] Where actual weakness exists, no greatness at all is possible. The imaginative debility of Chavannes, Burne-Jones, or Whistler throws them back upon bloodless abstraction. Physical weakness, though not always entirely sapping to creative work, always betrays itself: the works of Poussin suggest his headaches; ill-health was the cause of much technical shortcoming and melancholy abstraction in Watts, of the sickly flabbiness of Rossetti's brush, and of a neurotic and effeminate strain, a lazy violence, fitful and clumsy, that mars some even of the most gifted painting of this hothouse and emasculated age. Few realise how immense is the effort demanded by artistic creation: when, for instance, we read in Beethoven's letters of his continual sufferings, we are reading, not of a weak man, but of an exceptionally strong man, making, however, superhuman demands upon that strength for his tremendous creative work. The effort daily put forth by such a man is of a kind and of a degree which an ordinary man (even if he could be imagined to make it at all) would only make at the cost of his life. It would shatter his body and burst his brain. Men have spoken of the delicacy, even the fragility, of artists like Chopin and (save the mark!) of Keats: they did die young, but they were strong in body and mind far beyond the common order—they could not, otherwise, have been artists of the first rank, as they are; and even an interpretative artist, if he be great,

like M. Paderewski, has to be a man of great bodily and mental strength. Hence an admiration is due to the strength that even such work as Sargent's does not exhaust or even tire, which only those will withhold who never understand the strain to which it is put. An artist who can, like Sargent, maintain so great an energy throughout such numerous undertakings with every evidence of an inexhaustible supply still in reserve during the execution of every masterpiece—such an artist demands the admiring awe which we give to a great force of Nature; such strength is not a gift to be smiled at or sneered at. It is a prize to be won. It is an evidence of the vitality of the race and an agent in the renewal of its life; it is the mark and concomitant of heroic greatness. Nor can it, as I have already said, exist and function absolutely alone and isolated from other qualities: it is the quality which enables them to be expressed with the utmost conviction which they can carry. Critics have insinuated a confusion of ideas, suggesting a vulgarity in strength, as if it were the mere brute force of an ox; a moment's reflection shows that in strength used for artistic and intellectual ends there is a control and a direction—in other words, a delicacy and sensitiveness—which make it wonderful beyond praise. I do not write to praise such strength: I do not even praise its union with such delicacy; I speak of it in order the better to grasp the essential greatness of the use to which it was put by Sargent. But it seems needful at the outset to dwell on the greatness of the quality whose presence all have marked—to insist on its recognition as the condition of the expression of other qualities, and to set aside once and for all the suggestion that it is a quality gross or cheap, which could only have existed in an etiolated and self-indulgent age. It should not be necessary, but unfortunately it is necessary, to extricate a just estimate from the dust of sophisticated innuendoes churned up by critics too dishonest and too mean to admit even that fragment of truth which they should have the wit to see.

Strength and vitality, then, must be recognised as not only the most obvious of Sargent's qualities, but the condition of the expression of his others. And we must admire equally the perfect technical control, the superlatively sensitive delicacy, with which he used his powers of mind and nerve for his artistic ends. Sargent's sureness and precision, as well as strength, of touch is proverbial among painters. We have only to contrast him with his imitators to see how exact are the tones by which he models, and delicate the gradations of form that draw the features. Absolute sureness is, of course, impossible to man. The accurate completeness of the old masters is not obtained '*alla primo*' (as Titian used to say), but by successive glazes. Sargent also used circuitous methods and subtle glazes, but used them with the

finest delicacy. Moreover, even he could not eliminate the element of chance; he used to begin half a dozen heads (which were never identical) and continue with the best—an excellent practice. No man can avoid accident. Painting is like the making of violins—a Stradivarius is always unique; copies as mathematically, materially and formally accurate as may be have been made of great instruments, but never with the least success; and a modern maker may produce a great violin once, yet never be able to repeat it. The standard of accuracy is, of course, higher in some very systematic and deliberate—so-called 'tight'—schools of painting than in others more effusive and capricious, just as in the art of cookery, for instance, the latitude for accident is greater in the untutored British than in the classic French school. In all arts discipline produces more brilliance than caprice, and Sargent is disciplined as well as spontaneous. The subtlety of his tones and drawing is a miracle to the eyes of all other painters; the fineness of expression should be the marvel of all who care for character. For the second great quality (which is seldom sufficiently appreciated in him) is, of course, his power of interpretation of character. This should be obvious; it should also be obvious that it is the main business of portraiture, though modern doctrines do not apparently treat it as obvious, but rather as irrelevant. Our antinomians have invented 'self-expression' as an extenuating dogma for the idle. But two things may be said in this connexion. In the first place, Sargent's sense of character was not only just and shrewd—it was wide, and at times deep. His breadth of understanding is, however, far more striking than his depth. In the variety of natures and minds which he portrayed with equal detachment and fidelity he has perhaps no superior save Holbein. For he could paint both men and women with equal truth; and no other painter save Holbein has yet done that. He could paint the thoughtful and the active, the noble and the vain, the simple and the complex: women of every kind; sad martyrs to fashion; women with a brain of feathers and a heart of lead; scorpions and butterflies—of all of them he could make a picture, and all of them he could paint with truth. But if he 'tore the ugly black heart out of them' like a Goya, it was not the only thing he could do. For against these creatures stand the great women whose presence is with us for ever in undying perpetuation of beneficence on his canvases: Octavia Hill—surely his finest female portrait; Miss Jane Evans, the treasured possession of Eton; Lady Ritchie (a charcoal drawing), and others.

No greater character studies than these have ever been painted or can be painted. And when we consider the portraits of Henry James, R. L. Stevenson, Coventry Patmore, John D. Rocke-

feller, Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Balfour, Lord Cowdray, the Generals of the War (each entirely individual, never assimilated to a preconceived type), we must admit that here is a breadth of true appreciation rare indeed. A comparison with the greatest of all times will only emphasize how rare this is: Rembrandt attempted men and women—chiefly old—of his own social circle; Vandyck, Reynolds, and Watts only the cultured society they lived in. Only Holbein could paint all occupations and both sexes; only Velasquez all classes—and he only men. One thing does, however, surprise us: though Sargent never fails to interpret his sitter, however complex, he seems to have been content to spend most of his time painting society women and rich men of no intellectual or moral interest. He was under no financial necessity of doing so. He might, like Watts, have invited all the great men of his day to sit to him and left the world a series of portraits worthy to stand beside those of Reynolds and Watts. That he did not trouble to do this seems a dereliction of duty. It is at all events almost incomprehensible. No great portrait exists of any great man since the death of Watts. And, strangely, Sargent sometimes failed with them: his portrait of Lord Roberts is cheap beside Watts', those of Lord Balfour and the Archbishop of Canterbury are both a little disappointing.

Perhaps Sargent's prosperity made him satisfied with the owners of good tables There is a worldly element which mars his work and makes him fall short of Watts. He paid the price and came to hate his trade. This tragic feature of his career cannot be passed over. Yet let us think rather of what he did than of what he omitted to do and bow before his undoubted work. 'Enough of his faults,' said Johnson of Goldsmith 'He was a very great man'

Sargent's characterisation, then, is exceptionally wide, as well as exceptionally just and penetrating; and there is another important point which that fact raises, namely, how did he attain it? What are the qualifications which a portrait painter needs if he is not to be a stereotyped and mechanical purveyor? I admit it is not in the last resort possible to describe the making of an artist's mind. We cannot give, in Kant's words, an 'explanation of how experience arises, but only of what it contains'; 'Causas non oportet investigare,' said Roger Bacon. But we cannot, on the other hand, merely fob off curiosity by words. It is not genius, 'innate,' 'untutored,' that by plenary inspiration produces a work of art. It is discipline, forethought, knowledge, united to feeling, which is needed. In other words, it is culture. What made Sargent a good portrait painter was not only genius; it was also culture, and in the present state of the art it is of the utmost importance to realise this. He was technically trained in

the severe school of Carolus Duran to be content with no mere approximations, but to gain exact drawing and tone. But this does not produce art. He had another education as well as this—intellectual, not technical.

A landscape painter may content himself with the direct experience of Nature; but a subject painter needs a historical imagination and a range of sympathies which only reading in combination with life can bring to full maturity and wealth of fruit. A portrait painter, however, needs a degree of knowledge far wider, far more exact, and in a sense deeper still. For his business is biography, not fantasy, still less still-life painting. It should be obvious that no man can treat of that of which he knows nothing. Conceive of a man setting out to write of Shakespeare or of Goethe who had never read their works, or who, having read them, could not understand them, and you have some modern portrait painters. But the true portrait painter—the Sargent—is a true scholar, exact, profound and wide. How are the great portraits produced? Velasquez could paint Innocent X. because he knew a good deal of the Church, the Papacy, the thought and life of a Pope, and of that Pope in particular. Rembrandt could not have painted him. Velasquez could paint Philip IV because he knew him and the life he led. Rubens painted him also, and he made him a Northern burgher. Reynolds has given us perhaps the most interesting series of portraits in the world—the statesmen and men of letters of his day, who were perhaps (as Mr. G. M. Trevelyan says) the most cultured since the age of Pericles. But he did not view them from outside and depict merely their features like so many agglomerations of matter; had he done only that, he would have produced merely 'trifles to rid us of our time, that time which never can return,' as Johnson wrote to Baretti about the pictures at the first Academy. Reynolds was a man of great reading, a scholar, the friend of scholars, he knew the thoughts that occupy the minds of men of letters, the duties and distractions that divide the time of statesmen. When he painted Johnson he did not only reproduce the idiosyncrasies of manner or the cast of feature; he portrayed a mind whose workings and whose ideas he understood, and a character whose feelings and motives he intimately comprehended. Only to a fellow-biographer in another art could Boswell have dedicated his biography. It is the same with Watts. Sargent does indeed at times seem to lack a feeling for spiritual depth, but this may be reticence. His wonderful *Redemption* bronze shows that he had spiritual depth himself. And every kind of character and intellect is expressed in his portraits.

Some will say that a shrewd judgment of character has nothing to do with culture. What is a 'shrewd judgment of character'?

It is the capacity to 'see through' people—to judge, that is, of their social qualities and their assurance, their honesty, their perseverance, their geniality, their wit and quickness, or the reverse. But is that enough? Is that all that any man consists of? Many a 'man of the world' considers himself a 'judge of character,' and is perhaps seldom 'taken in' (except by women), but has nevertheless no understanding whatever of varieties of feeling, subtleties of motive, range and depth of thought, such as never set themselves in conflict with his interests, and never expose themselves to his indifference. Such a 'judgment of character' together with a sympathy for the pathos common to all mankind an uncultivated painter may, of course, have, but when morally and intellectually interesting individuals come before him it proves itself inadequate, and caricature is the result. Moreover, it is caricature without humour, for pure feeling without culture cannot interpret more than the pathos of simple humanity; its comedy is only perceived by intellect. Horace Walpole says, with some crudity, but some truth, 'To those who feel, life is a tragedy; to those who think, it is a comedy.' The cultivation is absolutely essential to a portrait painter, even for the true portrayal of simple natures or of natures similar to his own. Sargent had advantages of education.

Slow rises worth, by poverty oppressed.

But no man is made by his advantages. Sargent, as every man can and every man has to do, had to educate himself and attain by his own efforts the wide knowledge and understanding which qualified him for his task. And the reward was not 'denied to well-directed industry.' Macaulay speaks of Vandyck's two portraits of Strafford at Warwick Castle as forming together a biography of the man which no literary narrative or treatise, however documented, could ever rival. It is in this sense that Sargent was the Vandyck of his day.

Energy, then, in a greater sense than is usually realised—a power of characterisation more comprehensive than seems to be appreciated and a culture which enlightened everything he did—distinguished Sargent. Did he have further artistic qualities? Did he possess classical design, the music of artistic language? Did he attain to imaginative universality of style? His claims to a place in the first rank of the great painters of all ages must rest on these two things, design and universality, as much as on his indubitable vitality and power of characterisation. It is my belief that he had all four, but design in less degree than the others. Let us consider the matter.

His claim to be a great designer rests most obviously on his large decorations, which have not hitherto been seen in this

country. They are magnificent, less cold and abstract than those of Chavannes, more intellectual and spiritual than those of Brangwyn. The Boston library will be the marvel of future ages. And the bronze *Redemption* is surely the most impressive and truly valuable work in the whole Exhibition.

But a designer of the first rank is a designer in everything he does. It is not only in compositions whose motives and arrangement are wholly untrue to the arbitrament of the artist that design has scope. A portrait also must be seen under a dominant architectonic form, a unity not only imaginative, but formal. The imaginative concentration of effect and significance Sargent usually attained—that belongs to his universality. But in the more abstract faculty of design he was deficient, as compared with other great portrait painters. That was evident when the Wertheimers were hung in the National Gallery. Even the Rembrandts—also not remarkable for abstract qualities—were seen to possess them more. Many of the portraits of men—for instance, of Lord Wemyss, of Mr. Chamberlain, the larger one of Lord Russell—are flimsy in design ; that of Dr. Cazalet need only be contrasted with Reynolds' *Captain Orme* to see the inferiority of Sargent.

I hasten to admit what I have often emphasised, that this abstract quality is of secondary importance, nor is the unity and beauty achieved by it as great in value as the unity and beauty which speak to the deeper feelings and satisfy more comprehensive ideas. As I have said elsewhere, there are three types of composition. On the one hand is abstract design—the main element of composition in music and architecture ; on the other side is realism and imitation—the ideal of Dutch art and prose literature. But the great, the poetic, style is a union of the two, raised to a higher power by an element of moral, intellectual and æsthetic depth of feeling and significance which neither mere realism nor mere abstraction can attain. For instance, neither a Chavannes nor a Chardin has the great style of composition. Now, Sargent has realism of an astonishing perfection. I hope to convince the reader that he has a sense of significance for the imagination, a higher truth, which belongs to the great style ; but I think the very greatest composition demands a larger element of abstract design than he displayed. Several very great artists in subject painting (where the abstract element is even more needed than in portraiture) lacked it—for instance, Holman Hunt. It is clear that it is to this that those critics refer who complain that the promise shown in *Madame Gautreau* was not fulfilled. That work is striking in silhouette, like the works of Velasquez ; his later portraits were not studied for such an effect, and at times have hardly beginning or end. There is, for instance, little reason why the two daughters of Asher Wertheimer should not be continued

to full-length figures, or should not be placed in a dozen different ways on the canvas. Sargent does lack the genius for design. There is no clear line-rhythm in his pictures, no pattern of tone and colour pleasing or moving in itself. The work is unified by focus of impression, by accent of significance, both consummately achieved; and the careful examination of both in all his works will be amply rewarded. But he is not, therefore, a mere realist, a 'mere impressionist' recording the effect upon the eye—even the mental eye—in satisfaction of mere curiosity about appearance. He does, as far as it can be done, create illusion, so perfect is his visual truth. But he does so much more that should never be noticed as the main achievement. It is not merely '*quel œil!*' It is the mind, the imagination, the universality, which command our wonder Only at times, as in the portrait of Lord Roberts, does this fail.

This is the fourth and last great quality which Sargent possessed—the quality which is the coping-stone of his artistic claim. He had not only strength and energy, not only characterisation and culture, not only some degree (though less) of decorative music · he had universality; he had the Great Style.

This requires some examination—the more because the folly and dishonesty of critics (*i.e*, dealers' agents) have tried to spread an idea that Sargent did not have great style. In fact, two critics typical of their confederacy in having no qualification save glibness of tongue and elasticity of conscience have asserted that Sargent had not 'the distinctively artistic vision.'

'The distinctively artistic vision!' What, in the name of truth, do they mean? Do they mean he sees as the common herd see, and no more? Can they have the effrontery to suggest that every self-centred ignoramus has observed life and the appearances of things so as to see either as Sargent saw them?—that Sargent differed only by having a dexterous *hand?* They have themselves admitted '*quel œil!*' So, presumably, they mean nothing exact (perhaps nothing at all). But they intend to insinuate that, though Sargent had 'an eye' for truth (which the 'image-doting' rabble have not), he had no 'artistic' eye, or feeling or conception, such as the few great artists have. We will pass over the fact that by 'great artists' they mean the charlatan darlings of the passing fashion—that is to say, the profitable *protégés* of the dealers and critics in commercial combination. We will consider only what 'artistic' can in itself mean for a critic who says Sargent is not 'artistic.' Does it mean 'endowed with' or 'practising' the gift of abstract decorative design? In that case we have admitted that Sargent was often careless in his portraits, but we have, I hope, agreed that 'abstract decorative design' is only one of three kinds of composition. A prose realist is no less an artist than an

abstract designer. I readily add, no more, either. If a realist is dull—if, that is to say, he has only the eye of the ordinary man—then he is not an artist, but only a manual photographer; but similarly, if an abstract designer designs mere patterns that can speak no language intelligible to feeling or to thought, then he also is not an artist, but only a voluptuous geometer. Do, then, the critics assert that Sargent is a mere realist, and that he is dull? That also they cannot mean, for no man can hypnotise anyone into thinking Sargent dull. Moreover, it is not certain that the abstract designer whom the critics prefer to the realist is not actually nearer to the common outlook—less 'superior', for the common outlook is 'image-doting'—not simply observant of objective truth. No one can instruct the vulgar more than the cool observer who points out the truth that lies near us but is passed unseen. But, to return to the word 'artistic.' Do the critics mean that Sargent is not 'appreciative'? They say he is a 'mere recorder'; so, presumably, that is one meaning that the word holds for them. But will the idea that Sargent is unappreciative bear examination? No one with the eye for character can regard his portraits as lacking in appreciation or in interpretative genius. If he did 'merely' record, he at least recorded the mind as well as the appearance. And what opprobrium attaches to such a record? Why is it to be labelled inartistic?

Do they mean that Sargent has no 'style'—is a photographer, a scientist, a psychologist perhaps, a journalist even (like themselves)? Here, perhaps, we have their intention At all events, we have an issue of such importance that it is worth longer examination. Had he style?

I hesitate to ask again, 'What is style?' But the critics, if they mean to say that Sargent has none, must know what it is. After all, they know everything. They have, indeed, a doctrine of style, now widely advertised. It is that style is idiosyncrasy. But, if that is their view, it is inconsistent to deny style to Sargent, whose idiosyncrasy was pronounced and unmistakable, and has not been denied by even these brazen jugglers with the truth. But style has other meanings than idiosyncrasy, and more important; for idiosyncrasy may be another name for vice, as in the case of El Greco or the author of *Euphues*. There are, in fact, three meanings which have long been distinguished. The first is technique; the second is idiosyncrasy; the third is 'absolute,' and consists in the expression of a universal truth under the form of a particular experience of great, rich, and concrete individuality. It is Reynolds' division—the ornamental, the characteristic and the grand styles. Now, no one could plausibly assert that Sargent lacked the graces of technique or the attractions of idiosyncrasy. But he possessed also, I believe, the Grand Style,

the universality, which his detractors have never noticed, and probably cannot understand; though he did not perhaps possess it in the highest degree.

This universality is the reward of the pursuit of truth. The highest truth, pursued with the highest seriousness, is given to the utterance of poetry, not of history—to quote again Aristotle's familiar, immortal distinction. And I do not propose to claim that Sargent was a poet in portraiture, like Titian, Rembrandt or Watts. He was a historian; but the difference is one more of degree than of kind. He had vividness and selection, concentration and intensity, in a high degree, but not in the degree of poetry. There is admittedly a typical suggestion in Watts which the more complete and accurate statement of Sargent lacks. Sargent's style is prose—but it is great prose; his matter is history—but it is great history. It is not criticism to belittle a Macaulay because he is not a Keats. Sargent's position is assured as that of a great historian of his time. He is like Macaulay, and though he attempted work which was more the product of fancy than of knowledge, he was not so eminently successful in it, just as Macaulay was not.

> The light that never was on sea or land,
> The consecration and the poet's dream,

does not invest with an ethereal glory the world of Sargent. For him it was not 'sweet'

> . . . with unuplifted eyes to pace the ground
> Pleased rather with some soft ideal scene
> The work of Fancy or some happy tone
> Of meditation, slipping in between
> The beauty coming and the beauty gone.

Few men can be great both in poetry and prose. The ecstasy and fervour of the one is seldom compatible with the self-possession and judgment of the other. The verse of Bacon and Ruskin, like the prose of Chaucer and Wordsworth, is unsatisfactory. Each vehicle has its own manner and its proper temper, its fitting subject and its peculiar end.

But the dignity of history, established in literature, seems to be denied in painting. A sophistical confusion is allowed (or created) on the subject of science and art, which is used to belittle the element of knowledge in painting, as though it were inimical to style, to freedom, to originality and to beauty. Nothing is more needed in the present chaos of artistic criticism than clear thinking upon the conception of truth as the aim of art, and the separation in thought of the two elements of science and art, observation and feeling, while recognising that the separation exists in thought

alone, and that in fact the two elements are inextricably interwoven as woof and warp in the texture of imaginative creation, that they are naturally interdependent, reciprocally conditioned, correlative and inseparable, like the freedom of will and the mechanism of Nature. Science and art are not identical, yet neither can exist without the other. The modern dogma which denies the existence of art where science is evident, which refuses to see imagination where there is knowledge, reduces the processes of art to vain abstraction, and its products to the idlest of chimeras. I have pointed out in my paper on 'The Contribution of Impressionism' in the September 1925 issue of the *Nineteenth Century and After* some of the essential differences between science and art—impressionism being, in my view, mainly a scientific contribution, that is to say, a collection of information. But in saying that no work of art arises until the creative mind has made a unity for its own purposes out of such particular experiences I have not disparaged the material which is thus used. Moreover, it must be more clearly recognised that there is the same distinction to be made between the mere mass of collected information and its formation into a work of science, for a work of science is a work of art. When laws have been formulated, a scheme and system created, then first does science arise, but then also has a work of art arisen. Every scientific book, every scientific system, is, in Kant's phrase, the work of 'the productive power of imagination.' The 'laws of Nature' themselves are not empirical discoveries, but architectonic inventions, they are forms which thought imposes upon Nature in order to understand her All scientific research has been conditioned by imaginative schemes, such as the theories of the ether, of the atom, of gravitation There is no recognition without a creative act. Science, like art, 'submits the shows of things to the desires of the mind.' Hence when we say that a man is a scientist we must be clear whether we mean that he is a creative law-giver of Nature—a Galileo, a Descartes, a Newton—or that he is merely a subordinate collector of data, a German thesis-grubber. If he is the first, he is also to some extent an artist. Conversely, art cannot operate in emptiness; it is *not* (as modern theorists assert) 'self-expression'—it depends on concrete experiences, æsthesis is perception of experience, and Croce treats it as little more. But it is more, though it is this at bottom. No thinker since Kant should fail to realise that art is a form of recognition, and that creation and perception are inextricably united in its act. Only this much must never be lost sight of: however similar the activities of science and art, as recognition of reality, however intertwined they must remain, there is a distinction; the highest art is the product of a kind of emotion quite foreign to science, and of a *degree* of

intellectual emotion greater than the enthusiastic curiosity of science. Science is not cold, but it is 'full measurable' (in Chaucer's phrase). Art is not 'full measurable'; it is of infinite eagerness, and speaks from the heart and to the heart of man. It is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; it is the impassioned expression which is the countenance of all science.

We must, then, recognise the variety in union of art and science. To speak of a dull compiler, an unappreciative describer, annalist, recorder, is possible. But to speak of a Sargent as a 'mere recorder,' when he records with vivid realisation, with impassioned understanding, with irresistible significance to intellect and sympathy, is to speak idleness and vanity. Sargent was a great master of the science of portraiture, as Macaulay was of the science of historical investigation. But Sargent, like Macaulay, is a historian, not a historian's assistant hack. And history is an art, though an art based on scientific research. Clio is a muse; she is not the Muse of Poetry, but she is not the least of the immortal Nine.

There are, however, two ways in which Sargent did, indeed, fall short of supreme art in his record; it is not of either of these that the critics think—or, I should say, speak, for they do not think. Sargent's landscapes do not often rise above mere impressionist snapshots, vivid (at times even lacking in refinement), but undesigned and unimaginative and unpoetical. This will be admitted. Secondly, his attitude was worldly: he was at home in rich society and tried to subsist on its sources of content; hence his portraits show us men in society—their true character, indeed, andcapacities; and yet something is lacking—something of the dignity of Man, some sense of a divinity in his fate, the something of which we think when we recall to mind a friend who has died: it is then that we desire a record that is a monument to his memory. We have perhaps ourselves painted his features; but how different is that everyday aspect from our remembrance, our idea. Reynolds and Watts and Titian had the monumental style; Sargent had not. Did he feel this? Was it for this that he renounced portraiture ten years ago? Yet he gave us a record of his time, true, even if not epic, history.

It should have been needless to expatiate on the eternal status of Art as the sister of Science in the interpretation of the truth. No poet, no painter, is worthy of the name who is not '*El Pintor della Verdad*' like Velasquez; and in the hierarchy of the priests of Truth there are many grades. Sargent is not a poet; but he is a great artist, for he is a great historian. He has his place with the immortals.

That place is secure. He was always in the great tradition, the legitimate succession. He traced his lineage to the masters,

and stood alone amid a generation of Epigoni. Some dealers' agents have circulated the idea that, though quite incapable of rising to the height of the fashionable performers, he admired their productions; they have insinuated that he realised the 'greatness' of those twaddling amateurs Ganguin and Cézanne, Matisse and Van Gogh, a greatness which he could not attain. He certainly could not. Michelangelo could not be Bandinelli, Johnson could not be Mr. James Macpherson, nor Burke be Bute. And, in final refutation of all the garbled anecdotes and groundless rumours of the critics, we have Sargent's own words repudiating any respect for any of the post-impressionist fry.

Sargent was by intellect and culture free from all passing fashions in opinion; the fallacies of modernism did not touch him. He belonged to the company who have found perfect freedom in the service of arduous truth. He had not, it is true, the intimate and homely sympathy or the mysterious style of Rembrandt; he had not the incomparably sober splendour, the Olympian universality, the grave harmonious handling of Titian. The state and calmness and delicacy of Velasquez are beyond his attainment; the simple equity of Holbein, the beauty of Vandyck, he did not match. And there is a humanity and a consummation of style in Reynolds which makes him, in Ruskin's words, 'the prince of portrait painters' These supreme few Sargent did not equal. He had not their monumental manner. But below these there are none with whom he cannot share full honours. Rubens is not more vigorous, he is less subtle and less comprehensive. Tintoretto and Veronese equal him in moral, but not in visual truth, if they are more monumental. Watts is a poet; but his manner is hesitating and fragmentary, where Sargent's is decisive and complete. Watts himself said of Sargent's work, 'Did you ever see such?' Raphael is immature, even in his perfection, beside Sargent, and shows no sense of moral life, or even of moral existence. The rest must stand below him—Gainsborough, Goya, Hals and Raeburn; the French and Italian and Dutch and English schools, with all their ability and truth.

I have spoken of Sargent mainly as a portrait painter—even though his dreams and aspirations lay elsewhere His landscapes, though vivid, were slighter altogether; his decorations do not occupy so much of his activity, fine though they are. He was perhaps deceived by bitter knowledge of the world into a love for Nature and the ideal which was not knowledge. But in the art of biography he is supreme. His highest powers were concentrated, even if with unsatisfied heart, to the aim which was the eloquent and sufficient epitaph of Mandell Creighton: 'He tried to write true history.' He succeeded with a brilliance usually won only by joy, and not by will and intellect alone,

but which places him with Gibbon, Thucydides, Tacitus, Macaulay, Carlyle, as with the protagonists of painting. They, too, were not poets: the ideal is not for history; nor is the higher truth, the higher seriousness. His detractors will 'perish as the summer fly,' 'heads without name, remembered not.' He will live, though he be not a poet, to astonish and delight the remotest generations.

D. H. BANNER.

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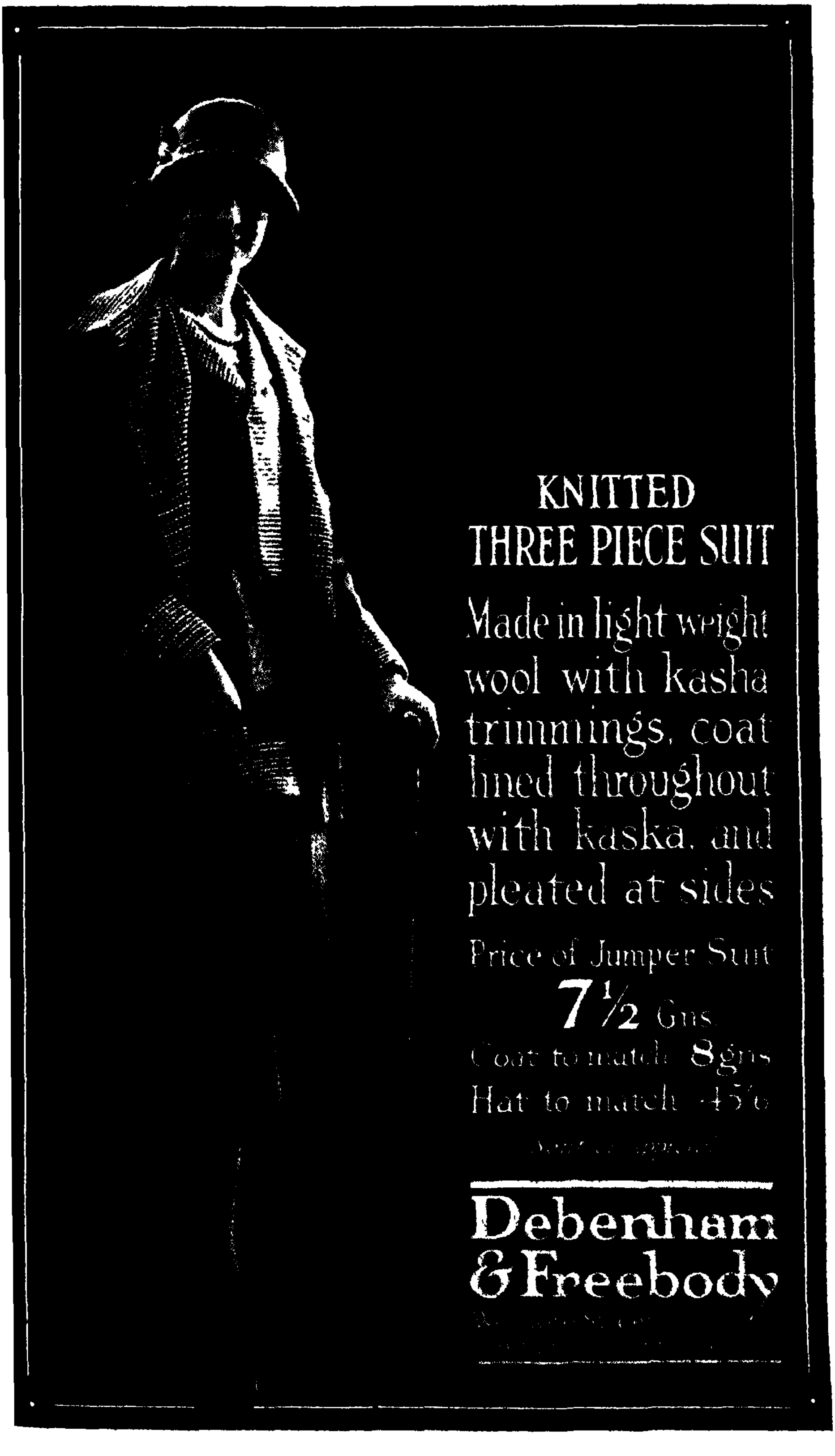
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House of Commons is to drop back into the position of a Dominion Parliament, charged only with the control and administration of purely local affairs. As a preliminary step he urges that there should be a conference 'for the specific and single purpose of discussing the constitution of the Empire.' He is not satisfied, apparently, with the Imperial Conference of Prime Ministers and Ministers, for which there is already provision, but he asks for 'a widely spread conference . . a conference, for preference, that would be elected by the peoples themselves, but if that were considered impossible, a conference that would represent all shades of opinion in Britain and in each of the Dominions, a conference to which the Dominions would be asked to send men specially qualified, and not necessarily parliamentarians.'

Mr. Malcolm has effectively marshalled most of the criticisms that may be directed against the present constitution of the British Empire on the ground of its incompleteness as a means of government and its want of logical finish and precision. Everyone admits that from the point of view of theoretical perfection it leaves much to be desired. But the same thing may be said of the British Constitution, which, far from being a perfect piece of mechanism expressly designed for its purpose, is the product of a long process of growth and gradual adaptation to varying conditions as they arose. Its great advantage is its flexibility, and it may at least be said in its favour that it works very well on the whole in practice. We are again confronted with the problem whether it is better for the Empire that we should be content with a Constitution, elastic because it is not written, adapting itself by a process of slow evolution to meet changes as they arise, or whether we should exchange it for a written Constitution, logical, perhaps, in its conception, precise in its definition of the powers, duties, and responsibilities of all who are brought under its provisions, but rigid, not easily capable of being altered or amended. The problem, indeed, goes deeper than this What we are really asked to do is, not to trust in the future, as we have done in the past, to the silken ties of kinship, the bonds of sentiment, arising out of the common heritage of a great literature, and a noble and inspiring history of victories won for the liberty of the subject and the freedom of nations. We are to bind ourselves instead by legal documents. What we have done willingly in the past, out of affection for the Motherland, from pride of race, and last but not least from a sense of the wisdom as well as the duty of meeting a common peril by a united defence, we are to bind ourselves to do by solemn treaty and enactment, and, for the more effective fulfilment of the bond, we are to place ourselves under the control of a new Parliament, supreme over all the Parliaments of the Empire now in existence. To carry out its functions

such central authority must be armed not only with the power of taxation but also with the command of armies and navies, so that effective compulsion may be brought to bear on any portion of the Empire which shows a tendency to kick over the traces, or to come short in any way in the fulfilment of its obligations.

The first question which we naturally ask is, What need has been shown for such a drastic change ? The present system may be illogical and far from complete ; but how does it work ? Has it failed in the past to stand any reasonable test ?

It must in fairness be admitted that twelve or fourteen years ago it was not so easy to give satisfactory answers to these questions. Many of us then seriously asked ourselves whether it was altogether safe to trust to such a loose system of partnership as that existing between the component parts of the British Empire. The question was actually raised at the Imperial Conference of 1911 by Sir Joseph Ward, then Prime Minister of New Zealand, who, indeed, advocated the formation of some central authority, which he sometimes called a Council and sometimes a Parliament. The discussion which took place is worth reading at the present time as showing that, while it is easy to advocate some such change in broad and vague generalities, it is difficult to devise any scheme in detail which will stand criticism. The reception accorded to Sir Joseph Ward's proposal was so frigid as to be positively glacial, and, so far as the present writer is aware, that distinguished New Zealand statesman has not since pressed its acceptance, at any rate in any of his public utterances.

Nevertheless, as has already been said, at the time of the 1911 Imperial Conference, and for some time afterwards, there were not a few students of constitutional government who wondered whether our loosely-knit system of Empire was the best that could be devised, and especially whether it would stand the strain of war. The answer came in 1914. Mr. Malcolm frankly admits of the present system that 'the Empire has survived under it ; during the Boer War and the Great War the Dominions rendered great services to Britain.' This, surely, is a very mild way of describing the response made by every part of the Empire in the greatest crisis of its history. New Zealand, for example, put into the field 11 per cent. of her total population, and nearly 17 per cent. of the force on active service paid the supreme sacrifice. Up to that time it was supposed that 10 per cent. of the population represented the utmost that any nation, even when invaded by the enemy, could be expected to put into the fighting ranks. The New Zealanders fought for the most part on a field 12,000 miles distant from their own hearths and homes. Her people, without a murmur, added upwards of 81,000,000*l*. (nearly 80*l*. per head of the population) to the public debt for the purpose of carrying

on the war, this being, of course, in addition to the large sums paid out of revenue for the same purpose. Of the total war debt, no less than 55,198,325*l.* was raised in New Zealand, and the amount borrowed from the British Government is being paid back in full with interest at a fraction under 5 per cent. per annum.

Nor was there any delay, or even hesitation, in rallying to the side of the Mother Country so soon as danger threatened. Before the declaration of war—before even the British Government had made up their minds to enter the war—the New Zealand Government, in view of the German menace, cabled their willingness to send an expeditionary force if it should be required. As soon as the die was cast Mr. Massey sent his never-to-be-forgotten message that 'all we have and are' were at the disposal of the Mother Country for the prosecution of the war. The great majority of the New Zealand soldiers were volunteers; but conscription was cheerfully adopted, not from the lack of recruits, but because New Zealand was determined to fulfil her pledge to the letter, and it was recognised that conscription was the fairer method of supplying the necessary man-power. No fewer than 91,941 of the New Zealand Force were volunteers, and 32,270 were called up under the Military Service Act.

I take New Zealand as the example with which I am most familiar, but, looking at the response made by the Dominions as a whole, can anyone say that better results would have been achieved had there been an Imperial Parliament sitting at Westminster, with powers of demanding by levy men and money from the uttermost parts of the Empire?

A great point is made of the argument that the Dominions should have what is called 'a voice' in questions of peace and war. There seems to be an idea in some quarters that war should not be entered upon until every part of the Empire has been consulted in some way and has given its approval. Unfortunately, the conditions under which wars arise afford no opportunity of any such leisurely consideration, and it is as certain as anything can be in this transitory world that an Empire governed on such a principle would not long be able to hold its own against nations able to decide and act in an emergency with the promptitude which is of the essence of success both in diplomacy and war. In 1914 the British Government had no time to 'consult' even the House of Commons, although it was actually in session. Sir Edward Grey at the height of the crisis was not even sure of the English Cabinet, and we in the Dominions realise that we owe it to the patriotism and promptitude of the Unionist leaders that the necessary decision was taken before it was too late. We now know, however, that, even as it was, too much time had been spent in deliberation, and it was 'touch and go' whether our

expeditionary force would arrive in time to be of material assistance to our allies.

No doubt it is very important that the Dominions should be kept fully informed in regard to all matters affecting the Empire as a whole, and any Government entering upon war without being satisfied that their action will meet with general approval and active support will incur the gravest responsibility, and might even jeopardise the existence of the Empire. Is there any guarantee, however, that the scrapping of the existing Constitution and the setting up of another Parliament will be attended with such advantages as to justify our undertaking the risks of such a tremendous leap in the dark ? The members of such a Parliament presumably would be elected for a term of, say, five years. There would be great difficulty in getting public men of a sufficiently high standard and able to absent themselves from the Dominion for such a length of time. Even if we could get the men, there is a still more serious difficulty. Experience shows that even the ablest representative of a Dominion living in London, say as High Commissioner, very quickly gets out of touch with public opinion in the country he has left. The mere presence of Dominion representatives in an Imperial Parliament, therefore, would not guarantee that its deliberations were guided by an accurate knowledge of Dominion public opinion; still less would it ensure willing acquiescence in its decisions. Mr. Malcolm contends that the decisions of an ' Imperial Federal Parliament ' would be accepted as willingly by the Dominions as the people of Colorado submit themselves to the government of the United States Congress. We must not leave out of consideration the fact that complete federal government in the United States was established as the result of the greatest civil war recorded in history. As regards the Commonwealth of Australia, on which he also relies for an example, recent events have shown that the federal principle is still to some extent on its trial. Not only has there been serious objection to the burden of federal taxation, especially on the part of Tasmania, but a far more serious development took place during the recent seamen's strike, when the State authorities in Queensland, New South Wales, and Western Australia positively refused to take the measures which the Commonwealth Government considered necessary for the preservation of law and order. There was a proposal that the Federal Government should establish a police force of its own, and had that been done the consequent clash between the Federal and State Governments might have led to results which it is not pleasant to contemplate. Fortunately, Mr. Bruce's appeal to the electors, and the satisfactory reply he received, extricated the Commonwealth, for the time being at any rate, from a very ugly situation.

But all discussion as to the theoretical expediency of a central Parliament of Empire is really beating the air until we first satisfy ourselves that there is a possibility of such a solution being accepted by those affected. Even Mr. Malcolm evidently has grave doubts about it. He thinks the Colonies should from their foundation have been given a place in the British Parliament, and he says plainly that it is questionable whether they would accept it now. I have no hesitation in saying, from conversations I had with Dominion representatives at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919, and from observation of the state of public feeling, gained by travelling in Australia and Canada, that there is not the remotest chance of the proposal being seriously entertained in any of those countries. Still less is it to be supposed that the Union of South Africa will consent to be taxed by 'a single and representative Executive' sitting in London. New Zealand in many respects is said to be more British than Britain, and certainly shows every disposition to join hands with the Mother Country in any action likely to promote the well-being of the Empire. So far as I am aware, however, not a single newspaper here supports the idea of an Imperial Parliament and Executive, and among public men of standing Mr. Malcolm stands alone in advocating the scheme. Mr. Massey strenuously opposed the idea, and in Imperial matters Mr. Coates has intimated that he holds the same views as his great predecessor.

If there was at any time a possibility of a Federal Parliament sitting in London being agreed to (which is doubtful), it is certain the Great War administered the *coup-de-grâce* to any such proposal. That tremendous test by fire burned up a good deal of 'wood, hay, stubble.' It showed that the bonds linking the Empire together were spiritual and not corporeal. On the other hand, what was intended as a compliment to the Dominions, and a recognition of their services—namely, the separate signing of the Treaty of Peace—may prove, quite unintentionally of course, to have a separating instead of a unifying effect. It has certainly led leading public men in Canada, South Africa, and to a lesser extent in Australia, to claim the full status of nationhood for the Dominions, including the right to be separately represented at foreign Courts, and even, if so disposed, to keep aloof from any war in which the Mother Country might become engaged. That spirit of semi-independence would never submit to control by a Parliament sitting in London, in which the representation of each Dominion, either on the basis of population or relative wealth, must necessarily be small in proportion to that of the Empire as a whole, and even to that of Great Britain in particular.

In reference to the question of status New Zealand has taken up a more modest stand than the other Dominions. It is

extremely fortunate for her that during the war, and in the consideration of after-war problems, she had the benefit of the wise counsel of two very able constitutional lawyers—one, the late Sir John Salmond, recognised throughout the English-speaking world as a leading authority on jurisprudence, and the other, the Hon. Sir Francis Bell, the present Attorney-General and Leader of the Legislative Council. The view they held, which has been generally adopted, is that Mr. Massey signed the Treaty of Peace, not as representing New Zealand, but as representing His Majesty the King. Sir John Salmond represented the Dominion at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, and in his report he is careful to explain the exact position of the Dominions at that Conference, and how it differs from that which their delegates occupy at the Assembly of the League of Nations. He says:

> The procedure of the Washington Conference was in itself clear indication that the Dominions were there, not in their own rights as independent States, but merely as constituent portions of an undivided Empire When any question came to be voted upon for the purpose of ascertaining whether there existed that unanimous consent which was necessary for a treaty the question was put to the British delegation as a whole, and was answered 'Yes' or 'No' by Mr Balfour as the head and spokesman of that Delegation, and on behalf of the British Delegation as a whole Although in the process of discussion and negotiation the representatives of the Dominions had and exercised the same right of audience as any other delegates, they never voted separately on behalf of their own Dominion on any question The final decision in every case was that of the British Empire as an indivisible unity
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> The position of the Dominions at Washington was essentially different from the position which they occupy at an assembly of the League of Nations By the special and peculiar organisation of that body self-governing Colonies are admitted as members in their own right as if they were independent States. Although by constitutional and international law such Colonies are merely constituent portions of the Empire to which they belong, they are entitled by express agreement to be treated as far as practicable as if they were independent But no such principle was recognised at Washington or exists except for the special purposes of the League of Nations

It is a mistake to suppose that the Dominions are not at present kept very fully informed upon matters affecting the foreign policy of the Empire. The system adopted was explained by Sir Francis Bell, in a speech which he delivered in the Legislative Council last session. He said the High Commissioners are called together at the Colonial Office, and they are informed together of what the Imperial Government is considering, and they are asked to communicate with their respective Governments. That is on minor matters. On major matters there are constant communications between the Prime Minister in England and the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, and in the opinion of Sir

Francis Bell, speaking as one who has occupied the position of Prime Minister of New Zealand, the method of keeping the Dominions informed of what is going on is absolutely effective. He went on to say:

> Crises such as Chunak Bair and other similar emergencies can be dealt with only by one body, and that is His Majesty's Government at the seat of the Empire, and any interference on our part with the Imperial Government in its dealing with emergency cases with foreign Powers is mischievous and not useful What New Zealand has said consistently for the last thirteen years—for during that time I have had something to do with all the communications that have passed between the New Zealand Government and the Imperial Government—is that we wish to be consulted about matters that absolutely affect us individually, but with regard to the Empire's general foreign affairs we are content to follow and act under the advice, and conform to the action of, His Majesty's Government in London.

It is difficult to see how else our foreign relations can be carried on with due regard to the dignity and safety of the Empire. Such a policy, of course, adds very much to the responsibility of His Majesty's Ministers at the seat of Empire. It should also operate in the interests of peace. It means that if English Ministers are to act with ordinary prudence they will never embark on a war unless they are morally certain of the whole-hearted support of the people of the Empire. This rules out any idea of an aggressive war, or a war for material objects only. If the honour of the Mother Country is at stake, or her safety is threatened, she may confidently hope that her sons in every part of the Empire will, as in the past, rally to her side.

It is a significant fact that, while the Dominions instantly fell in line on the declaration of the Great War, about which they were never consulted, the Dominions were practically unanimous in rejecting the Protocol of Geneva, which was agreed to by a Council on which they were fully represented. Fortunately, it was possible to repair the mistake, because the Protocol was subject to ratification by the several Parliaments, and, thanks to the
le diplomatic tact and fine statesmanship of Mr. Chamberlain, no
in arm was done. Had the same Protocol been submitted to an
Dom perial Parliament, it is possible that the Dominion representa-
foreign , breathing the old world atmosphere, and out of touch with
in which a feeling, might have agreed to it, in which case, however
of semi-in the Dominions' objections, the false step, once taken, could
ment sitting ve been retrieved.
Dominion, eith se of the Pact of Locarno, which is also very instructive,
must necessarily vernment took care to let the Dominion Govern-
whole, and even to t was going on, but found it impossible to consult
In reference to t se of the word. In such negotiations the happy
up a more modest has to be seized without delay, and Mr.

Chamberlain had the courage to seize it, taking care to make it plain that liberty must be left to the Dominions to join or not as they saw fit. There seems every probability at the moment this article is penned that the Dominions will, without exception, indorse what has been done. The New Zealand Government, at any rate, lost no time in cabling to Mr. Chamberlain their hearty congratulations, and the newspapers are unanimous in declaring that what has been done should receive approval throughout the Empire.

With Mr. Malcolm's suggestion of a conference composed of members 'if possible elected by the people themselves,' and, if that is considered impossible, 'a conference . . . of men specially qualified, and not necessarily parliamentarians,' I find myself in complete disagreement. I shudder to think of an election in every part of the Empire for the purpose of electing delegates to such a conference, and I have no confidence whatever that we should get a body of qualified experts by such means. In any case, what could such a conference do but add to the flood of talk and speculation which has already been let loose on this subject? If it is to be discussed at all, let the Imperial Conference discuss it. The great advantage of that Conference is that it is essentially a conference of Prime Ministers each of whom is in a position to stake the existence of his Government on the acceptance of any agreement to which he gives his adherence. The members are slow to commit themselves, but when they do agree to any specific proposal there is at least a fair chance of its being carried into effect. If the proposal for an Imperial overriding Parliament is brought forward, I venture to prophesy that the immediate result will be to show that the Dominions will not tolerate it at any price.

But it will be asked, Are we, then, to remain content with our Empire Constitution as it is? By no means. The process of evolution is going on, and it must continue. The great point is, however, not to be always worrying about forms of government, but to devote ourselves instead to fostering the things of the spirit which make for unity. Far more important than forms of government is the cultivation of the spirit of mutual knowledge and understanding. The Empire Press Union, in promoting a fuller knowledge of the Empire among representative journalists, is performing a work of the greatest possible value if the interchange of visits is followed, as it ought to be, by greater attention to Empire affairs in the chief organs of public opinion. Of great value also is the work of the Empire Parliamentary Association, in bringing together members of the different Parliaments and promoting an interchange of visits. As one who has experienced the kindness shown to Dominion legislators visiting London, I cannot speak too gratefully of the wonderful oppor-

tunities afforded us of becoming better acquainted with English public men and English conditions. It is a matter of common observation that Dominion statesmen return from their visits to the Imperial Conference with their minds broadened, and with a wider outlook. Mr. Massey held that the Conference, although naturally centred in London, should meet, as opportunity offered, in the leading Dominions. He was also a great believer in the War Cabinet, and urged that it should always be called together in a great crisis and Dominion representatives summoned to take part in it.

English Cabinet Ministers ought to make a point of visiting the outposts of Empire. Mr. Amery has set a very excellent example in this respect, and it ought to be followed. Certainly in future it ought to be made impossible for any member of Parliament to hold the portfolio of Secretary of State for the Dominions unless he has first-hand knowledge of them.

Already opportunities are afforded for Dominion cadets to enter the Army and Navy, and this naturally increases our interest in those services. Many years ago I ventured to suggest that a certain number of positions in the English and Indian Civil Services should be reserved for competition in the Dominions. It is possible that the result would not be without value to those services, as well as furnishing another Imperial bond of common interest. An interchange of masters between leading English schools has been tried, and might be extended. In a previous article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* [2] I have referred to the advantages of closer trade relations on preferential lines.

There is much to be done to strengthen the bonds of Empire without embarking on so revolutionary an enterprise as setting up a super-Parliament over all the rest. The danger is that in thinking too much of such heroic expedients we are apt to overlook those reforms which are more practicable and within our reach.

W. H. TRIGGS.

[2] 'New Zealand's Loyalty to the Empire,' May 1923

THE JAPANESE FIGHTING FORCES AND DISARMAMENT

'It may be well to recall the noble aspirations which were expressed twenty-three years ago in the Imperial rescript of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia. It was then pointed out with clarity and emphasis that the intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labour and capital, are for the major part diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the last word of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field.'

These words were spoken by Mr. Hughes in the course of his memorable speech at the opening of the Washington Conference in November 1922, when he made the world gasp with astonishment at the drastic reduction of naval armaments proposed by him.

Opinions are divided as to the sincerity of the Russian Imperial rescript to which he referred, and probably no country has better grounds for doubting it than has Japan, for it was issued within a very short while after Russia, with the connivance of Germany and France, had despoiled her of the fruits of the victory which she had just gained over her large but weak neighbour China. Moreover, the soldiers of the Czar were preparing even then to descend upon Manchuria and extend the influence of their country over Korea, with the ultimate object of taking possession of the peninsula for themselves, thereby threatening the very existence of Japan with this '. . . arrow pointed at her heart.'

No doubt the Japanese felt that this plea for reduction of armaments was merely an attempt on the part of Russia to force her to cease building up her armed forces so that she, Russia, might continue her policy of expansion eastwards without any fear of opposition from Japan. Other countries failed to see this side of the question, as, despite the surprise they had felt when the Japanese defeated their Chinese opponents, they were still unable to believe that Japan would ever be in a position to fight, let alone defeat, the mighty Russian bear, however much she armed herself. That this scepticism prevailed even in the best-informed

circles right up to the last moment is well illustrated by an incident recorded by Mr. Wickham-Steed in his book *Through Thirty Years.*[1]

Only a few days before war was declared, he tells us, he was twitted by the widow of the great Italian statesman Minghetti for holding the view that hostilities were about to break out, and she showed him a letter which she had just received from her son-in-law, Count Bülow, the German Imperial Chancellor, who wrote saying that, according to reports from the German Minister in Tokyo,

> . . . the Japanese were merely trying to get all they could, but that when they saw that Russia would stand no nonsense they, like good Orientals, would give way. He, the German Chancellor, had taken care to let the Russians know this

The Japanese themselves, however, had no delusions about the matter. They were determined not only to avenge themselves for what Russia had done to them in 1896, but also to prevent the materialisation of the threat to their existence as an independent nation. Accordingly they set to work to increase the strength and efficiency of their armed forces.

The Conference held at the Hague in 1899 as a result of the Czar's rescript, though important in some respects, did nothing to limit armaments, beyond recording a few platitudes concerning the desirability of such limitations. The second Peace Conference, held at the Hague seven years later, did no better than its predecessor. Before it took place, however, Japan had built up sufficiently strong land and sea forces to defeat Russia, and by 1906, when the second Peace Conference took place, had an army of seventeen divisions and a navy of which any nation might be proud.

Although by the defeat of Russia she had rid herself of the chief menace to her existence as an independent nation, Japan during the next few years proceeded to '. . . make assurance doubly sure' by increasing her strength both on land and sea. In 1907 two more infantry divisions and four independent cavalry brigades were added to her army, and three brigades of artillery were organised at the same time. Two years later, in 1909, the first two 'Dreadnoughts' were sanctioned for her navy, and in 1910 the Imperial Diet gave its approval to the construction of Japan's first modern battle-cruiser. Further additions both of capital ships and auxiliary craft were sanctioned during the next five years, and in the 1915–16 session of the Diet the '8–4' programme—eight battleships and four battle-cruisers—was formulated and approved. This was amended to an '8–6'

[1] Published by Messrs. Heinemann.

programme in 1918 and finally developed into the famous '8–8' programme, laid down by the late Admiral Kato in 1920 for completion by 1928.

Meantime the army had also been increasing in strength, two more divisions being formed for service in Korea during the five-year period commencing 1915. Thus, by the end of 1920, the Japanese had a peace-time army of twenty-one divisions, four cavalry brigades, and a number of independent units—including the independent garrison of Formosa—with a total strength of approximately 272,000 all ranks. This was the figure given by the War Minister, General Baron Tanaka, to the Diet at the close of that year.

By the same date the navy consisted of five modern battleships, four battle-cruisers, ten pre-Dreadnought battleships, twelve armoured cruisers, and eleven light cruisers, together with a considerable number of destroyers and submarines. Many of these vessels were well past their prime, but, with the sanctioning of the '8–8' programme that same year, Japan was in a fair way to possessing a larger and more powerful fleet than any other Power had at that time. It may be said, therefore, that, on the dawn of the year 1921, Japan's naval and military strength, both actual and potential, was at its peak. No further additions were made to the army, and no further construction was sanctioned for the navy, between January and November that year, when the convening of the Washington Conference heralded the approach of armament reduction to other countries besides Japan.

Meantime, however, despite her piling up of armaments—and, in part, because of it—a movement in favour of armament reduction had been growing up in Japan for some years past. At the start this movement was more negative than positive in character; it opposed increasing the armed strength of the country rather than advocating an actual reduction. It was plainly marked as far back as 1912, when the strong opposition brought to bear on the proposal to form two infantry divisions for permanent service in Korea led to the resignation of the War Minister, General (now Marshal) Uehara, and the subsequent downfall of the Saionji Cabinet.

The army authorities, in this instance, finally had their own way, but the drastic measures which had to be adopted before they won their point were in themselves indicative of the strength of the opposition movement. Admittedly the opposition was mainly brought about by the financial condition of the country, and similar opposition to naval and military programmes had been raised on previous occasions. Nevertheless, it showed the way the wind blew, and was, though negative, an indication of the more positive movement which was to be initiated a few years

later when the reaction which followed the termination of the World War spread its influence to Japan.

At first it was barely noticeable, but the holding of the Washington Conference in 1921 helped to strengthen it and to bring it into prominence. A regular anti-military movement arose, the campaign being led by the vernacular Press, which urged reduction in both land and sea armaments in order to reduce the burden of taxation involved by the maintenance of such large forces. The navy was already pledged to effect a large reduction as a result of the decisions reached at Washington, so it was the army which came in for the chief abuse.

As a result of this agitation the military authorities evolved a scheme whereby the man-power of the army could be reduced, without in any way breaking up either the existing organisation or disbanding any of the main military units. According to an article which appeared in the *Jiji Shimpo* in the summer of 1924, this reduction of personnel amounted to a total of 62,270 all ranks, whilst at the same time 13,000 horses were sold by the army authorities. These figures may be regarded as approximately correct, as they tally more or less with the 56,000 reduction in personnel which the War Office announced as their objective at the time the proposed programme was first made public. This programme was to have been spread over a period of three years, the first reduction being carried out in the summer of 1922. On January 29 of the following year General Yamanashi, who by that time had succeeded General Tanaka as War Minister, announced in the Upper House that the peace strength of the army had already been reduced to 232,000.

In spite of these concessions made by the military authorities, the anti-military movement continued to grow in strength, and both politicians and the Press urged further reductions, some even going so far as to advocate cutting down the army by half and scrapping from ten to twelve divisions. This increasing agitation, combined with the urgent need for economy forced on the whole country by the losses suffered from the disastrous earthquake of September 1923, led General Ugaki, the present War Minister, to appoint a commission to investigate and report on the possibilities of further reductions. Commencing its labours in January 1924, this commission, under the presidency of Lieutenant-General Tsuno, the Vice-Minister for War, carried out extensive investigations, and by the end of July of that year was able to present a report giving the conclusions at which it had arrived.

Prior to the publication of this report it was generally believed in Japanese military circles that the commission would refuse to advise any decrease in the number of divisions, and that the reduction would be brought about by a change in divisional

organisation. The infantry of a Japanese division is organised on the basis of two brigades, each of two regiments, the last-named units consisting of three battalions each—a total of twelve battalions to the division. The general belief was that either the brigade organisation would be abolished, and that in future there would only be three regiments to the division, or else the regiments would be reduced to a two-battalion basis. Most military men believed that the former of these two alternatives would be the one adopted. It came as a considerable surprise, therefore, when it was learned that the commission had decided to advise the retention of the divisional organisation in its present form, and that, instead of altering it, it was going to recommend the scrapping of four entire divisions. The Military Council, which met subsequently to consider the conclusions reached by the commission, agreed to adopt their recommendations with certain modifications, and the Diet, later, expressed its approval of this and other measures recommended by the War Office and General Staff.

Semi-official announcements were made in the Press early in August 1924 outlining the proposed military programme, and these were confirmed by the more detailed statements issued in March 1925. The main features of these plans were the abolition of four divisions, the expansion of the air force, the improvement of modern weapons, the creation of a tank corps and of anti-aircraft units, and the promotion of research work in regard to the use of poison gas. A proposal to move an extra division and two cavalry regiments to Korea was put forward, but this was abandoned.

From all this it will be seen that, although the army has been reduced in size, the loss in man-power and in the number of main units will to a large extent, by the time the programme is completed, be made good by the increased efficiency of the newly-organised forces, and no actual saving in expenditure will be effected.

The military aspect of this programme is of considerable interest. In the carrying out of the 1922 reduction scheme no great change in military policy was involved. The actual peace establishment of the army was reduced, a few small and unimportant formations were disbanded; and the term of colour service was reduced by forty days. The main organisation remained untouched. Mobilisation in the event of a war would therefore have enabled Japan to put the same number of divisions in the field after the reduction as she could have done before it was carried out. In point of fact, the new field force would not only have been equal in numbers to its predecessor, but would actually have been superior to it in efficiency, as the military

authorities only countenanced the peace establishment reduction on condition that the decrease in personnel was counterbalanced by an increase in armament.

Under the 1925 reduction programme, not only the personnel of the army, but also the number of divisions on the peace establishment, was reduced. Presumably this means that the field army, in the event of a war, will be smaller than hitherto contemplated. Judging from what is written in the 1921–22 edition of the *Japan Year Book*, one would infer that the army is capable of expansion to the extent of having the number of line divisions (of which there were then twenty) doubled on mobilisation. With the army constituted as it was up to the time of the 1925 reduction, this would have enabled Japan to raise an additional twenty divisions on the outbreak of a war, thereby giving her a total force of forty-one divisions, when the Guards division was included. (The *Japan Year Book* says 'forty-one army corps,' but it is obvious that the editor has mixed up his English equivalents of Japanese military terms.) Owing, however, to the disbandment of four line divisions, the assumption is that now it will only be possible to mobilise thirty-three divisions on the outbreak of a war, *i.e.*, eight less than under the former scheme. (*The Jiji Shimpo* of August 1, 1924, stated that, under the proposed programme of reduction, a war establishment of thirty-two divisions was planned.) Taking 20,000 as the approximate war establishment of a division, this would mean a reduction of nearly 200,000, when the personnel of the administrative and technical services required for the feeding, equipping, and general supervision of eight divisions in the field is also taken into consideration. Presumably these 200,000 men were already marked off under the former scheme, and it may be inferred, therefore, that they will for some years to come still be available if required. The question arises as to how the authorities propose to use them in the event of a war. Will they be used for the sole purpose of replacing casualties, or will they be organised into additional formations?

Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson and other military writers have shown clearly that one of the lessons learned from the late war was that it is far more profitable and easy to keep existing units up to full strength in war time by means of drafts than it is to increase the number of units in the field. The Russo-Japanese War taught the same lesson. It is possible, therefore, that the Japanese authorities have this in mind, and that they will retain these 200,000 men entirely for the replacement of casualties. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Japanese in their war with Russia upset the calculations of their opponents by putting a *kobi* (second reserve) brigade in the field simultaneously with each division. The Germans worked

a similar surprise in 1914, when they put a large number of reserve army corps and other reserve formations in the field in time for the early battles. The other possibility is, therefore, that the Japanese military authorities contemplate utilising this man-power in some similar manner.

The writings of Clausewitz, as well as those of Sun and Wu, two Chinese strategists who lived two thousand odd years ago, insist on the importance of secrecy and of misleading one's opponents. The principles laid down by these masters of the art of war are closely studied by the Japanese, who have proved themselves to be adepts in carrying them out. It can, therefore, be regarded as certain that they will divulge no information as to their intentions until the proper time arrives.

In regard to the procedure followed in the reduction of the army, it is interesting to note that, although the 13th, 15th, 17th, and 18th divisions were the four selected for disbandment, some of the units of which they were composed have been retained. These divisions, as entities, no longer exist, and military units equivalent to four divisions in number have been scrapped; but this result has been achieved, not by the simple process of disbanding all the troops forming the four divisions in question and leaving the rest untouched, but by a general reorganisation of the army as a whole. Of the seventeen divisions to which it has been reduced, eight were virtually unaffected by the change; but the other remaining nine divisions underwent considerable changes in their composition. Some of their units were disbanded and replaced by corresponding units from the four divisions that had been scrapped, whilst others were reconstituted by having half their personnel discharged and the other half amalgamated with the residue of an equivalent unit which had undergone similar treatment. In the case of the 2nd (Sendai) division, for example, the infantry formerly consisted of the 3rd brigade, composed of the 29th and 65th regiments, and the 25th brigade, composed of the 32nd and 4th regiments.

Under the reorganisation and reduction scheme half the personnel of the 29th and 65th regiments has been discharged, and the remaining officers and men of these two regiments have been linked together in the reconstituted 29th regiment, whilst the 65th has ceased to exist as a separate entity, and its place in the 3rd brigade has been taken by the 4th regiment. The other infantry brigade (the 25th) has been disbanded and has been replaced by the 15th brigade from the 13th (Takata) division, one of the four divisions disbanded.

The infantry of the reconstituted 2nd (Sendai) division is therefore now the 3rd brigade, composed of the 29th and 4th regiments, and the 15th brigade, composed of the 16th and 30th regiments.

The principle on which the military authorities worke making this selection was to preserve, as far as possible, s units as had specially distinguished themselves in past wars, to abolish only those of comparatively recent creation. T also took territorial connexions into consideration.

This programme of divisional reorganisation came into op tion on May 1 last, when about 35,000 officers and men v discharged. Of these about 5500 were absorbed into the t corps, the military air force, and other newly-created or expan units; so the actual reduction in the army's peace strength about 30,000 in all. From this it will be seen that, whereas army programme of 1922 brought about a considerable reduc in officers and men without affecting the number of main u the new scheme reduces both the peace strength personnel also the number of divisions.

Although the disbandment of four divisions was the n important item in the reorganisation programme, the expan of the air force, which had been urged for some years past, also of considerable interest in that it showed that further s were to be taken to remedy what has, up to now, been a ser defect in the Japanese defence system.

At the present time the naval and military air services under two entirely separate administrations The army air f consists of six squadrons, five of which are in Japan itself, wh the sixth has its headquarters at Heijo (Ping Yang), in No Western Korea.

According to the 1925 programme these squadrons are to expanded into wings, and, in addition, two new wings are to organised. One of these, it is said, will be composed of bomb flights, whilst the other will consist of flights of fighting machi The other six wings will apparently be composed of both rec noitring and fighting squadrons. It is planned to complete programme of military aviation reorganisation and expansion 1931, by which time there should be eleven flights of fight machines, eleven of reconnaisance, four of bombers, and balloon companies This is, of course, additional to the naval force, about which more will be said later.

The decision to create a tank corps of two regiments, eac twenty tanks, was an entirely new departure. The organisat of the two units is to be completed by 1928, according to newspa reports.

Ever since England presented a tank of the old mark IV. t to Japan in 1918, experiments have been made by the milit authorities, who, after the Armistice, purchased some whip and small Renault tanks for experimental purposes, but, up now, there has been nothing in the nature of a tank corps.

In regard to the sum set aside, under the 1925 programme, for '. . . research concerning poison gas,' it should be noted that Japan is, and always has been, very averse from the use of gas as a weapon of war. In 1920 I carried out a six months' attachment at the Japanese Infantry School, which boasted of a research section, whose main duty was to carry out investigations in regard to new weapons of warfare. It was a noteworthy fact that, although the use of gas was lightly touched upon in the course of lectures, no demonstrations were given and no training in it was ever carried out. The same fact had been noted the previous year (1919) during a similar period of attachment to an infantry regiment. Still more recently, in the army manœuvres in October 1925, the absence of both gas masks and shrapnel helmets was a noticeable feature.

It is understood that masks and 'tin hats' are kept in store, ready for issuing, if necessary, on mobilisation in the event of war; but they are not included in the peace-time equipment of the Japanese soldier, and none was carried on these manœuvres, nor, to the best of my knowledge, is any practical training in their use given even now, though the latest Japanese field service regulations devote a few lines to the subject of protective measures against gas. So far as her army is concerned, there seems little or no doubt that the hope expressed by Japan, when accepting the invitation to participate in the Washington Conference, that the question of abolishing the use of gas would be considered, was made in all sincerity. The average Japanese army officer says quite frankly that he regards gas warfare as something bordering on barbarism, and this same view appears to hold good throughout Japan. When, for example, the chairman of Lloyd's made an appeal for the abolition of submarines at the time of the sinking of the *M1* in November last, Admiral Takarabe, the Navy Minister, told the present writer quite candidly that he considered that the use of gas was much more cruel than submarine warfare, and that, if the object of this plea was merely to make war less brutal, the first thing to do was to prohibit the use of gas. Similar opinions were expressed by the Japanese Press.

In view, therefore, of Japanese feeling on this matter, it can be taken as tolerably certain that, if ever another disarmament conference is held, Japan will do all in her power to insist on the abolition of gas warfare.

Returning once more to the subject of the Japanese army programme of 1925, other points of interest are the creation of an anti-aircraft corps of five companies, each equipped with four anti-aircraft guns; the equipping of every infantry company with six light machine-guns; and the sending of 1200 army officers to give military training to the students of middle, upper, and

normal schools throughout the empire. The organisation of the anti-aircraft corps is to take five years, and eight years are to be allowed for completing the light-machine-gun programme.

The disbandment of four divisions of the peace establishment, and the consequent assumed reduction of double this number available on mobilisation, the expansion of the army air force and increased efficiency in aerial defence, the adoption of tanks as weapons of war, these are the main points contemplated by the Japanese military authorities in their 1925 programme of reduction and reorganisation.

The plan to create an anti-aircraft corps is by no means untimely. The surprising thing is that it has not been done sooner. Thanks to the size and efficiency of her fleet and to her own strategical position, Japan is virtually immune from direct naval attack, whilst her army is more than a match for the land forces of any nation which she may be called upon to fight in the Far East. The one weak link in her defence system is the deficiency of protective measures against aerial attack.

Although her naval and military air forces have undergone considerable improvements in recent years—thanks largely to the aviation missions sent by Britain and France under Colonel Sempill and Colonel Faure respectively—Japan, compared with the other Great Powers, is still very deficient both in machines and pilots, and also in weapons for warding off attacks from the air. True, in the matter of aircraft-carriers her navy compares not unfavourably with Britain and America, the *Akagi*, for example, having a displacement of about 33,000 tons and a speed of 33 knots, with accommodation for some fifty machines below deck, as compared with H.M.S. *Furious* (20,000 tons and a speed of 31 knots) and the United States aircraft-carrier *Lexington* (35,000 tons and a speed of 33 knots). Like this American vessel, the *Akagi* is heavily armed—a fact which leads Mr. Frank C. Bowen to remark in the November number of *The Navy* that

> . . . both the Americans and the Japanese are nervous of the possibilities of air raids on their coasts, raids which might not make very much difference to the progress of a Pacific war, but which would certainly have a great indirect effect by tying up valuable naval material. It may be anticipated that this heavy armament of the two carriers will be made much of on both sides of the Pacific, and it certainly calls for a good deal of thought.

It is one of the curious characteristics of the Japanese fighting services that they are inclined to disregard the fact that, however good the personnel may be, it is important to keep pace with the times in weapons and mechanical appliances. Japanese history affords as many instances of this fact as there are illustrations in

our own history showing the British aptitude for entering wars unprepared. Up to now the Japanese, despite this failure to provide themselves with materiel as good as the personnel, have been successful, just as the British nation has generally managed to muddle through and come out on top; but the day may come when both countries may overstep the mark of overdependence on mere man-power in one case and on failure to prepare in the other. At the time of the Mongol invasion in 1274 the Japanese, although they expelled the invaders successfully, were at a disadvantage, owing to inferior weapons and old-fashioned tactics. Rather more than three centuries later Japan suffered a terrible defeat at sea when attacked by the Korean admiral Yi-Sun with his iron-plated tortoise-shaped craft, the forerunner of the armoured cruiser, against which the mere bravery of the Japanese sailors was powerless.

More recent instances of Japan's failure to appreciate that bravery alone is insufficient are to be found in the material inferiority of her fleet to that of her Chinese opponents in 1894, and in General Nogi's first costly attempt to storm Port Arthur ten years later without awaiting the arrival of his heavy guns. Although, in the first of these two instances, the inferiority of her warships made but little difference, Japan's victory, though well deserved, was largely due to the hopeless inefficiency of the Chinese, who, with the vessels at their disposal, should have been more than able to hold their own against the Japanese fleet.

These few examples, however, should serve to show that Japan's present rather backward condition in the vitally important matter of aerial armaments is probably traceable to the same characteristic that nearly led to her undoing when Kublai Khan attempted to invade the country six and a half centuries ago, and which brought about her defeat at sea in 1592, and, in more recent times, caused her to have greater losses against China and Russia than she need have incurred.

Japan is often accused of being militaristic, and people are apt to look askance at what they consider to be her super-armament; yet a careful study of the situation seems to point to her being armed for defence rather than for aggression, though certainly defence in this case must be regarded in its widest sense, rather like the military axiom which contends that the best method of defence is offence. It includes not only the defence of her own possessions, but also of adjacent territory in which she has vital interests of an economic, political, and strategical nature. In short, like America with the Monro Doctrine, Japan wants to be in a position to deter others from meddling in matters which might seriously affect her own interests.

Mr. Hector Bywater in *The Nineteenth Century* of Novem
last, dealing with this very point, wrote:

> Supreme within its own waters, and enjoying all the advantages position, the navy could count upon repelling the largest hostile force wh could possibly be deployed in the north-western sector of the Pac under existing conditions, in which case Japan's vital lines of communi tions with the mainland would be secure But for an operation of si magnitude as the invasion of Hawaii, or Australia, the present and pi pective naval resources of Japan would be altogether inadequate

What Mr. Bywater says of the Japanese navy applies equa well in the case of the army, whose whole training and compositi are based on the type of warfare which might reasonably anticipated on the Asiatic mainland near-by. Even its great si about which so much has been said, is really a myth, since ev before the recent reduction it had a personnel of only 216,0 Now it has only 186,000, even including the air force, which i component part of the army. Our own Army, exclusive of nat troops, is 206,560 (*vide Whitaker's Almanack*), and could not any stretch of the imagination be called too large. If to this added our native and Colonial troops and the whole of the Force—which must, in fairness, be done if a true comparison to be made—our Army is more than double the size of t Japanese army, and is, moreover, very much better equipped a mechanicalised.[2] The area guarded by the British troops is, course, considerably larger than that which the Japanese an has to protect, and it is natural, therefore, that our armed forces naval, military, and air—should exceed those of the Japanes but, in so far as her land and air forces are concerned, Japan, the facts and figures given above show, can hardly be regard as having an excessive strength, either in regard to the size of l fighting forces or their armaments.

If, therefore, a new disarmament conference is conven Japan is unlikely to agree to reducing any further the size either her army or her air force, unless something very unforese occurs, though she will almost certainly try to insist on t abolition of gas warfare. As for submarines, owing to th economy in construction as compared with other types of na vessels, it is very doubtful that either France or Italy will ag to abolish them; but unless they do so, Japan will certainly vo for their retention, though, as announced at Washington, she w advocate restricting their use to attacks on war vessels only.

As a result of the Washington Conference, she, in common wi other countries, scrapped a large number of vessels and cut do

[2] With the exception of a few dozen Ainus, and an even smaller number Koreans, the Japanese army is composed entirely of Japanese. There are Korean, Formosan, or other such native units.

very considerably the construction programme formulated in 1920, the deletion of auxiliary craft from this programme including one cruiser, thirteen destroyers, and twenty-four submarines—a total of thirty-eight vessels in all. True, this reduction in contemplated construction was not so great as, at first sight, it might seem to be, for, as Mr. Bywater has pointed out, the fifty-four vessels which formed the balance of the 1920 programme after this deletion have all been redesigned on a larger scale, so that the actual reduction in total displacement was only 13,395 tons. Nevertheless, in fairness to the Japanese, it must be noted that their naval men contend that hitherto they have had an unbalanced fleet, as formerly they concentrated on capital ships, and, for lack of funds, had to forego a proper proportion of auxiliary craft. Rightly or wrongly, they feel justified, therefore, in taking steps to remedy this defect by constructing a sufficient fleet of auxiliary vessels to adjust the balance.

In this connexion it is interesting to note that a Cabinet crisis was very nearly precipitated in November 1925 as a result of the Navy Department's demanding 320,000,000 yen, spread over a five-year period, to enable them to carry out the replacement of certain auxiliary vessels which will become superannuated shortly. These include the four pre-war light cruisers *Tone*, *Hirado*, *Chikuma*, and *Yahagi*, and, it is understood, about twenty destroyers, five submarines, three gunboats, and five special service boats. The naval authorities emphasised that the revised programme of 1922 contemplated giving a correctly balanced fleet by 1928 (subsequently extended one year on account of the earthquake), and that the strength then planned must always be maintained by replacing each vessel as soon as its age limit is reached. They argued that, unless this was done, the balance would be upset once more; hence their recent demands.

So insistent were the naval authorities on the essential need of carrying out this replacement programme for purposes of national defence—and so equally insistent was the Finance Minister that the country could not afford to sanction the necessary expenditure—that a Cabinet crisis was but narrowly averted by the personal intervention of the late Viscount Kato, the Premier, himself, who induced the two departments to make a compromise The outcome of this was that it was agreed to ask the Diet to sanction appropriations to cover the cost of constructing four new destroyers during the next three years, whilst discussion in regard to the rest of the contemplated replacement programme is to remain in abeyance till the end of the year, by which time the economic condition of the country may have improved, and a new Government may be in power. The possibility of a fresh disarmament conference taking place before that time may also have had something

to do with the decision to put off further discussion for twelve months.

Summing up the whole question of Japanese armaments, it is found, therefore, that:

1. *The navy*, which prior to the 1894–5 war with China was nothing more than an offshoot of the army, is 'supreme within its own waters,' but totally inadequate '. . . for an operation of such magnitude as the invasion of Hawaii or Australia'; and the naval authorities are determined not to let the composition balance, adjusted by the 1922–9 programme, be upset. This, when completed, will give a total of six battleships, four battle-cruisers, twenty-nine light cruisers, fifty-three first-class destroyers, fifty-one second-class destroyers, and sixty-four submarines, together with two aircraft-carriers and two aircraft-tenders, and a number of gunboats and other small craft.

2. *The army*, with a main force of seventeen infantry divisions and four cavalry brigades, and a total personnel of about 186,000 officers and men—reduced in size by four divisions and over 80,000 all ranks since 1920, when the War Minister, questioned in the Diet, put the peace strength at 272,000—is trained and organised for '. . . the type of warfare which might reasonably be anticipated on the Asiatic mainland near-by.'

3. *The air force*, not an independent body, but split in two (one half forming a branch of the army and the other half belonging to the navy), though much improved in recent years, is still inadequately provided with machines and pilots, and tends to form a weak link in Japan's defence system.

By 1929 the naval air force—now consisting of twelve flight squadrons (*chutai*) of sixteen machines each (of which eight are in reserve)—will have a strength of seventeen flight squadrons as shore establishment, together with the aircraft-tenders *Wakamiya* and *Hosho* and the carriers *Akagi* and *Kaga*, each with their complements of machines.

By 1931 the military air force—now comprising sixteen flight squadrons, varying in number of machines according to whether fighting, bombing, or reconnaissance, and organised as six squadrons (*daitai*)—will have a total strength of twenty-six flig[illegible]
[illegible]uadrons organised as eight wings (*rentai*), together wit[illegible]
[illegible]n companies.

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puts it—Japan is determined, out of '. . . imperative economic necessity,' to '. . . become supreme in the political and commercial world of Eastern Asia,' and wishes to be in a position to hold off any Power which threatens to interfere with her affairs in those parts. America and the other Powers forced Japan, against her will, to come out of her seclusion seventy years ago, and, moreover, taught her all the tricks of the trade. 'Japan,' as one of her delegates to the meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu a few months ago said, '. . . learned her lesson unwillingly, but learned it well; but just as she was getting really skilful at the game of grab, the other Powers, most of whom had all they wanted anyway, suddenly had an excess of virtue and called the game off.'

Realising the trend of the times, Japan saw that it was inadvisable to press for a continuance of the game; but, as land grabbing had been ruled out, she felt that the next best thing was to put herself in a position to ensure that she could obtain the supplies she required, even if she could not obtain the territory supplying them. To do this she had to take steps to guard against outside interference of any kind. The size, composition, and training of her fighting forces enable her to do this, and they are based on this principle.

M. D. KENNEDY.

BRITISH INDUSTRIES AND THE INDIAN MARKET:

A Reply to Sir Reginald Craddock

By his article in the January number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* Sir Reginald Craddock has done a service to all those in this country who, directly or indirectly, are concerned in satisfying the demand of the Indian market for British goods. As his statistics imply, those directly concerned number at least 11·39 per cent of the 40 per cent of the population engaged in manufacturing for the export trade Judged by the decrease in the present *volume* of British exportation to India as compared with 1913–14, that demand has diminished, is diminishing, and, in the interest alike of the manufacturing population at home and of the consuming population in India, ought to be increased.

Roughly speaking, Sir Reginald Craddock puts his case for greater British exportation to India when he says that, of the manufactured articles imported into India, the foreign, or non-British, proportion in 1909 was 12 per cent, in 1912–13 20 per cent., and in 1923–24 nearly 30 per cent. Conversely, the British proportion declined during that period from 88 per cent to 70 per cent. Even so, the exports of the United Kingdom to India in the fiscal year 1924–25 were valued at 133 crores (or approximately 90,000,000*l.* at the old par of exchange) out of a total Indian importation of 246 crores (or approximately 164,000,000*l.* for the year).

During the calendar year 1925 the whole exportation of the United Kingdom was valued at 927,000,000*l.*, as compared with a total importation of 1,322,000,000*l.* In view of such disparity between exportation and importation, it is clearly impossible to disregard disquieting tendencies in this country's greatest overseas market, for India's consumption in 1924 of goods from the United Kingdom was valued at approximately 90,000,000*l.*, as compared with Australia 61,000,000*l.*, the United States 53,000,000*l.*, Germany 43,000,000*l.*, and France 42,000,000*l.* Least of all is it possible to disregard such tendencies when the Indian consumption of British goods approximates to 10 per cent. of the foreign sales

on which, year by year, the United Kingdom depends to pay its gigantic foreign bills for food supplies and raw materials and to supply the necessities of existence to the population of its cities.

But the true measure of the menace to British trade in India is supplied neither by Sir Reginald Craddock's percentages illustrative of the increased foreign participation in the manufactured sections of India's importation nor by the too comforting statistics which show that, even in 1924–25, the United Kingdom still monopolised the supply of India's foreign demands to the extent of some 54 per cent., where twenty years earlier the British proportion of the trade had been little below 70 per cent.

The relative predominance of British goods which persists in India's import statistics even to-day may be merely a survival from the position of seeming invulnerability that British manufacturers had created for themselves in India's markets in the quite different economic conditions prevailing in the world of pre-war times. It is possible that Sir Reginald Craddock's prophecy of a cent. per cent. increase of India's consumption of oversea goods from 150,000,000*l.* to 300,000,000*l* in the next twenty years will be realised. But quite possibly it takes insufficient account of the strain which high post-war British prices are visibly imposing on the Indian consumer, with whom the purchase of British commodities was once an apparently ineradicable habit. Sir Reginald's prophecy may not be realised, and in large part through the fault of the British exporter. Or it may be realised through the medium of other importing countries and at the expense of the British exporter. If so, it will be owing to his failure to cope with the main current now causing so obvious a setback in the inflow of British goods, which for a century before the war expanded with almost monotonous persistence.

Between 1904–5 and 1924–25 India's *imports* increased in value, as measured in rupees, from 145 crores to 246 crores. Of that increase only 29 per cent. occurred in the second of the two decades comprising the war and post-war years. In effect the rise in the value of India's imports from 191 crores in 1913–14 to 247 crores in 1924–25 was no rise at all. It was insufficient to counterbalance the decline in the purchasing power of money in the interval. One-third of the sum, or 82 crores (nearly 55,000,000*l.*), was disbursed in paying for India's foreign requirements in cotton yarns and piece-goods. For that sum she received 56,000,000 lb. of yarn and approximately 1,400,000,000 yards of piece-goods as compared with the 44,000,000 lb. of yarn and over 3,000,000,000 yards of piece-goods which she received for a disbursement of only 66 crores (approximately 44,000,000*l.*) in 1913–14.

But there has been no parallel setback in the progressive development of India's *export* trade. After the vagaries of the

war and post-war years Indian exports have resumed the normal upward trend that has been so rudely checked in the case of imports. Between 1904–5 and 1924–25 the value of India's exports rose from 158 crores to 398 crores, or over 150 per cent., of which the second decade has been responsible for an advance from 249 crores (the figure of the exportation in 1913–14) to 397 crores (some 270,000,000*l.*) in 1924–25. The percentage rise during the second decade has been 59 per cent.

There has thus been the phenomenon of a rise in Indian exports which has out-distanced the rise in imports. Parallel graphs have given way on the chart to graphs separated by ever widening distances—distances which, in the world of commerce, have necessitated the settlement, or partial settlement, of unprecedented trade balances in 'India's favour' by the purchase of altogether unprecedented quantities of the precious metals. Thus, in 1924–25 a trade balance in India's favour of over 100,000,000*l.*—the corresponding figure in 1913–14 being 39,000,000*l.*—was settled in part by gold and silver purchases exceeding 62,000,000*l.* Such purchases were facilitated by the fact that gold was almost the only commodity the price of which in India had deteriorated as the outcome of the war. But, for the most part, the metals so purchased do not in India pass into circulation, and, by inflating the currency, enhance internal prices and so check the volume of exports. Average internal prices of many of India's exportable commodities remain fixedly at about 40 per cent. above 1914. The current year's Indian foreign trade is exhibiting the same, or similar, tendencies as the years 1923–24 and 1924–25, when on both occasions the trade balance favourable to India approximated to 100,000,000*l.*

The harmonious and hitherto correlated progress of India's export and import trade has been checked by the decline in the purchase of British imported goods which is the subject of Sir Reginald Craddock's article. The prices of British goods are too high for the Indian consumer. The State has continued, as long as possible, to purchase them through its Store departments, and the rich man continues his purchases almost as of old. But the poor man—and the State and even the rich Indian are now beginning to follow his example—has long been intently engaged on the quest for alternative, and cheaper, sources of supply.

In the manufactured cotton market Indian imports derived from Lancashire have decreased by some 1,500,000,000 yards, or about 50 per cent., since 1913–14. It is calculated that the consumption of *hand-woven* cloth produced on the Indian cottage hand-looms was from 30 to 50 per cent. higher in 1924 than in 1896. The average production of cloth—coarse but by no means cheap—in the Bombay cotton-mills increased from an immediately pre-

war average of 1,100,000,000 yards per year to nearly 2,000,000,000 yards in 1924–25. As Sir Reginald Craddock rightly says, the average Indian importation of cotton yarn from the United Kingdom in the four years before the war was 37,000,000 lb., as against 5,000,000 lb. from foreign countries. In 1924–25 the British quota had fallen to 20,000,000 lb. and the Japanese had risen to 32,000,000 lb. During the current financial year a further British fall to the vicinity of 14,000,000 lb. appears probable, while the Japanese importation will at least remain steady at last year's figure, if it does not rise.

As regards the most essential elements of the Indian's clothing, it is scarcely incorrect to say that the working-class struggle for a 'higher standard of living' in this country has thrown back the sartorial standards of the poorest classes in India by possibly thirty years. The coarse cloths of the hand-looms, of the Bombay mills, and of the Japanese importer have progressively taken the place of the much-preferred Lancashire commodity. Among vast sections of the population where, until 1914, it was possible to look forward to a new outfit as the various religious festivals came round, there is now no hope for more than one coarse dhoty and puggree a year, if so often. In Calcutta in November last the index figure for cotton clothing was still 137 per cent. above the standard of 1914, although raw cotton prices had broken to within 30 per cent. of pre-war prices, and the prices of Indian cereals and pulses forming the food of the common people—and the earning medium of 70 per cent. of them—were only 40 per cent. above the pre-war standard.

Sir Reginald Craddock has furnished indications of the trend in several branches of the Indian market in which British manufacturers are interested. I do not propose to add much to his information. The money value of Indian imports, like ancient Gaul, is divided into three equal parts—cotton-yarn and piece-goods, iron and steel and their derivatives, and a mass of heterogeneous articles in which food and drink are prominent. In the large iron and steel section, which specially interests the United Kingdom, the privileged competition of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, which enjoys a differentiation against British importers ranging from 10 to 40 per cent. *ad valorem* according to the commodity, and, in some cases, bounties into the bargain, has tilted the balance against the United Kingdom since 1924—although Belgium and other Continental competitors, with their low costs of production, have known how to outwit the not very experienced Indian firm.

During the past few months there has been an increasing disposition to go abroad for India's vast supplies of railway material, although the fact that all the Indian railways were built

to British specification must serve for many years to come as a protecting factor in this market.

The presence of a considerable English and Anglo-Indian population with a strong bias in favour of English stores and clothes involves a similar protection for the British manufacturer, notwithstanding the 'luxury' tax of 30 per cent. *ad valorem* now leviable on goods which, for the average Anglo-Indian resident in India, are necessities of existence. With an approximation to American and Canadian prices a similar preference for British goods would exist in a large section of the motor-car market in India. As matters are, India in 1924–25—despite recent improvements in the demand for British cars—took 3956 cars, valued at 450,000*l.*, from Canada and 3106 cars, valued at about 500,000*l.*, from the United States, as contrasted with 1682 cars, valued at 400,000*l.*, from the United Kingdom.

Clearly the British market in India is not even reasonably secure. Sir Reginald Craddock rightly minimises the danger that presents itself from the side of the development of manufacturing processes in India The talk of nascent industrialism in India is grossly overdone. Even the semi-industrialised population is limited to not much more than one million persons, mainly confined to the cotton, jute, and coal industries. At Jamshedpur, in Bihar and Orissa, a development worthy of the early days of Pennsylvania or Westphalia has produced an industrial settlement of 90,000 persons in a dozen years. But in direct and indirect sacrifices the Tata steel experiment is costing the Indian taxpayer and consumer a sum running into millions a year, and its success is still problematical. American and British skilled labour is still indispensable, and the prospect of imitation of the venture, either on the site of India's rich iron-ore deposits or in any other branch of industry outside the two familiar textiles, are scanty indeed The Indian coal industry is in a more unfavourable position than at any time during the past twenty years, and no progress has been found possible with the recovery of the considerable export trade lost during the war.

The worst enemies of British trade in India are to be found, not within the country itself, but in England. The high Indian general tariff of 15 per cent. *ad valorem*, with exceptions varying from 2½ per cent. to 30 per cent. *ad valorem* on the two extremes, may have slain its thousands of opportunities for the British trader, but high English costs of production have slain their tens of thousands The Indian Government is still in no way committed to a policy of Protection, whether against this country or any other. Nor is even the Imperial Assembly, which was elected by approximately 350,000 voters out of a population in British India exceeding 250,000,000. And for their authority to take effect in

onomic sphere, under the Montagu canon, Government and
ıbly must be in agreement. The Indian Government is
itted merely to a policy of 'safeguarding' on the advice
ariff Board, which has shown itself by no means slavish in
ing the overtures of would-be *protégés* at their face value.
the Tata enterprise might have been refused protection by
›ard if it had received clear and implicit instructions to
considerations of general public advantage against the
.ages hoped for by the firm in question. As a result of the
abrogation of the 3½ per cent. Excise duty on the product
Indian cotton-mills on leaving the weaving sheds, the
cotton industry now enjoys a clear protective Customs
s against Lancashire and Japan of 11 per cent. *ad valorem.*
e Indian Government regards this duty as a Customs duty,
is by no means certain that either the Indian Government
r the Assembly would consent to its incontinent increase—
nst the Indian consumer and the hand-loom weaver, who
a very important person in the Indian body economic—
to afford a basis for the protection of the Bombay mills
Japan and of the Lancashire mills against the merely
;ent development in India of the manufacture of higher
of yarns and better classes of cloth.
ia does not yet possess a general protective tariff, although
ar she is raising more than half her net revenue of 90 crores
Imperial sphere from Customs. That fact appears to
ute an *a priori* objection to the assumption of Sir Reginald
›ck that the Indian customs duties can be raised or lowered
ing to taste on the basis of a hard bargain for giving and
on both sides. For the bargain to possess the character
ıted by Sir Reginald something like one-third of the present
s of the Indian Government from Customs, totalling
000*l.*, would need to be foregone or made the subject of
nodation upwards or downwards in return for the transfer
back of the British taxpayer of half the annual cost of
ining the 60,000 odd British troops now employed in India,
›,000,000*l.* Presumably such an arrangement, accepted
lly for 'valuable consideration,' would involve on one side
e other some fixity of intention—a drawback for the Indian
ment were the future to hold in store either a marked
ıon or marked increase in India's central expenditure.
the arrangement is not necessarily for the immediate
:, I forbear to discuss the reception which the proposal
receive at the hands of a Chancellor of the Exchequer
use of Commons engaged, as at the present time, in
'ing from the whole field of British expenditure, approxi-
; to 800,000,000*l.*, just the sum which it is suggested they

should levy from the much-harassed taxpayer in the interests of British trade with India.

Probably, however, the Indian Government's objection to the proposal that Indian military expenditure should become the subject of economic bargaining would be found to be even more insuperable than the objection of the British Government on the ground of economy. If there is one obstacle more serious than any other which confronts those who are ambitious to secure the ultimate extension of the Indian Reforms, it is the insensibility of the Indian politician to the reality of the military problem in India. It has become an axiom with him that the present expenditure on the country's land defences of a sum falling short of 40,000,000*l*. is either a piece of bureaucratic extravagance or an example of the cynical exploitation of India in the interest of the people of the United Kingdom. India expends on the naval defence of some thousands of miles of coast the munificent sum of 100,000*l*. per annum, but even that fact, coupled with Lord Rawlinson's specially conducted tours of politicians along the Frontier from Peshawar to Dera Ismail Khan, with glimpses of the Razmak road, has never convinced a single Indian politician that his country, containing as it does nearly one-fifth of the world's inhabitants, is extremely lucky to get off with defensive estimates which are less than one-third of those of the United Kingdom after it has spent more than 10,000,000,000*l*. sterling on the defeat of its only enemy in Europe.

The necessity for maintaining the land defences of India against all comers forms, with such problems as the country's religious divisions and the means to be adopted to reconcile the interests of Indian rulers and Indian democrats in the new India, the static factor in every consideration of the future solution of the Indian riddle on lines other than the maintenance of firm British rule. The Indian Constitutional Commission, due for appointment not later than 1929, would scarcely thank the Government which, by bartering away a portion of its responsibility for the maintenance of India's defences, would go far to eradicate from the minds of the Indian politicians some of the none too hardy seedlings planted there by Lord Rawlinson's efforts. Incidentally it may be remarked that nothing happened either in Mesopotamia or during the Afghan and Frontier campaigns of 1919–20 to suggest that the brigaded British regiment is less essential than formerly to the stability of Indian regiments.

Possibly the above are the greatest difficulties facing the adoption of the ingenious scheme adumbrated by Sir Reginald Craddock in the January number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* for the assurance of the British trade position in the great Indian

market. Of additional difficulties arising from differentiation in India against other partners to the Imperial alliance, or against nations, such as Japan and America, which are on a footing of 'most-favoured-nation' treatment, it is unnecessary to speak in detail. The large Indian imports of sugar from Mauritius, of raw cotton from Kenya, and of motor cars from Canada will not assist the realisation of a scheme wherein the economic interests of the United Kingdom would be sharply differentiated from the economic interests of other portions of the Empire. Nor is it certain that the Indian politician distinguishes between the inhabitants of the United Kingdom and of the overseas Empire.

As regards the 'most-favoured-nation' clause contained, for example, in the Indian-Japanese Convention of 1905, it is clear that any scheme short of full-blooded Imperial Preference would involve the prior denunciation of this Convention with Japan, India's second largest customer after the United Kingdom and the buyer of one-seventh of all her exports Differentiation by India against Japanese imports of manufactured cotton might result in retaliation by Japan against her imports of Indian pig-iron, more especially as the Sino-Japanese iron interests are suffering under Indian competition, and even against Japanese imports of raw Indian cotton, which constitute more than four-fifths of India's exportation to Japan Such retaliation would raise in acute form the relative degrees of interest of the various provinces in the measures proposed While the Bombay mills would reap many of the benefits, the iron and steel interests—and in a less degree the coal and railway interests—of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa would be sufferers, and the former province would derive no benefit from the proposed remission of provincial contributions.

A similar consideration would arise at home in connexion with the benefits to accrue as the outcome of the assumption in the British Budget of responsibility for the maintenance of half the white troops which, in the opinion of so good a soldier as Lord Rawlinson, are indispensable to India's defence Lancashire's profit would be clear, in view of the fact that one-third of India's imports consists of cotton goods. But the iron and steel trades would be less certain of advantage, in view of Indian sentiment regarding the encouragement of those trades in India and of Sir Reginald Craddock's own postulate that Indian interests must be safeguarded throughout. As regards other, and scarcely less important, sections of the industry of this country, the advantages accruing to them would be essentially of the indirect type, resulting only from the general improvement of the country's industry.

It is a thankless task to criticise a proposal which has the merit that it directs the attention of the public at home to a field of

potential commercial and industrial expansion that is at once unlimited and, relatively speaking, neglected. In the light of unutilised but utilisable opportunity in India, the attention paid to commercial possibilities in Kenya and Mesopotamia is altogether disproportionate. More especially is the assumption of fresh responsibilities in Mesopotamia open to criticism if the responsibilities, and the unexampled opportunities, now ripening in India as the result of five generations of unremitting British toil are to be shelved. Fortunately there are indications—in the attention recently paid to the bitter cry of the Indian public services, in the appointment of a Viceroy possessed of strong agricultural sympathies and interests, in the promised nomination of a Royal Agricultural Commission for India, and in the present Viceroy's attempt to check centrifugal tendencies in Indian agricultural administration before the damage done by the Reforms is irreparable—that British responsibilities for the undemocratised and undemocratisable agricultural masses of India are not to be thoughtlessly relinquished in obedience to mere political theory. It is to be hoped that, *pari passu* with the renewed recognition of those responsibilities, there will become visible a clear recognition of the mutual services which Indian agriculture can render to English industry and English industry to Indian agriculture

Sir Reginald Craddock has alluded to the fact that, at present rates of exchange, the addition of one rupee per head to the annual purchasing capacity of the Indian masses involves a potential addition to the Indian demand for foreign goods of 24,000,000*l.* It is, indeed, certain that a large improvement in the Indian demand for goods would result from the smallest improvement in the standards of comfort and sources of income available to the mass of the Indian peasantry. Unfortunately, it is almost certain that hoarding on an unprecedented scale is now proceeding on the part of the Indian consumer as the outcome of high English prices, and that even an improved Indian demand would not greatly benefit the workers of this country unless more strenuous efforts were forthcoming to reckon with the chief factor in brisk sales. But is a serious effort being made by any Government Inency—apart from the limited publicity procedure of the Overin M Department of the Board of Trade—either to increase Indian of 1919 or to accommodate British prices to that demand? is less e exist at least two potential Indian demands which are regiments. of almost unlimited extension in response to energetic Possibly t treatment of the kind which Lord Curzon accorded tion of the ingearlier stage of their development, twenty years ago. n the January n if stimulated in connexion with cheap British e assurance of tian loans backed by British guarantee, would go

far to assist certain branches of British industry on to the level of full-time working. The one is the still scarcely awakened demand for improved agricultural instruments and methods, and the second is the repeatedly demonstrated need for large-scale railway construction, every mile of which would be an almost gilt-edged economic proposition.

India possesses 200,000,000 acres under cultivation. She utilises 30,000,000 ploughs, almost all of wood. Her wells number 2,500,000, the majority served by bovine cattle or human labour. The bovine cattle of the country number some 150,000,000, of which some 25,000,000, even under existing conditions, are redundant and represent an annual waste of 100,000,000*l*. per annum. The light imported metal plough, oil engines for pumping, water lifting, oil and seed crushing, and the spread of tube well borings would add incalculably to the output of the soil and the standards of comfort and leisure of the vast agricultural mass of the Indian consumers.

In 1923–24 India imported 2920 oil engines, and in 1924–25 3670 such engines, to the value of 600,000*l*. in each year. It is calculated that India could absorb not less than 500,000 small engines for water lifting, and possibly 150,000 larger ones for other purposes. The light imported plough is spreading, but it is estimated that, given standardisation and popularisation, the demand could be raised annually to between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000

Does the machinery exist whereby the demand for these improvements could be popularised and financed? The answer is: Yes, granted reasonable development of the Agricultural Department created by Lord Curzon and its co-ordination with the equally beneficent medium for agricultural progress created by the same master hand, namely, the Co-operative Societies, now numbering some 30,000 and utilising a capital exceeding 5,000,000*l*.

It is, I believe, true that the total sum spent annually on the Indian Agricultural Departments, both Imperial and Provincial, falls far short of 1,000,000*l*., while the great and once promising Co-operative movement has all but stopped short at the elementary point represented by the initial creation of primary credit societies. The Royal Commission on Agriculture may give a fillip to the languishing efforts of Indian administrators in both these spheres. Its report, however, will be long delayed, and in any case it can add little, if anything, to the information on these points which exists in embarrassing confusion in the public departments and their prolific and efficient literature.

The other Indian demand which is susceptible of immediate and more rapid satisfaction, and which could form the basis of an Indian or Imperial loan procedure no less secure than that based

on the assets of the cultivators in their Co-operative Societies, is that implied by the pitiable inadequacy of the existing Indian railway system to the needs of Indian trade and agriculture. India still possesses less than 40,000 miles of line for a country as large as Europe without Russia. Her 320,000,000 people are dependent upon railway communications not more extensive than those enjoyed by the 8,000,000 of Canada. Nearly twenty years ago the Mackay Railway Committee recommended the continuous annual expenditure of 12,000,000*l.* of pre-war money on new construction, and the Acworth Committee of 1921 led up to a decision on the part of Government and Assembly to spend 20,000,000*l* annually for five years on the work of rehabilitating the existing system after the deterioration of the war.

Neither the one recommendation and resolution nor the other has come within measurable distance of realisation. A large lag is exhibited each year as the rehabilitation programme proceeds, and the latest constructional programme to be formulated—namely, the construction of 2138 miles of line at a total cost of some 30,000,000*l.* by 1932—is scarcely more than, under ideal conditions, would serve to satisfy the clamant demands of a single province, namely, Burma

I should make it clear that no criticism of the Indian Railway Board is here intended. The progressive satisfaction of the Indian demand for railway expansion, like the satisfaction of the Indian ryots' latent demand for a better agriculture, could be satisfied only by heroic measures, necessitating the co-operation of Delhi and London, and involving resort to both the Indian and British loan markets and possibly to the Export Credits and Trade Facilities schemes formulated during and after recent Imperial Conferences Special measures would also be necessary for the expansion of personnel, which could be achieved only over a considerable term of years.

But schemes such as those here put forward appear to offer at the present time better hope of fulfilment and more certain rewards alike for the agricultural peasantry of India, which was almost unrepresented in the 350,000 votes cast at the last election for the Indian Imperial Assembly, and for British industry, than do proposals for the manipulation of India's still non-protective tariff along lines which may or may not commend themselves to the politicians, who, of late, have been too exclusively consulted where India's broadest interests have been affected.

GEORGE PILCHER.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MOSUL

FEW problems in recent times have been more misunderstood than that which is called the problem of Mosul. It has been a common fashion of writers, whether they were arguing for or against British commitments in an Iraq containing the Mosul vilayet, to treat the question which the League of Nations decided last December in favour of Iraq as one *per se*, that is, as one merely between Turkey and Iraq, or, rather, Iraq and Great Britain. Arabophil or Turkophil views were put forward in the Press skilfully or with the utmost fervour, noble and base causes were preferred to explain Britain's claim on behalf of Iraq before the Geneva Assembly, but rarely, if ever, was the significance of Mosul envisaged in its largest, and therefore in its most important, aspect. That significance, as I shall hope to show, is ultimately imperial, the questions of Arab pledges, of an Arab renaissance, oil in the Mosul fields, and the rest of it, although interesting, even fascinating enough in themselves, being, in the final analysis, subsidiary For Mosul represents in the first and last resort an attempt to rehabilitate that system of buffer States between the Mediterranean and India which was before the war an abiding axiom in our Eastern policy, and which in the years following the war completely collapsed, owing on the one hand to the assertion of the nationalist spirit in the Middle East, and on the other to the successful propaganda by the Soviet authorities of Russia. In other words, Mosul is not a departure from an accepted policy, nor is it the violent beginning of a new one; it is a phase in the reconstruction of buffer States on the way to India.

For Mosul unquestionably is the key which locks, or would unlock, the whole of British Middle Eastern policy. It is argued by no serious student of the situation that Iraq could stand for more than a year or two, either commercially or strategically, without the possession of the Mosul vilayet, which, with its mountains in the north, provides a workable strategic frontier, and, with its opportunities of growing such things as wheat and cotton (there is no need to mention oil), affords to the Baghdad exchequer a chance of the budget's being balanced. To assert that the Turks do not want back their Arab provinces is idle; for, whether that

is so or not, Mosul would be perfectly useless to them without Baghdad and Basra—an advance to the Persian Gulf would for them be a matter not merely of irredentism, but of commercial necessity. Nor was it, I think, in the British Government's scheme of things, had the Geneva decision been adverse to Iraq's claim, to remain in King Faisal's State after 1928. To defend such a shorn Iraq would have been intolerably expensive—to make of two vilayets (Basra and Baghdad) and a piece of another a paying proposition virtually impossible. If Geneva had failed over Mosul, it may be accepted that Great Britain would have failed over Iraq. And with Iraq evacuated, what would be the fate of Syria, of Transjordan, and of Palestine? Quite certainly France would evacuate Syria: it was, in fact, her belated recognition of the essential unity of Anglo-French interests in the Middle East that finally convinced Tewfik Rushdi Bey at the League of Nations meeting that the time-honoured policy of playing the Great Powers off against one another was at an end. Quite certainly, again, and to take a more homely example, it was because they perceived that the Zionist experiment was destined to be greatly endangered if British commitments in Iraq ceased in 1928 that such Liberal politicians as Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Alfred Mond supported the Colonial Office and Mr. Baldwin's Administration over the prolongation of British Middle Eastern mandates. There is, in short, no single one of these States that have been fashioned since the war on European plan that does not vitally depend on the existence of the others. Acknowledgment of this fact, it may incidentally be added, has been made at least by some of the heads of the Labour Party. In the Liberal Party, on the other hand, there are some wise-acres who still and at once profess enthusiasm for the Zionist experiment but indifference towards an Arab Iraq—an impossible conflict of emotions.

Now it is an insistent speculation (and one never answered) on the part of the student of the Middle East whether there exists in London a permanent consultative body of men informing the national policy in the Middle East, whether, that is, there is a body of experts who in the last resort have the final word upon British policy in Moslem countries, who see Islam, not in sections, but as a whole, and who really link up the policy in such centres as Cairo, Jerusalem, Amman, Jeddah, Baghdad, Teheran, Kabul, and so on. Iu other words, have British Governments since the outbreak of the war, or, to be more pertinent, since the collapse of a Tsarist and a friendly Russia, pursued in the Middle East a logical and consistent policy, a policy such as might be expected to emanate from an Imperial Defence Committee? Or have they regarded each problem separately, meeting trouble only as it came, without any longer view on the matter? The balance of

opinion (to which, however, no foreign observer can be persuaded) appears to doubt the existence of such a body, so contradictory, halting, and 'Micawberish' has the national policy been during the last eight years or so. But there is this fact to be remembered. A preponderating number of the men informing our Middle Eastern policy have had experience or first-hand knowledge of India; and it is from the aspect of England-India communications and of Indian security that this problem of Mosul and of the Arab States is most illuminatingly to be studied. The opinion of the Government of India is, admittedly, not necessarily that of the Colonial Office; it was precisely because men like Mr. Winston Churchill and Colonel T. E. Lawrence were inclined to treat the Arab question *per se*, and not as a part of the larger Indian question, that they have to some extent earned the rebukes of commentators and of less one-sided agents in the making of Middle Eastern history. But indubitably it is because of India, an India protected in part from an apparently avid Russia by the existence of the independent States of Afghanistan and of Persia, that this country has in the last few years attempted to add to these independent States Arab polities of her own making. In a sense, therefore, Mosul is not, as I said at the beginning, a phase, but a climax, in this policy of establishing buffer States. The dream of Lord Kitchener, who, incidentally, many years ago foresaw that within a State of Mesopotamia Mosul would have to be included, has come true: Turkey for the time being is lost to Great Britain, but tightly bound up on our side are the Arab provinces of the old Ottoman Empire.

It is extremely fortunate, in this connexion, that the Arabian peninsula—that part of Arabia which is to the south of the territories which Britain is endeavouring to keep on the right lines from the point of view of India—is now held by two men genuinely friendly with this country—Sultan Abdul Aziz Ibn Saoud of the Nejd and Imam Yehia of the Yemen. In some quarters the potentialities are ridiculed of the land which boasts little but the holy places of Islam, and deserts across which it is the ambition only of the most intrepid explorers to essay, and it is urged that complete disinterestedness should be shown to the eternally warring chieftains of this arid land. Happily, however, the British Government has achieved a timely realisation of the greatness of the Wahhabi movement and of its leader, Ibn Saoud, and has recorded its opinion of the Nejd's loyalty in the agreements of Bahra and of Hadda, which Sir Gilbert Clayton concluded last November with the ruler of Central Arabia. Similarly, this expert administrator is now treating with Imam Yehia—again with an eye on Aden and its bearing on India. The Government's later attitude towards the Arabian problem has, in fact, been

worthy of undiluted praise, for, aware at last that for long it had been backing the wrong horse, or had at any rate been ignoring the real winners, it has handsomely acknowledged its mistakes, and as a result the friendliness of the Arabian peninsula is, at least for the lifetime of the chieftains of Riyadh and of Sanaa, most conveniently guaranteed. And for more than the lifetime of any particular strong man in Arabia, it is, of course, impossible to guarantee anything.

North of that line, however, which is made by the northern boundaries of Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq, and Syria, things are by no means so satisfactory from the British-Indian standpoint. For the policy of Turkey cannot as yet be said to be anything but threatening, or at least alarming, to Syria and to Iraq; and the greater part of Central Asia, that is, Russian Turkestan, is completely under the influence of the Soviets. Now this is not the meet place to discuss what exactly is the policy of the Soviets towards the British in the Middle East: it may be that many of their activities in this part of the world which are being construed in an anti-British sense are capable of another and more worthy interpretation; but the total effect of their 'nationalist' policy is decidedly against the possibility even of such an Anglo-Russian co-operation as was achieved after 1907. That such a co-operation is essential to the permanent peace of the Middle Eastern world would seem to be self-evident, but the will to it cannot be wholly on one side. At the moment the most remarkable place (apart from China) in which to witness the divergence of British and Russian policies is in Persia, where the success of Riza Shah Pehlevi was acclaimed publicly by the British Minister in Teheran, Sir Percy Loraine. But in Northern Persia Russian influence is enormously strong, largely on account of the commercial hold it has on the upper provinces, and there are not wanting those who suggest that, if Persia is to remain safe from the British point of view, a pure and simple reliance upon the capacity of Riza Shah Pehlevi is, possibly, not the most effective way to secure it. The position in Persia, however, is most delicate, and needs to be watched with the closest attention. If the strength of the Teheran dictator—for that Riza Shah Pehlevi virtually is—is conserved intact, not only Iraq but Afghanistan and Baluchistan may well sigh with relief. And, from the narrow aspect, it is with Persia, wholly Shiah in religion, that Iraq, which is more than half Shiah, is bound to have increasingly cordial commercial and religious connexions, so that the Mosul decision very definitely concerns the eastern neighbour of King Faisal's State. In Persia, therefore, it is Britain's interest to see the new Shah go from success to success; whereas in Central Asia any participation would probably be profitless and more patently unwarranted.

The significance of the Mosul decision, again, may be looked at from the point of view of the future development of Iraq. It was widely supposed, mainly by those whose conception of Iraq was that Great Britain was in the country primarily in Arab interests, and only secondarily in her own, that one of the first things to be done would be to complete the Berlin-Baghdad railway, which passes through Constantinople and Aleppo on its way to the capital of the Abbasids. But that line is now as it was just before the war—it ends at Nisibin, nor is there any probability that its extension to the capital of Iraq will be seen in the near future. For what is probable is that Iraq will be developed in an imperial, not in a world, sense. Thus a line will be constructed, if oil is eventually found in the Mosul fields, from Mosul either to Alexandretta, in Syria, or to Haifa, in Palestine. In short, the intention is to keep the development of the new Arab lands to themselves rather than to link them up with existing systems, and to allow old-world schemes to re-establish themselves The decision, which was made manifest last year, not to continue the Basra-Baghdad railway on to Mosul and Nisibin, but to divert it north-eastwards to Kirkuk, was in itself significant. The new Arab States are to be made to work as well as may be with the older Middle Eastern States, but not at the expense of their strategical penetration. Nor can exception be taken to this resolution, in consideration of the way in which Germany, for instance, has, by means of the Junkers' Company, already established herself in Turkey and in Persia

Here a word may be interposed upon my treatment of this Arab subject. It may be an implication of this essay that the peoples of the Middle East are treated as if they were pawns in the imperial game, but that they are in fact regarded as such is, of course, very far from the truth. If, however, one is to emphasise the realist aspects of the vast British experiment in the Middle East, one inevitably understresses its human aspects That the Arabs of Syria, of Iraq, and of Palestine have perfectly legitimate aspirations is a fact which is extremely important, and upon these aspirations, and the Arabs' capacity to realise them, as firm States must be built as can be But what I wish here to lay down, and without any affront to the abilities or the hopes of the Arabs, is that in a limited but in a certain sense their future must always be in British keeping. Nor would one expect, once these countries cease to be a burden on the Exchequer of the mandatory Power, to see much popular outcry should it be later decided that complete evacuation and utter renunciation of these Middle Eastern commitments have become a dangerous policy.

But what are the chances of the enduring of this British-supported system of States between India and the Mediterranean?

Are the Arabs, the people concerned, and the British, the people concerning, of themselves sufficient to guarantee the integrity of the creation? Hitherto in British Eastern history there have been two, and only two, schools of thought, the one favouring an alliance with Russia, the other with Turkey. At the moment we have neither, and, what is worse, these two traditional enemies are in each other's arms. It is, moreover, the very subject under discussion, Mosul, which has locked these two new States, Bolshevist and republican, in defiant embrace. Can neither be detached?

For the present there would appear to be little hope of Russia's being won over to a harmony of thought with Great Britain, and the major effort on the part of this country is being made to achieve a *rapprochement* with Turkey. Now, however much one may sympathise with the Arabs of Iraq in their demand for Mosul, it is difficult, if one take an impartial view, not to sympathise also with Turkey in the loss of a preponderatingly Kurdish strip of territory. It is, patently, very annoying to have a subject race split into two, especially when the minor section is likely to be so much better governed. The end of the Kurdish question in indeed hard to foresee. That the Kurds have any definitely national spirit is extremely doubtful: that autonomy as their right is, or was, a unanimous demand is a belief shared but by few observers, even if it overcame the minds of the Angora Cabinet. But until this problem is softened it is not easy to see a resumption of the friendliness which Great Britain so consistently displayed towards Turkey in the nineteenth century, and which was from time to time (though, unfortunately, not at the most important time) reciprocated. Yet sooner or later the Kurdish problem must resolve itself either by the emigration of the Kurds in Turkey into Iraq or else by a wholesale Turkification of the Kurds north of the Brussels line. With either of these alternatives accomplished the way would be clear to a resumption of the closest relations between Angora (assuming that the Turkish capital is still Angora) and Whitehall. But there would seem to exist no short cut to the traditional road of Anglo-Turkish co-operation. It may even be that events will so develop in Russia as to produce first the greatest consummation to be wished in the Middle East, an Anglo-Russian collaboration.

In this hour, then, Great Britain stands, with the French mandatory Power and the Arabs, alone in the Middle East. The position which she took up on the creation of definite Arab States is, nominally at least, consolidated: Mosul is the end of this phase of construction. The problem now becomes one of making Iraq, with Palestine and Transjordan, self-supporting. That this can and will be done is not to be doubted. What

Britain can do in Egypt and in India and in the Sudan can be done also in the Middle East, once security of frontiers has been enjoyed.

The December decision of the League of Nations upon Mosul may, therefore, be regarded either as the end of the preliminary chapter of British work in the Middle East, or as the beginning of a new one that shall last—who knows how long ?

KENNETH WILLIAMS.

A NEW TURKEY

'TURKEY never was Turkey until now' is a frequent sentence in Turkish newspapers to-day. Certain it is that she is now realising herself and achieving her national soul. Of her own free will Turkey has given up empire in order to gain nationhood It is probably the first considerable example in history of a country relinquishing vast imperialistic dreams for an intense and narrow nationalism. When the war broke out the Turk, following the lead of Abdul Hamid, was a Pan-Islamist; in the early days of the war, under German tutelage, he became a Pan-Turanian; to-day he is settling down as a nationalist of the 'little Englander' type.

A new Turkey is emerging which is different from the old politically, educationally, economically, socially and religiously. Whether she will come through as a virile and forward-looking people remains to be seen; in any case, she is making the experiment with all the ardour and confidence of youth, and as a beginning she is abolishing the official use of the Moslem calendar—dating from the era of the Hegira (flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina A.D. 621), and based on a lunar year of 352 days—and substituting for it the Western calendar which dates from the birth of Christ.

Perhaps the most striking change in recent Turkish history is the political revolution. Here, as in so many other parts of the world, nationalism has thrust itself up with devastating results. The absolute rule of the Sultan, which was modelled on the lines of Oriental despotism, has been swept aside and a 'Western' republic set up Constantinople has been abandoned and Angora selected as the new capital. A clean cut has been made with the intrigues and interference of foreign diplomats of the Hamidian *régime*, and in its place a completely self-contained State has been organised. The substitution of Angora for Constantinople illustrates as well as anything else the cost that the Turks are prepared to pay in order to secure nationhood. Constantinople is not only one of the most beautiful but one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world; it is a great European port, open to all the influences of the outside world. Angora, on the other hand, is a small and

inaccessible mountain town on a branch railway, with not a single noble building, without any place large enough to house a Government department, with narrow, twisting streets, and with scarcely a vestige of modern sanitation. At first blush it would seem that a more unsuitable place could not be found for the fashioning of a new republic. But here, at any rate, the builders of the new State are free both from the hampering traditions of the past and from the interference of the Powers. Here they can shape their own course and work out their own political salvation. They want to become modern and Western; they feel that they can do it only by cutting themselves off, for a time at least, from all Western contacts.

The New Turkey is determined to shake off once and for all the parasites who battened upon her during the Hamidian period. Selfish and unscrupulous concessionaires, often Westerners, gained control of the mining, railroading, and banking resources of the country while protected from the ordinary burdens of taxation by the Capitulations Sir Mark Sykes said in the House of Commons. 'The sinister effect of European financiers on Turkey has had more to do with the misgovernment than any Turk, young or old.' While Professor John Dewey of America, after his recent visit to the Near East, said 'One becomes disgusted with the whole affair of guilt. Pity for all populations, majority and minority alike, engulfs all other sentiments—except that of indignation against the foreign Powers which have so unremittingly and so cruelly utilised the woes of their puppets for their own ends.' The removal of the seat of government to Angora means the end of all that.

The new constitution, the new parliament, courts and codes of law, all bear the marks of the new *régime* Power no longer resides in a book, nor in a Caliph as the successor of the Prophet, nor even in an autocratic Sultan. As in the American Constitution, it is a case of 'We the people' have the power Turkey has made a complete *volte-face* from the past to the future, from the East to the West, from despotism to democracy, from imperialism to nationalism.

The New Turkey is determined to be up to date One change, seemingly insignificant, is characteristic of the whole movement, the new Turk has doffed his Oriental, religious fez and donned a European hat. Only a few years ago the hat was the symbol of the despised and conquered Christian infidel, while the fez was the badge of Muhammad's chosen people. As one of their most brilliant leaders in the Cabinet said:

Ten years ago if a Turk wore a hat on his head, his head would have been cut off. But see what we are doing to-day. . . . Turkey as a nation is being born in a day. She is not facing toward the East as Persia.

Rather has she turned to the West. It is from foreign influences have gotten the ideas that inspire our present effort. Our f toward the West.

No hat with a peak or visor could be worn by a good previously, because the peak would prevent his head t the floor in prayer. But the peaked cap has now bee compulsory for the police and for naval officers, and Weste are increasingly the fashion for all.

The spearhead of this upthrusting nationalism is Mı Kemal Pasha, a Turkish Washington and Roosevelt roll one. A statesman, a soldier and a born leader of men, h of the most forceful personalities in contemporary politics in Salonica forty-four years ago and trained as a soldier, became aide-de-camp to the brilliant but brutal Enver Be fought with distinction in the revolution against the Su the Tripoli and Balkan wars, while in the Great War he w by capturing the British force under General Townshend and by rolling back the British offensive at Gallipoli. P no general on the side of the Central Powers had a mc sistently distinguished record. Previously the Turks were accepting defeat after defeat and growing accustomed notion that they could not hope to stand up to the Allied Then Mustapha Kemal suddenly emerged, and, like Washington, he carried everything before him, and was ev to dictate terms to the Lausanne Conference. He sum his position as President of the Turkish Republic in an delivered in August last :

The object of the revolution, which we have already set on footing and which we are still carrying on, is that of giving to the of the republic a social organisation completely modern and pr in every sense It is imperative for us to discard every thoug does not fall in line with this true principle. All absurd supersti prejudices must be rooted out of our minds and customs. . . . It ful for a civilised nation to expect help from the dead. I can neve the existence in the bosom of the civilised Turkish society of those minds which seek their material and moral well-being under the some sheik who may act contrary to the clear light of modern sc art.

Fellow-countrymen, you know that Turkey can never be a co dervishes and sheiks and their disciples. The only true congre that of the great international confraternity of civilisation.

It is said that we Turks have a national costume. I have he my eyes in this crowd a person who is wearing a fez wound roun green turban. He has on a vest with sleeves and over that a mine. How can a civilised man consent to render himself ridiculo eyes of everyone by decking himself out in such outlandish riggin employees of the Government and all our fellow-citizens will reform such anachronisms of their dress.

By her great accomplishments the Turkish nation has proved that she is a nation essentially revolutionary and new.

This upthrust of political nationalism which led the Turks to decide to be masters in their own house also led them to see the impossibility of retaining the Caliphate. First the Sultan, as the symbol of autocratic imperialism, had to go, and Abdul Mejid was appointed Caliph, or Sheik-ul-Islam, to carry on the religious functions sustained by the Sultan; but in eighteen months the Grand National Assembly abolished the Caliphate and expelled Abdul Mejid and his family from Turkey. Such a serious step meant the loss of that solidarity which a common religion gives to a people, but the new Turks decided upon it in the interests of complete national selfhood.

The inevitable sequel to the abolition of the Caliphate and the disestablishment of religion was the secularisation of education and the complete control of the schools by the Government. Every detail of school work must be regulated, even to the dates for examinations and for the opening and closing of school terms. A proposal is now under consideration to require the use of uniforms by teachers and students in all schools, whether Government or private. No subject can be taught, no teacher employed, no examination conducted, and no school premises used without formal sanction.

It is not unnatural to find that no religious instruction is permitted in school hours; religion is separated from the other subjects of the curriculum. This ban on religious teaching applies as much to Moslem teaching as to Christian, and is largely due to the fact that in the two countries which the Turks regard as models—France and the United States—secular systems of education are in vogue. The Turks fear lest an unprogressive religious hierarchy existing in their midst, and functioning through the Moslem schools, should prevent progress or interfere with the modernisation of Turkey Above all else, Turkey is determined to secure her place as a modern State in the eyes of the other nations on a basis of equality with them. This can be achieved, they believe, only by the complete separation of Church and State.

The economic development of Turkey is not so dramatic as the political, but it is none the less very marked. Everyone knew that the Turk was a good soldier and farmer, but it was asserted with confidence on every hand that he would never make a business man: he had none of the instincts of the shopkeeper or the accountant. In support of the contention it was pointed out that all the business and banking of Turkey was in the hands of Armenians and Greeks.

It has been no little surprise, therefore, to note the way in

which the Turk has set himself to the task of developing industry in his own land. The ancient and corrupt system of farming out the taxes has been abolished, the exports are steadily increasing and the markets becoming stabilised, farming is developing under Government encouragement; thousands of tractors are at work on the new model farms, and experimental agricultural stations are being established; the railway and steamship services are steadily improving; and the news, postal, and telegraphic arrangements (previously under foreign direction) are belying the predictions of the pessimists. Perhaps the Turks will never become a great commercial people, but they are showing that they can at least hold their own with the nations around them.

Socially the upheaval has been much more marked. Perhaps no change is more obvious to the casual observer than the changed position of women. The veiled woman, the dominance of the harem, the practice of polygamy and concubinage are fast disappearing. Unveiled faces were rarely if ever seen in Angora before the war; to-day in that city the wives of the members of the Grand National Assembly, headed by Latife Hanoum, the accomplished and enlightened wife of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, dress in European garb, go to the cinema with their husbands, and have their 'at homes' where men and women freely mingle. In Stamboul more than three-quarters of the Moslem women are now going unveiled through the streets. Schoolgirls move about unchaperoned without comment. Husbands and wives, young men and young women, go for outings together in a way unknown before. The partitions and window curtains that previously screened the women's portion of the tramcars have been removed, and women may now be found sitting in any part of the cars. The women, revelling in their new-found liberty, are protesting against polygamy, and before long it will have disappeared, though the farcical divorce laws still remain. The younger men, with Western notions, are beginning to look upon the Moslem practices of polygamy and divorce as hopelessly out of date. The women themselves are demanding and securing larger opportunities. They are entering the universities, the legal, medical and teaching professions, they may even be seen driving motor cars. The Turkish feminist movement finds expression in such papers as the *Women's World*, which wages unrelenting warfare on all the discriminations against women in social life. The Turkish Women's Association has applied for permission to give weekly lectures in the mosques on such subjects as the position of women and the management of the household, while the minimum age for marriage was fixed by law four years ago as sixteen for girls and eighteen for boys. This represents a revolution in

itself, for boy and girl marriages have been the custom in Islamic lands from the days of the Prophet, and the whole system is deeply embedded in Moslem tradition and practice.

Turkey, like so many other lands to-day, has a youth movement known as the Ojak or Turkish Hearth. It is the secular counterpart of the Y.M.C.A., and aims to supply for the youth of both sexes physical, educational and social culture, through classes, lectures, entertainments and recreation. Some 25,000 young folk have already joined its membership, and there has emerged in Turkish life a totally new interest in athletics, and an encouraging measure of success has already been achieved. A football team and some other athletes were sent to represent Turkey at the last Olympic Games, and several international football matches have been played and won. Turks competed last year in the championship tennis tournament, and a Turk was one of the winners in the doubles. The social life of modern Turkey is seething with new ferments.

Of all the changes in Turkey perhaps none will prove to be farther reaching or to have more widely felt repercussions than the new attitude to religion. In her determination to be politically up to date she abandoned imperialism, and in her resolve to be scientifically up to date she is severing her connexion with Islam. It was of her own free will that the new Turkish Republic abolished the Caliphate and expelled the Caliph. By a series of steps Islam as the official religion of Turkey was disestablished and disendowed. Probably the Islamic faith has suffered no more staggering blow since the Crusades. The Grand National Assembly, feeling that the Caliphate might constitute a drag upon the wheels of progress, or even form a rallying point for reactionaries, repudiated both it and the whole religious system for which it stood.

Previously in Turkey, as in all Islamic lands, Church and State were one, religion and national sentiment were synonymous terms, and an apostate from Islam was regarded as a traitor to his nation. To-day there is a demand for a purely secular nationalism, completely divorced from religion. Formerly the Government went so far as to arrest, fine, and even imprison, any who were lax in their observance of Ramadan, or the month of fasting. During that month the Government sent out special preachers to all parts of the country to deliver courses of sermons in the mosques; while the Sultan, in his official capacity, sent costly presents every year to the holy shrine at Mecca.

In contrast to that it is now officially affirmed that religion is a purely private matter. The Government publicly announced that it is not concerned in the observance of the fast of Ramadan, the Mecca pilgrimage, or any other purely religious observances.

Government *qua* Government takes no cognisance of religion. The abolition of the office of Sheik-ul-Islam has resulted in the absence of any direct representation of Islam on the National Council. The mosques have been placed under the control of the Commissioner of Public Instruction. The religious schools, or *teykès*, have been closed, and the Dervish monasteries have been suppressed.

This anti-clerical offensive is inspired partly by political and rationalistic motives, but partly also by sheer cupidity. The situation is similar in many respects to the position of affairs in the England of Henry VIII. Many of the Dervish orders are rich, while the new masters of Turkey are sorely pressed by financial difficulties. Their programmes of naval and military expansion, of railway construction, and of other internal developments involve large expenditure. It is hardly to be wondered at that, in the circumstances, the eyes of this aggressively 'lay' Government have been turned with sinister purpose upon the Dervish monastic establishments. It should in fairness be stated that the Government has reason to believe that these schools and monasteries may become centres of political reactionism, and that in the interests of the republic itself these places are best out of the way.

One party in Turkey to-day—the one at the moment dominant—is frankly anti-religious. They believe quite sincerely that religion in general is an obstacle to progress, that the Moslem religion in particular is a hindrance to a new State determined to secure recognition as a great and modern Power. This party goes so far as publicly to express regret that their fathers gave up their old nature-religion in exchange for Islam; that Islam is rooted in Arabian mediævalism, and Turkey's acceptance of it has put her outside the stream of modern progress. One Turkish editor has written, 'No thinking Turk can be a Moslem nowadays.' It is quite possible that the extremist propaganda of this party may overreach itself and lead to a reaction, for the man in the Turkish street has not travelled as fast or as far as these leaders. A country that has been for centuries deeply religious cannot at a stroke become convincedly atheistic This radical party is not yet large, but it is active and growing, and at the moment it is in the saddle. The average Turk is still on the whole a religious-minded man, but his attitude towards religion is changed once and for all. Nearly every Turk to-day regards religion as a purely personal matter, and, though he himself may be far from atheism or even agnosticism, it is a new thing in Islam to have religion regarded as a matter of individual choice. Probably no change is likely to go deeper, and events alone will show whether Muhammadanism can survive in this atmosphere.

This new attitude towards religion requires as a logical corollary Government control of schools and the secularisation of all school curricula. Any religious instruction that is given must be given privately and out of school hours. This is by no means generally enforced in Turkey, but it is the logical outcome of the Government position, and would no doubt become at once effective but for the loyalty of great numbers of moderate people to Islam. It is noteworthy that freedom of worship is accorded to all men whether they profess the Moslem or any other faith.

The inevitable result of the changed attitude towards religion has been a slacking off of attendance at mosques, a serious decline in the numbers going on pilgrimage to Mecca, and a general lowering of religious standards. The *Sharia*, or Sacred Law, has been jettisoned, and the new legal code of the republic is no longer based on the Koran, as God's full and final revelation, and the traditions of the sixth-century tribal life in Arabia, but upon the Code Napoléon and the best practices of the West.

The general acceptance of Western education and the results of modern science led inevitably to the application of the critico-historical method to the Koran and the traditions. The canons of criticism which for so long have been focussed upon the Bible are now being brought to bear by Moslems themselves upon the sacred writings of their faith. This is revealing the fact that there are variant readings and other textual discrepancies in a book whose authority is bound up with the statement that it was dictated by God and is verbally inerrant. These discoveries are sapping the very foundations of Islam, and already great cracks are appearing in the superstructure.

Investigation has not stopped short at textual criticism of the Islamic scriptures. The Turks themselves are beginning to look into and examine the character of Muhammad as no Moslem ever dreamed of doing before. The very sources on which his first great biography were based are being challenged, and many are openly saying that they can no longer believe that the great collections of Muhammadan tradition, which profess to give the words and acts and life of Muhammad in Arabia, are to be relied upon as trustworthy. All the 'sources' are being put into the crucible, and the Prophet's life is being submitted to a searching investigation with all the aids of modern psychology and literary criticism. It is precisely this close and scientific scrutiny which neither the Koran nor the Prophet can endure.

A. M. CHIRGWIN.

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MIXED TRIBUNALS OF EGYPT

WITH the World Court struggling for existence, and an assertive faction of the American Senate radically opposed to any such offspring of the League of Nations, the fiftieth anniversary of the Mixed Tribunals of Egypt becomes an event of the greatest moment. Inaugurated as an experiment in February 1876, this international institution has weathered the various storms through which Egypt has passed during the last five decades. Accepted with misgivings by Europe, it is to-day the Ark of the Covenant of the foreign communities established in the Land of the Pharaohs. Bitterly opposed by France at its inception, it is now a palladium of French culture in the Near East Looked upon by Lord Cromer as an excrescence, the changed political status of Egypt has converted British criticism and distrust into sympathetic co-operation and moral support.

It is in no sense a case of

> A monster of so frightful mien,
> As, to be hated, needs but to be seen ,
> Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace

On the contrary, stronger to-day than at any other period of their history, the Mixed Courts well deserve the praise which is now being showered upon them. Nor do they constitute an extraneous organism. There is nothing exotic about them. Egypt is the land of contradictions. There the expected never happens ; the incongruous is the commonplace and the impossible the order of the day. The Mixed Tribunals are really indigenous to such a soil. They have found their proper environment in such a landscape. To grasp the true inwardness of their genesis and evolution one has but to study the topography of the land where their writ runs. To understand what they really are it is necessary to tear aside the veil of the past and to survey the structure of Islam. When this has been done, and not until then, we can trace the origin and follow the development of that institution which Sir Maurice Amos, the former Judicial Adviser of the Egyptian

Government, so aptly described as, 'with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church, the greatest international organisation in the world.' But in making these soundings it is not necessary to go back to the days of the Prophet. It suffices to begin with the fall of Constantinople.

Long before the Crescent had supplanted the Cross upon the dome of St. Sophia Muhammad the Conqueror had resolved to transfer his capital to the commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine I. The city of the Cæsars had, however, lost a third of its population owing to the disasters of war. It was necessary that this void should be filled. Muhammad therefore issued a firman enjoining all Greeks dispersed throughout Roumelia and Anatolia to take up their residence in the capital.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople had been vacant for two years when that city fell Muhammad sent at once for the Greek leaders and spoke to them along these lines 'It is immaterial to me whom you choose for your Patriarch. Elect anyone who suits you and consecrate him according to your ancient usages But do so at once This vacancy is intolerable. Put an immediate end to it Your nominee will have my support, but delay, and I shall have your heads'

The choice of the synod fell upon a monk named Gennadius. The Sultan bestowed a precious sceptre on the new Patriarch, and said to him · 'Be you the Patriarch, and may Heaven protect you. Enjoy all the rights and privileges that your predecessors have enjoyed before you.'

Two days later orders were dispatched to Joachim, the Armenian Bishop of Brousa, Asia Minor, directing him to take up his official residence at Constantinople and to bring with him 200 Armenian families. At the same time Moche Capsali was recognised as the head of the Jewish community.

And there was method in this madness. The Turk is a fighter, not a tradesman; a soldier, not an artisan, a warrior, not a craftsman The Conqueror therefore wanted geese to lay golden eggs for him He wished to have within easy reach a body or bodies of men who could supply the sinews of war for his legions. He was most anxious to have the stability of his budget assured by non-combatants who would be only too willing to pay liberally in return for the luxury of not fighting In other words, the public polity of Islam favours the segregation of the population of a given area into drones and workers. And in furtherance of this plan Muhammad, far from seeking to exterminate the conquered peoples or to convert them to his faith, sought to organise them into distinct, compact and homogeneous entities.

Such being the attitude of Islam towards the vanquished, it necessarily follows that everything was done towards streng-

thening the authority of the chiefs of the various communities. Their religious leaders saw their prestige enormously enhanced. But they became veritable hostages for the good behaviour of their flocks. When the victors wanted money they simply advised the Patriarch how much was needed, leaving him to apportion the contribution and to collect it as he saw fit.

The prerogatives of the Œcumenical Patriarch are set forth at length in the *Hatti-Sharif* promulgated at the time of the installation of Gennadius. As the head of the Greek community, he was granted judicial powers which extended, among other matters, to actions at law between two or more Greeks and to cases affecting marriage, divorce, legacies and testaments. Criminal jurisdiction was also conferred upon him. Similar authority over their flocks was likewise given to the Armenian bishop and to the Jewish rabbi. And when, in time, it was ascertained that there were more than three non-Muhammadan entities inhabiting Ottoman territory, all of these religious sects were made into autonomous bodies.

But before the advent of the Turk the Byzantine emperors had granted charters to the Venetian and Genoese traders who did business with them. The Genoese tower of Galata recalls the days when that spot formed a sort of Italian citadel opposite the capital of Constantine. Amalfi, Pisa, and other Italian cities had also been granted similar privileges by Muslim potentates long before Turkish hegemony had been established. These 'diplomas,' to use their technical term, were called 'capitulations,' not because they implied surrender, but because they were divided into articles or *capitulæ*.

When Suleiman the Magnificent saw that foreign traders were drifting into his country he arranged with Francis I. of France to grant 'capitulations' to the latter monarch. This treaty—for such it was in fact if not in name—authorised the French to appoint consuls in Turkey, and gave them jurisdiction over French subjects in all civil and criminal matters and according to French laws. This occurred in 1535. In 1583 England obtained similar 'capitulations.' And from time to time like grants were made to other Powers. It thus came to pass that when the Mixed Courts were created fourteen nations enjoyed capitulatory privileges enforceable in Egypt.

As a consequence of this there were at the end of 1875 fourteen different foreign courts meting out justice on Egyptian soil. There were also thirteen non-Muhammadan Ottoman communities which had judicial systems in working order. In addition to this, the *Makhama Sharia* was the ordinary common law court; and various Muhammadan tribunals completed this judicial network. In a word, the Turkish emblem flew over a land, and not over a

people. Law was personal, and not territorial. All of this springs from the fact that Islam knows nothing of geographical frontiers. It makes brothers and fellow-citizens of all who subscribe to the creed of the Prophet. It accepts religion as a definite test of nationality. The flag follows the Quran, but by a fiction of the law the national colours exist only for those who accept the Quran as the word of God. Such principles gave rise to confusion, worse confounded in a country which, like Egypt, welcomed the whole world to partake of its incomparable wealth.

Just when Europe was recovering from the effects of the wars of Napoleon the beneficent autocracy of Muhammad Ali called the attention of the Occident to the prosperity of Egypt. A few years later the active propaganda carried on by M. de Lesseps in favour of his Suez Canal project brought the fertility of the valley of the Nile prominently before the public eye. When the newspapers were thus full of this subject the American Civil War began. The blockade of the ports of the Southern Confederacy caused the value of Egyptian cotton to go up like a rocket. But it did not come down like a stick. On the contrary, peak prices prevailed during the entire four years of that titanic struggle. While the genius of Robert E. Lee was still holding at bay the millions of the North, Ismail Pasha became the ruler of Egypt. History has dealt most unfairly with that monarch. It has seen his faults through a magnifying glass. His virtues it has brushed aside with a smile. And yet he had the vision of a statesman, the creative genius of an empire builder, and that courage of his convictions which spells leadership. He lost because he over-bet his hand. But he played his cards with that degree of skill and daring which a more propitious Kismet could readily have turned into a lasting triumph.

Ismail's Prime Minister was Nubar Pasha, an Armenian of outstanding ability. He and his sovereign both saw that a system of 'personal law,' which admirably responded to the purposes of Muhammad the Conqueror, did not harmonise with the civilisation of Ismail the Magnificent. With financiers, speculators, adventurers—and adventuresses, too—flocking to Egypt to bask in the light of the Aladdin lamp, fed by the high price of cotton and the boom caused by the opening of the Suez Canal, it was clear to Ismail and to Nubar that something had to be done to create a species of 'territorial law' which would settle the disputes born of the conflicting interests of such a gathering.

The original plan was to place all of the inhabitants of Egypt, natives as well as foreigners under the jurisdiction of a mixed or international court made up of foreign and native judges. This part of the proposition, writes Lord Cromer, fell to the ground owing to the strong opposition which it encountered at Constanti-

nople. Nevertheless, the Khedive and his Prime Minister d their utmost to convince Europe that it could well afford to ve in the proposed courts penal jurisdiction over foreigners. To th however, the capitulatory Powers turned a deaf ear. Negotiatio had therefore to be centred upon giving the new judicia practically nothing but civil and commercial jurisdiction

And after all, that was where the shoe really pinched. T foreign residents, as a general rule, either behaved so admirab that they violated neither the letter nor the spirit of any penal la or they were such consummate rascals that they knew too w how to flirt with a statute to fear judge or jury. Accordingly, as practical proposition, Ismail and Nubar were not interested much in forging prison bars as they were in getting civil cour which could evolve order out of chaos and eliminate diplomat pressure This form of moral persuasion was for long years o of the ten plagues of modern Egypt. Because there were courts competent to grant redress to their nationals, the cha celleries of Europe often intervened in the prosaic part of a ba debt collector. The excess of their zeal carried them so far th it is said that they sometimes supported claims which were utter devoid of merit. And at other times the blindness of the partisanship is believed to have caused them to exaggerate beyo all reason other demands which had a modicum of justice in the favour

As soon as the Egyptian authorities knew definitely along wh lines there was a fair prospect of success a plan was elaborat which called for the creation of an international court which wou command the confidence of Europe It was proposed to grant it competence to try all civil and commercial suits between (foreigners and Egyptians or the Egyptian Government, (foreigners of different nationalities, and (3) foreigners of the san nationality if their litigation affected real estate This meant th if an Englishman desired to bring an action against a Frenchma or against an Egyptian or the Egyptian Government, his clai would be presented to the proposed international judiciary.] on the other hand, his grievance were against an Englishman, a no one else, the new courts could not be resorted to unless t dispute affected real estate situated in Egypt.[1]

The negotiations took several years. One by one the Powe consented For a long time, however, France held out. Tl French Republic fought the plan to the last ditch. Englar accepted the proposal in a brief dispatch which forms to a lar

[1] The jurisdiction of the Mixed Courts in civil and commercial matters still confined to these limits. Their competence is, however, extended to '*co traventions*' committed by foreigners, to contempt proceedings against anyo who may interfere with their writs, and to criminal jurisdiction in bankrupt cases.

extent the corner-stone of the Mixed Courts. It may well be cited in full.

Sir Henry Elliot to Nubar Pasha

Thérapia, May 26, 1873

Sir,—I have the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have intimated to me that they are prepared forthwith to accept the proposed arrangements respecting the judicial reforms in Egypt, and to sanction the report of the International Commission

The question which was raised respecting the nationality of the judges to be named for the new tribunals received the attention that it deserved from Her Majesty's Government, who concur in the views of the Khedive as to the importance of avoiding giving any preponderance to one nationality over another in the selection of the judges, either in constituting the tribunal or in supplying the vacancies that may from time to time occur among them

The point was held to be so essential, not only for the interests of British litigants, but also to secure the new tribunals from any suspicion of partiality, that, to prevent any question of the kind from hereafter arising, Her Majesty's Government have instructed me to intimate that their final acceptance was dependent upon the maintenance of this principle

The intimation which your Excellency has given to myself and some of my colleagues, of the intention of His Highness in this matter, is a sufficient guarantee of the identity of the views of His Highness with those of Her Majesty's Government

In a note from Her Majesty's Government to the French Ambassador in London, in July 1870, it was suggested that when the Powers had intimated their acceptance it should rest with His Highness the Viceroy to obtain the assent of the Sultan to the proposed reforms, and with the Sultan to make known to the different Powers that they were sanctioned by him

Her Majesty's Government adhere to this opinion of the proper course to follow, and leave the final steps to be taken in the hands of His Highness.

I avail myself, etc ,

Henry Elliot

When the necessary number of nations had agreed to the formation of the Mixed Tribunals a formal Treaty was drawn up between Egypt and the capitulatory Powers This pact constitutes the charter of the new courts. It provided for their operation during a period of five years, and therefore made it possible for any or all Powers at the expiration of this term to go back to the old plan of consular courts. It left, however, these latter tribunals still in force in regard to—(1) criminal jurisdiction over their nationals , (2) all matters affecting personal status, such as divorce, marriage, inheritance, etc. ; and (3) suits between their nationals and involving no ' mixed ' interests. When the Treaty expired in 1881 it was renewed for a like period Certain extensions were, however, made for three years and others for two years. The last five-year renewal expired February 1, 1915, shortly after the outbreak of the war. The pact was then continued for but nine

months, but later extensions were made from year to year. Finally an agreement was entered into which provided for an indefinite lease of life, but reserved to all Powers and to Egypt the right to denounce the accord upon giving one year's notice.

To protect the judges against the insecurity of tenure resulting from such instability it was held that their posts were permanent even although the life of the court itself appeared to be essentially precarious And in 1920 the validity of this ruling was removed from the domain of doubt by the enactment of an Egyptian statute which guaranteed to the judges of the Mixed Courts the right to receive a pension from the Egyptian Government.

The judicial system thus called into being and kept alive consists of a Court of Appeals and of three tribunals of first instance. The appellate court sits at Alexandria; the three tribunals at Cairo, Alexandria and Mansourah. As originally constituted the chambers of the upper bench were made up of eight members, five foreigners and three Egyptians, and those of the lower courts of three foreigners and two Egyptians. The law provided, however, that the presiding judge should in all cases be a foreigner. As time wore on the Egyptian Government became convinced that a more satisfactory expedition of business would be assured if the benches of the appeal court were reduced to five and those of first instance to three. The Powers of the Triple Alliance opposed this. But when the war drove Germany and Austria out of Egypt, Italy ceased to object to the proposed reduction, and the amendment desired by Egypt was put into effect.

The laws administered in these courts were taken from French sources. Maître Maunoury, uncle of General Maunoury, one of the heroes of the Great War, compiled them. He copied the codes of France, making a change here and there. Why he made many of these modifications and yet left other articles unaltered has given rise to many interesting lawsuits which could readily have been avoided if the distinguished jurisconsult had not had a blue pencil These codes may, upon motion of the Egyptian Ministry of Justice, be amended by a vote of the General Assembly of the Mixed Court of Appeals specially convened for that purpose. When the court thus acts as a legislative body the senior judge of all Powers not represented on the higher bench is called to sit on it, as the law requires that all capitulatory nations shall have a voice in a matter of this importance.

The judicial languages of the Mixed Tribunals are Arabic, French, Italian, and English. When the institution was in its infancy Italian and French were used, the one as much as the other. For the last thirty years French has become little by little the sole language. All pleadings are filed in French. All oral

arguments are made in that tongue. All of the judges write their opinions in French except the Italians, who from time to time hand down a judgment in Italian.

The judiciary of the Mixed Tribunals is made up of sixty-four judges, of whom sixteen constitute the appeal court and forty-eight the several divisions of the Cairo, Alexandria and Mansourah tribunals. All told, there are forty-two foreigners and twenty-two Egyptians. There are also a mixed *parquet*, at the head of which is a foreign *Procureur-Général*, and a corps of Egyptian *chefs de parquet* and *substituts*. The twelve capitulatory Powers are represented on these courts. These nations are Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Greece, and the United States of America. There are also two Swiss judges and two Russians. The latter remained in office even although Egypt denounced the Russian capitulations. Before the war Germany and Austria-Hungary had representatives, but the war and the Treaties of Paris put an end to this.

The choice of the foreign judges rests nominally with the Egyptian Government. 'In reality,' writes Lord Cromer in his *Modern Egypt*, 'they have until quite recently been nominated by their respective Governments.' The procedure now in vogue requires the foreign Power whose post has become vacant to submit three names. The Egyptian authorities must select one of these three, unless they advance valid reasons for rejecting all of them. The salaries of the judges are paid out of the court fees. The judicial fund paid into the treasury of the tribunal is so large that the net annual surplus turned over to the Egyptian Ministry of Finance runs to an average of over 800,000*l*.

When the courts began business in 1876 their dockets were very light. Such to-day is not the case. The latest published report of the *Procureur-Général* shows that during the judicial year 1923-1924 the three benches of the Court of Appeals handed down a total of 1101 *arrêts*, or opinions. The aggregate chambers of the three tribunals of first instance decided during the same period 16,571 cases. Many of these matters, it is true, were of minor importance, but the list comprises a very considerable number of difficult litigations bristling with intricate points of law affecting public polity and abounding in technicalities dear to the heart of the Levantine. The early years of the Mixed Tribunals knew of no such mass of unrelenting work.

By the irony of fate the institution which the Khedive Ismail had fathered was the instrument which dealt him his political death.

When the law courts, [to quote Lord Cromer] to whose creation the Powers of Europe had been parties, condemned him to pay certain sums of money, and when he found himself unable to pay them, the cup of his

iniquity overflowed, and Europe—legally outraged and politically timorous of what the future might bring forth—spoke out and said: 'You must pay or go.' Ismail Pasha could not pay. After a few ineffectual struggles he went

The men who formed the original benches of the Mixed Tribunals were, with few exceptions, jurists of outstanding ability, high character, and great energy. Those whose talents were not so commanding, or whose industry was less pronounced, vied with their colleagues in sterling integrity And as in those days cases were not too plentiful, there was ample room for judges who added grace to the charm of dinner-parties and khedivial receptions. But now there is no room for the laggard Every man must pull his oar. It is, however, a matter of satisfaction to those whose task is so arduous to know that they belong to a corps which has never failed to do its duty, and which should now be entering upon long years of continued usefulness.

It would, however, be more than hazardous to attempt to foretell what lies within the womb of time To seek to prophesy what is likely to happen in Egypt is to tempt fate. One cannot say what the morrow holds in store. All that one may safely assert is that if Egypt were not Egypt the Mixed Tribunals would have a glorious future before them. But such an institution could not exist and grow in strength and public confidence outside of Egypt. Therefore one moves in a vicious circle, and one must perforce eschew any effort to pierce the veil of the future.

PIERRE CRABITÈS.

CARDINAL MERCIER'S GUIDING PRINCIPLES

ALTHOUGH the valour and the charity of Cardinal Mercier were both on the grand scale, they would never have aroused the admiration of the world but that they were accompanied by a power of intellectual leadership which made him Belgium's source of hope and strength in the years of the German occupation. For once the Army had gone, the only power of resistance was moral, it was to make that moral resistance one of the sharpest weapons of war which was the peculiar gift of the Primate of Belgium. It was a task in which his whole career was in perfect harmony; for his resistance was the application of the principles of a classical humanism, which found its inevitable completion in Christianity, to the circumstances of an invaded country.

And it was precisely because this exposition of Christian ethics was so perfectly pastoral that it was also so effective as a weapon of war. For it founded Belgium's resistance on profound and universal principles which the Germans could not but admit, and which were yet the strongest propaganda against their cause. In other countries Germany's war guilt was debatable; in the invasion of a country she was bound to defend her aggression was unquestionable. The great Cardinal Archbishop stated the fact in the clearest terms, and, while pointing out that Belgium owed no obedience to Germany, he insisted that where terms had been made with the enemy those terms must be respected—that the indignation of the patriot was just, but that it would only defeat its end by acts of violence, and that bravado was not bravery. He never defied the Germans; he merely stated his unshakable trust in a just cause: 'God will save Belgium my brothers; never doubt it for a moment'

Infuriating as these pronouncements were to the invaders, the Cardinal was always able to prove that both facts and principles were indisputable, and that, far from inciting the people to insurgence, he was encouraging them to patience. Such exhortations to patience, he argued, far from being a rebellion against the usurping authority, would assist it in maintaining order. His exposition of his principles was eloquent, touching, impassioned,

but it was never other than precise and philosophical. And so from the very heart of Germany's early successes arose those appeals to glorify the Allied Army, those prophecies of Allied triumphs, those citations of outrage and injustice, which finally, and justly, roused nation after nation to the effort of victory. Other propaganda had at times a hysterical or misleading element; or occasionally even, as in the case of Edith Cavell, it was mainly emotional, for she had broken the oath that she had given not to help the escape of the prisoners she was permitted to nurse. But the eloquent pastorals, letters, and sermons of Cardinal Mercier, in the test of unbiassed examination, remain unanswerable. The Germans were not slow to recognise the genius who, from the moral point of view, played the same leading part in their defeat as Marshal Foch did from the military, and they have not yet forgiven him. The name of the Cardinal has been execrated throughout the Reich ever since the occupation of Louvain, and it remains so even in his death.

If the work of the Cardinal as a patriot—and as a patriot who was foremost in a universal cause—was built up on his work as a philosopher, what was that work? As a thinker, he was again occupied in a universal problem, and there, also, his achievement was remarkable. Born in 1851, he grew up in an age when Christianity had to consider its relation to the discoveries of experimentalists, and his first object was to reconcile science with orthodoxy. Désiré Mercier was among the pioneers of that revived interest in the supreme Christian Aristotelian, St. Thomas Aquinas, which has since spread far. As a philosopher he was in almost everything, therefore, a follower of Aristotle. He accepted from Aristotle the common-sense doctrine that outward things have a real existence, and also the metaphysical theory that their essential reality, as determined by reason, is due to a formative principle moulding a potential material. This reality, or substance, is known by the intellect, not by the senses, and the whole scheme of creation is that of mind, or pure act, forming reality at first into primary realities which are partly act and partly unrealised power, and then from these into more perfectly active realities. So far the doctrine is purely Aristotelian, and it differs from Platonism by making mind the master of reality instead of seeing ideal realities themselves as ultimate; but it differs still more from idealism which makes all reality subjective, for though it finds its norm of reality in a mind, this mind is the Divine Mind which, as St. Augustine said in *The City of God*, was the intellectual illustration which gave to all things their intelligible splendour. Human minds, therefore, know truly in that degree that they correspond with the absolute mind, the Mind of God, and it was in that light, the light alike of reason and of the soul, that the

thought of Désiré Mercier claimed to solve the problems of life, of fact, of philosophy.

How firmly founded that philosophy is the diuturnity of Aristotle attests sufficiently; and if Aristotle be not enough, fresh evidence is offered in the glory of Dante. For Dante was the avowed and faithful pupil of Aristotle through Aquinas and the other scholastics of the first Renaissance in that age of light the thirteenth century. St. Thomas added to Aristotle four proofs of the existence of God, one of which was an especial favourite with Désiré Mercier, the argument that not all in the universe could be effect, not all contingent upon anterior causes; but that at last there must be an uncaused act, and this act beyond all contingencies a Mind which is perfect law and perfect reason, a reality infinitely good.

In metaphysics and theology the philosophy of Mercier was the philosophy of Dante, but in natural philosophy he sought to bring his metaphysics into harmony with contemporary theory, and his largest book, translated into English as 'Modern Scholastic Philosophy,' gives his longest essay in that direction Mercier went so far in it that his theories were at one time the subject of some suspicion on the part of certain Catholic theologians. But the suspicion was found to be groundless, and in later years the Cardinal was convinced that the conflict between science and theology was practically solved in applying Aristotelian principles to modern theories. The continuing influence of Mercier's system of thought was only last November the subject of a leading article in *The Times Literary Supplement*, and Mercier, who in his earlier years had carefully traced both the survival of Thomism through the centuries and its revival in his own lifetime, was gratified by its great gain in prestige during the last few yeasr of his life.

Another design of Mercier was to reform contemporary psychology along the lines of Aristotelianism, and for this reason he made an attack upon the theories of Descartes. He argued that man's highest functions are dependent upon his lower functions, and used the authority of Boutroux to support his contention that the higher is known after the lower, but that the higher is the *raison d'être* of the lower. The concept was to him what its name implies, the result of a generative process, of a fruitful intercourse between the knower and the known. Known to exist through the senses, the object is conceived as real in terms of reason; human life, therefore, is the cultivation of reason in asserting reason's dominance over phenomena through the unity of the mind and the body in every human individual.

Désiré Mercier took from Aristotle also the theory that man

is essentially made for life in organised society, and made to attain his end as good. The principles of law and of justice are the means by which men adjust with one another their common move towards good, for each man has a right to the means of attaining his end, and the State is good in so far as it assists its subjects towards their end. It was at this point that his philosophy prepared him for his moral defence of invaded Belgium.

But his defence of his country, though the defence of a humanist, was still more essentially that of a Christian and a priest. For he never spoke to his people except as their father in God His position as Primate of Belgium was one that harmonised perfectly with his training as Professor of Philosophy. Aristotelianism is masterly in both its range and its method; but there are certain problems that it does not solve, and it was just where it was cold or obscure that Christianity supplied the philosopher with the glow of light which satisfied both his heart and his mind

For Christianity, following on that old platonic mysticism which had identified the ultimate with the ideas of love and beauty, saw in the Aristotelian ultimate of mind a love which cleaved even to the goodness that it saw. And this love, eternally perfect and complete in itself, and realising itself in reasonable perfection of power, of concept, and of love so as to be a primal unity, yet eternally became an irradiating and inspiring principle of new existences, in which, as it mirrored its own brightness, the original and constant unity was reflected in infinite varieties, and so, as Dante had so beautifully said,

> In sua eternita, di tempo fuore,
> Fuor d'ogni altro comprender, come i piacque,
> S'aperse in nuove amor l'eterno amore
>
> [So in eternal life, all time above,
> Above all other knowledge in free choice
> Revealed Himself in new-made loves the eternal love.[1]]

This was the perfect love which, united to creation with a perfect unity in the person of Christ, and therefore in His Church, vindicated the wisdom which had given man free-will because out of all errors and all pains it led to an identification here on earth with the final and essential perfectness. This picture of perfectness—perfectly human and perfectly Divine—painted in the gospel was the constant study of Désiré Mercier, the picture to which he returned from all his politics, all his philosophies; for his life was a life of devotion. His spare moments were from his faith all turned to prayer, and in the urgency and repose of this intimate intercourse with the eternal Mind Désiré Mercier found that light which revealed the details of the universe in all its subtle order,

[1] *Paradiso*, xxix.

and which enabled him clearly to elucidate the principle which resolved its perplexities and showed it all in clear relation to the primal and ineffable love which everywhere informed it and sustained it.

Like Dante, Désiré Mercier identified that primal and universal love with light, a light so beautiful that it had but to be seen to enkindle a return of love: the aim of his whole career was to see all things in the clearness it gave. The word *lumière* came very often from his lips, and it was light with which his personality seemed at once to dazzle and to irradiate all who came in touch with him. His thoughts, even on subjects the most complicated or profound, seemed not so much reflections, not so much intellectual energy, as flashes of the inward light with which his whole personality glowed, and which gave the serenity of his expression something of that beauty which, as Milton said, has terror in it. That supernal light which radiated from the glow of eternal charity, inspiring his saintly life, left no mists, no blurs, permitted no compromise. It illumined everything on which it played with a beautiful but a sharp distinctness. It was the very edge of his courage and tenacity.

It was not surprising that when in the time of Cardinal Mercier's primacy there were twice elections to the Papacy his name should have been suggested for the supreme position in the Roman Catholic Church, the position which the Cardinal-Archbishop's own philosophy regarded as Divinely instituted, and integral to the Christian society. For the great Belgian patriot could never envisage the Church as other than international, and more than once he appealed to bishops in Germany to make common cause with him in the unity of the faith. His whole philosophy, which saw invisible powers identifying themselves with visible instruments, led him to regard the Papacy as the seat, the centre, of a Divine dispensation. It was the unifying principle of the Christian organism, which, sustained and informed everywhere by Christ, yet needed the governance and the defining authority of a delegate of its invisible Head to give it as a visible society, operating in the world, the energy and cohesion of unity. It was a Pope who favoured the young philosopher in his projects; it was again a Pope who raised him direct from his academic life at Louvain to the primatial see of Malines; it was a Pope who solaced and illumined him in his patriotic heroism and wrote: 'His cause is our cause'; and it was still another Pope who declared that charity should take the place of controversy, and made his work for Christian unity an example to the whole Church. But Cardinal Mercier himself had neither the neutrality of sympathy nor the long experience of Vatican diplomacy which was especially necessary in the years of the war, and enthusiastic

references show that he was well content with the elections at both of those conclaves at which he assisted. He doubtless understood also that great and conservative institutions, directed by a single man, cannot often be entrusted to a genius. To the present writer he once said in Rome that the Papacy could always be a support to a weak bishop, but never interfered with a strong one; that it intervened only in matters that were referred to it; and that in his own leadership in the Belgian crisis the Pope had never even suggested any other line than that which the Cardinal himself had taken

The Lambeth Conference in 1920 counselled moves towards Church unity in every direction, it was natural that those members of the Church of England who wished to apply this to the great communion to which for over a thousand years the national Church had been united should turn to the Cardinal whose name had become as familiar to the English-speaking world as that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and who was the hero, not of his own country alone, but of all the Allies It was accordingly to Cardinal Mercier that the Abbé Portal presented Lord Halifax, and to whom he opened his heart There were many good reasons why the discussions proposed should take place in Belgium rather than in England, and what president could be more acceptable than the heroic Primate of the invaded ally? Cardinal Mercier, who for many years had sought to assist a *rapprochement* between England and Ireland, who twenty years before had given important evidence to the Royal Commission on Irish University Education, who had made a great tour in the United States, who spoke excellent English and had a personal knowledge of the country, perfectly comprehended the situation. But on so delicate a matter he naturally consulted the Holy See, and, obtaining from the Pope both encouragement and blessing, he made those arrangements with the Archbishop of Canterbury which enabled the conversations, informal and private as they were, to claim from the authorities on either side something of official cognisance. The *conférenciers* aimed at nothing more. But the conferences aroused some alarm on either side.

Protestants imagined that their position was being undermined, and certain Catholics feared lest an habitual attitude should be abandoned, or treasured technicalities ignored. These fears were idle But a bitterly hostile tone in the utterances of certain English Catholics amazed both Cardinal Mercier and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who each naturally expected that what the Pope had approved his own people would not openly attack. The attack was the more surprising as Cardinal Bourne himself spoke with his official voice warmly to approve the enterprise of Cardinal Mercier, whose pupil he had been at Louvain

and whose host at Westminster. But Cardinal Mercier showed his usual fine decision, and with the charitable, but incisive, clearness which marked his intercourse with Bissing, Der Lancken, and Falkenhausen, he delivered a rebuke to an English Jesuit who in letters to the Press had expressed himself in terms which violently contravened the counsels of the supreme authorities.

Cardinal Mercier's charity was attacked also from a very different quarter. The Dean of St. Paul's, whose brilliant reputation as a journalist has been earned by crisp phrasing, referred, in more than one attack upon the Anglo-Catholic party, to their 'flirtations with Belgian cardinals.' The very use of this expression, apart from any question of its taste, shows how far Dean Inge was from understanding the mind and principles of Cardinal Mercier. For, in the first place, the Cardinal was faced by a very simple issue: Certain inquiries had come asking for elucidation. Could he refuse the light to those that sought it? But his whole point of view with regard to the unity of Christendom was that of one who sought to fulfil all that was implied by the promise, and demanded in the prayer, of Him whom he indeed believed to be the Light of the World For in this, as in all other things, he sought to have and to give more light.

Far from attempting to accept from vagueness or disagreement a highest common factor in irreconcilable difference, he sought for such a complete examination of fundamental principles as would lead from open breaks to a variety controlled by an organic intellectual and spiritual unity He wished no one to sacrifice either a principle or a truth, but to search for the final source of principle and truth and follow its development with undeviating thoroughness both of logic and of sympathy. Seeing that there was a greater measure of agreement than divergence, he wished to replace controversy by the joint development of constructive principles. That inquiry, pursued with ardour, would reconcile the orthodoxies of Rome and Canterbury, he no more doubted than in the darkest days he doubted Allied victory. 'Let us intercede above all things for spiritual light,' he once said to the present writer. Since he himself enjoyed so much of that, the *lumen cordium*, his sympathy was equal to his sense of principle. For it taught him, as it had taught Aristotle, to find perfection between extremes 'There was in his company,' said Lord Halifax, 'a sense of habitual peace and adjusted balance impossible to describe, but that made itself felt in every word and considered judgment which he expressed. There was the consciousness of a sanctity existing in him which carried with it an insight and an acquaintance with the mind of Christ which gave an inexpressible but absolute authority to all he said and did.'

Such was the impression of a noble Englishman brought into

frequent and immediate contact with Cardinal Mercier, and the feeling was returned; for the present writer heard words of the intensest appreciation of Lord Halifax from his Eminence, and they ended thus: 'He is a saint.' Between these two men who never met till one was well over seventy and the other well over eighty, there was at the last a friendship in which each saw all that his heart desired of or for the communion in which the other lived. Almost the last person outside his own household to visit the Cardinal was Lord Halifax. And to Lord Halifax he bequeathed on his deathbed the episcopal ring which his family had given him at his consecration. It was typical of the delicate sympathy of the Cardinal that after these interviews he should insist on seeing Lord Halifax's servant to give him a last blessing. The Cardinal offered his life for England and for the reunion of the divided Churches.

For to him the conversations implied a far-reaching reconciliation, like the reconciliation of science with orthodoxy, and like the reconciliation of patriotism with universal justice. It was not merely those problems with which the conversations were immediately concerned—the agreement on sacramental doctrines, the administration of a unified Church, the adjustment of the Pope's relation to other bishops; in all these, in the opinion of the *conférenciers* on either side, marvellous progress was made. But Cardinal Mercier looked beyond these points to a guiding principle, profounder and more promising. He recognised with joy the wide attention aroused by the conversations, and how among the devout this became an intercession full of charity and hope. More than once it was urged that the conversations should cease, but in pleas eloquent and lofty as they were logical he insisted that they were the foundations of a great movement of which generations to come would inherit the blessing. For, though he anticipated no sudden solution of differences, he believed that from such encouragement there would arise a shining light of charity that would stimulate and then unite the thought, not only of England and of Belgium, but of the whole world, into an effective corporate spiritual society, that this would be so illumined by heavenly light that, with clearness of inward vision, its members would see the mystery of which they had been made partakers, a mystery which was vital, which was organic, which was the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. This was the great ideal which in all things animated Cardinal Mercier, and which determines those who share it to carry on without a break the great movement to which he gave the inspiring impulse of his statesmanlike and saintly zeal.

R. E. Gordon George.

THE GENERAL MEDICAL COUNCIL:

A REPLY TO DR. GRAHAM LITTLE

IT must be obvious to everybody that the General Medical Counc serves an extremely important purpose, and that on this accour all thinkers might be persuaded to abstain from any kind (criticism against it I have had to defend myself against one (its charges, but this has placed me in a position to learn a grea deal regarding the essentially protective work it does again: malefactors of the baser sort—so much so that, while I hav written and published some hundreds of printed pages severel criticising medical organisation generally, I have never fe inclined to criticise this particular Council adversely; nor hav I ever spoken a word against it in conversations with my fellov practitioners at any time

Only now do I ask for permission to write of faults and failing as they appear to me through having read the article by D Graham Little,[1] for he states his case with an emphasis tha provokes opposition It seems at first that his position is e: tremely strong, and does, indeed, make some show of defian against any possible argument. But strong presentation deserv firm examination.

I think that it would not be far from correct were I to remai that medical organisations are in the melting-pot in these prese days; it is, in my opinion, just this fact that has brought fort Dr. Graham Little's hope for more penalising. Many medic leaders are extremely anxious, without a doubt. It is tl influence of the lay Press that has brought matters to tl crucible stage. It is a fact that defects in medical organisatic have been revealed by medical men contributing to the la Press; this fact is finding its way through the sturdy and ag coruscated confines of the General Medical Council. The publ cannot see why interesting and important work done by tl Barker-Axham co-operation, the William Lloyd technique, ar other advancing agencies should not become public property f

[1] 'The General Medical Council,' by E. Graham Little, M.D., M.P., Februar 1926.

the benefit of humanity through the channels of the lay Press, which are always open to disseminating sound knowledge as a condition without which it could not well effect its vast increases in circulation.

Such men as those named have done good work, while the plain truth is that medical men in the mass, and highly placed individuals in particular, have not desired to find out the character of this work. Why have they objected ? The only answer possible is, because innovations are not desired, or favoured, or allowed to become common property excepting through medical organisations : it is held that the latter should only find research work of an advanced order out of the plentiful material so easily gathered in hospitals, that organised bodies should refuse to notice any research work done or discoveries made outside their preserves. Even though the work of Sir Herbert Barker and Dr. Axham should receive the highest encomiums expressed by some of the most distinguished medical men and surgeons of the day, and though the work of the former should be deemed worthy of the very great honour of knighthood, yet no inquiry shall be instituted, no wish to learn expressed, no opportunity permitted so that Sir Herbert might demonstrate or teach his methods to the members of the profession for adoption generally.

In the above we have the root cause of the controversial matter which has appeared in recent years in the lay Press under the title of 'Doctors and the Public'

The public must be prepared to realise by this time that medical organisation will favour and help when certain highly-placed members have special interest in certain advances, however little ground there may be for supposing the values of these to be great. For instance, a Gye and Barnard idea is to be accepted greedily, although opposed to some extent quite firmly for being insufficiently warranted, or even wholly wrong, while actual facts of therapy, as repeatedly shown by tangible effects, as in the Barker-Axham work, are not allowed to be referred to in the august assemblies of great scientists sitting together to study as far as possible the best means of alleviating human suffering and of preventing death at too early an age. Thousands of pounds reward may be paid for the discovery of insulin, for instance, while if a possibility of curing diabetes even more successfully shall loom on the horizon as from an outsider it will not have any chance of being heard of, so long as organisation can possibly keep it out. This is the state of the medical profession as we now observe it struggling in the throes, and deservedly subject to the analysis and dissolution, which heated controversy is bound to bring. Nor can an article by Dr. Graham Little prevent signs of evolutionary change, however much he

may appeal to his fellow-organisers to increase the penalty. Such a cry mingles with exhortation to his friends that they had better endeavour to tilt the pot into a less burning position; but the melting will go on. Lay readers observe the pot and are duly informed as to what is in it; they believe that there is good reason why fate should be doing its work, they will not rest until fuller justice is done in one of the greatest causes of humanity.

Dr. Graham Little writes that the members of the Council 'have been largely chosen for their expert knowledge of medical education.' I ventured to express my opinion to the Council members assembled at one of its meetings that, as it was particularly concerned with medical education, I hoped it would institute an inquiry into certain advances that have been made in medical science, so that the teaching of young aspirants in the medical schools should make them better fitted for coping with disorder and disease when they should become qualified. No notice was taken of this appeal. I was merely sentenced to 'the stocks'—to erasure from the Medical Register—for having contributed to a lay paper references to a simple method of facilitating child-birth which would lessen the great mortality attending this natural functioning

This brings me to a consideration of the nature of this penalty of erasure Dr Graham Little has referred to it as one that results 'in certain relatively unimportant disabilities,' implying that little or no hardship is involved in the sentence.

While I absolutely agree that the Council must insist on having a safe standard of medical education and that practitioners of osteopathy, whether visitors from America or originating from and practising in this country, should pass the qualifying examination which enables other medical men generally to become registered, I must take exception most emphatically to this idea of the smallness of the penalty. And I do so largely because of the information which has come out of the mouths of firm upholders of the Council, as well as from the councillors themselves, they have declared before the public that 'the penalty is severe; there is no appeal, it means ruination,' and so on. A member of the Council declared on a public platform at a medical meeting where I was present that the severities of the proceedings of the High Court were as nothing compared with those of 'this Council'; he had known, he said, distinguished members of the Bar shake before the chairman of the Council while they were attempting to defend medical offenders. Again, complaint was personally made to the registrar of the Council that erasure was crippling a certain victim financially. His reply was, 'We quite expect this.' Who is right, therefore? Dr. Graham Little further declares that the Council always considers the gravity of the case before erasing a

name; if a man whose name has been erased can practise with little disability, surely the public is not sufficiently protected by what may be a really deserved sentence! And it is consideration for the public that should count most, we are especially informed! I beg to offer evidence as one who has lived twelve months under the penalty of erasure. In the first place, much is made by the Council and its supporters of the fact (as they declare) that a warning is always given before erasure. I received no warning at any time, or in any form, before receiving a request to offer explanations. I duly handed them in. I was forthwith instructed to appear before the Council. I admitted that I had, when contributing to the lay Press, considered that the Council might call me to account. After many questions I was plainly asked whether I was 'prepared to take the consequences' (of my having contributed an article to a lay paper). I considered this question to be both improper and quite unfair I hesitated, and felt at the moment that I could only make one answer, and it was, 'I am.' Nor can I regret this answer. I hoped that 'the consequences' might mean an inquiry into the reasons why I had so contributed. I also felt that the expression was chosen in order that I might be intimidated into the abject position of one who feels that the end has come.

The result was soon to be realised. My medical friends were reluctant to have any association with me whatever, probably afraid that it might reach the Council's ears that they were in any way helping an unregistered man—a great offence in itself. I could go to no institution for patients where any other medical man was present I was even subject to being consulted without fee by unscrupulous individuals because it was known that I could not sue. Some former patients would not come again because an erasure was thought by them to mean that some other more dreadful conduct was really at the bottom of the charge; many people imagined that merely contributing to a newspaper could not be all of the offences that could have been committed. One of the worst feelings was derived from the fact that there was no appeal, and that the term of ostracism was *sine die*. The statement that a man whose name has been erased feels no severity in the sentence has seemed to me to be an utter falsehood. If some have continued to practise successfully after erasure, then they must have worked in quarters where any kind of offence counted little or nothing. The higher the practising position of the defendant the greater is the penalty of erasure, until we come to the highest, from an existing organisation point of view, and there the rules or laws can be broken galore—and no erasure can be dreamt of by anyone. It is almost a commonplace that the biggest advertisers in the profession are 'the biggest men.'

As regards the penalty of erasure of a man's name from the register because he has communicated material to the lay Press, I express my opinion that this should never be allowed to take place again. It ought to be extremely easy for the Council to decide whether certain material is important or not. If it is, then I venture to think that the Council, sitting for the important purpose of advising as to the standard of medical education, should at once order it to be examined by some existing organised medical body appointed in order that they should give judgment upon it. If the judgment be adverse, the contributor may well deserve the publicity he will be likely to get on this account. If research material were properly examined and selected or condemned as soon as it could be heard of, there would be no occasion for any research worker to make his first appeal in the lay Press.

The communication to the lay Press of known facts which educate the public towards adopting principles that are likely to prevent illness is another matter, but even this is mostly objected to by the Council when the signature of the writer is appended. To this day no medical man knows for certain what he may write, or what not, for the public Press The question is important, however, and the public will suffer if medical men cannot agree regarding it Few would deny that unsigned articles are likely to be of less value than signed, for the former would give opportunities for the propagation of fads and procedures emanating from biassed or unreliable sources. Lay editors could not always be expected to discriminate as acutely as could the best of medical scientists, nor could special medical correspondents be appealed to as though they were experts who were bound to know everything

Better scientific sifting and selecting is what is wanted within the profession, in order to settle burning questions regarding such diseases as cancer and consumption. All research material should first be scrutinised by unbiassed officials before the public find occasion to demand pronouncements upon it. Then the lay Press would be open for recording the results of the medical examination. In this manner scientific progress would be made quicker than it has been in the past.

Dr. Graham Little writes impressively regarding 'the public interest,' and seems afraid that the public might learn too much, but I make bold to state that it is now through the public interest that the profession is being stirred to a better sense of its duties. Erasures of certain names which he so eloquently favours is having the effect of creating misgivings on the part of people of good common-sense.

Those who will take the trouble to examine carefully the whole collection of data are therefore bound to see clearly that the most

important point of all in the present controversy which is raging round the heads of members of the General Medical Council is not so much that there have been distinct faults on the part of those who have been struck off the register, but that there has been failure on the part of medical authorities to do their proper duty. For had the great work of the Barker-Axham co-operation been examined, respected, and more widely adopted, to the general benefit of mankind, then full approbation and thankfulness for it would promptly have led to sanction being given for registered anæsthetists to render assistance under all similar circumstances. If a form of therapy is proved to be valuable, due assistance requisite towards its general adoption must also be found to be of some value; nor should there be hesitation because of the conditions under which new therapeutic methods were available It should be for the medical organisations to effect promptly whatever readjustments of procedure should seem necessary.

Medical organisations must therefore be blamed for the whole trouble. Medical men who have broken through the confines laid down by committees or councils by revealing certain scientific facts, or by assisting in the pursuance of advances made in medical science, have felt bound to do what they could towards the alleviation of suffering They have even hoped that breaking through might sooner or later bring about that reform which has been increasingly felt on all hands to have long been highly necessary.

The day is not far off when reform will take place. Then will all medical men be glad that a better relationship exists between the medical profession and the public, and between medical men themselves

It is the grave hindrance to medical progress which has constituted the chief cause of irregular procedure on the part of contributors to the lay Press, and so brought down upon these writers the wrath of the leading Council and its aiding committee of the British Medical Association. Consequently I have confidence that both the public and members of the profession will soon agree that no such hindrance should exist in future by their insisting on an economical plan which will favour light being thrown upon scientific problems from all sources of reliable research, and by their putting an end to bureaucratic and institutional or organised 'cornering' of methods of cure for ends other than the pure encouragement of scientific advancement, to the advantage of the public at large and not of groups of individuals.

Dr. Graham Little has referred to 'money-making.' He may be so well-to-do that he abhors the system of receiving fees for services rendered. But doctors could not work and make discoveries without means to do so. If he thinks that our institutions should provide the necessary means from subscriptions paid

by the general public, he would only be favouring a State service system, which, in my opinion, would destroy the best of all inducements to progress. However valuable State-directed duties might be, as commonly carried out, they could never reach the level which individual efforts can. The history of civilisation shows that the best advancements and discoveries have not emanated from organised efforts, but from individual and exceptional brains working almost alone and almost unknown to others. Moreover, most scientific discoverers feel far more pleasure from the finding of new things than from any reckonings as to what they might bring in pounds sterling; money-grubbing, indeed, very often kills pure enterprise towards innovation and advancement. Many a research worker has been destroyed by an affluence that has increased his worldly influence.

Vulgar advertising by a true scientist is more or less a contradiction in terms, the dissemination of valuable information derived from independent and unexpected delvings is quite another thing. The public Press is the most powerfully educating influence of modern times; it requires payments made to it by real advertisers, no agency in the world is better alive to the advisability of preventing advertising that is not paid for and that would merely cumber its valuable ground But it lets in freely what appears to be extremely useful knowledge, even by the process of putting up a proposition to be vigorously combated if need be by wide and capable criticism emanating from the most highly informed of its readers. The public Press assumes that all true medical efforts are in the interests of the commonweal, and it is not very often mistaken when making its selections, however much a profession may consider that it has some sort of a right first to approve. Common-sense is often better to be trusted than special; while geniuses in grooves can be dangerous people.

The fact is that the medical profession has lost a great deal of confidence before the public. And no wonder. In some cases it has failed to retain the confidence of judges in the High Court, and it does not enjoy the complete respect it so earnestly expects from the sick who are bound to make an appeal to its members.

The medical profession is not organised for coming to conclusions. In the multifarious works of men a government and opposition, differences of opinion, variations of fashion and taste, are so far good, and it might be difficult to attach labels with the warning that this or that was harmful; but when lives are to be saved and sufferings to be assuaged—when further scientific principles are to be sought which may be desirable instantly to make use of—then finality of judgment should be the only goal for us to reach promptly without let or hindrance.

We observe that little or no progress has been made over

some thirty years past regarding tuberculin and other injections, including the latest of Dr. Spahlinger, all of which have not been studied sufficiently for final verdicts to be given regarding them. Various treatments of cancer, other than the surgical knife, have found small fields of usefulness, but have never had definite values attached to them. Even to-day the medical profession is divided into two almost equal parts, both vigorously energetic, over the question of food as a possible cause of cancer; there is no certitude forthcoming or even promising as to whether a dietary consisting largely of butcher's meat or of no butcher's meat at all is the better for maintaining health. Some doctors consider cow's milk to be invaluable as an adult form of food; others would have none of it, and have even declared it to have most baneful influences. And so on. Neglect to study foods more exactly suitable for human beings is perhaps the greatest shortcoming that medical men up to now deserve to be charged with. Only when poisonous methods of preserving or preparing it are discovered, and when the cost of living is complained of, will they be brought to wonder quite casually, as it seems, whether one sort may be better for nourishing than another. Similarly, only when suicides are thought to be caused by spiritualistic beliefs do they begin to ask whether mystic and occult studies might be a cause of insanity. They have never studied the causes and cure of this distressing condition sufficiently, and have apparently remained all along content to house and feed sufficiently the large number of interned sufferers so long as they might be kept alive and prevented from doing harm to anybody.

We have electrical, ray, and sunlight treatments, the efficacies of which are said to be epoch-marking, the brilliancy of the results being indeed remarkable for many to witness. We have a profession before which the gratifying phenomena arising from these puissant agencies have been spread, but one which has been totally incapable of coming to a clear and crisp decision as to what precisely was the value of any of them. It is known that strong sections of medical experts are in favour of each; other sections are equally prepared to argue in total disfavour, and to be ready to prove that they are all begotten of false reasonings.

The profession has no pooling place for the sifting of propositions that arise from both good quarters and bad. There is no free and well-intentioned communicability between organised societies so essential for the settlement either of purely scientific or of plainly economic differences.

HAYDN BROWN.

BETTING

MR. GEORGE MOORE once wrote a very remarkable novel the characters of which were arranged in the midst of all the complicated social machinery of the betting world. *Esther Waters* was a realistic picture of ' bookies ' and tipsters, of racing stables and the Derby racecourse; and there was quick recognition in those circles where literary fame is created and destroyed that here was a masterpiece in a new field. It would be interesting, were it by any means possible, to obtain from the same august critics of literature their opinion on another book which has been recently published on the same subject as that used by Mr. Moore in his great romance. But this new volume has probably not found its way to the circulating libraries, and the critics have certainly not wasted a moment of their time on it. It is not, indeed, at the first glance a work of literature at all; for it is bound in a blue paper cover and published by His Majesty's Stationery Office. It is, in short, a *Report from the Select Committee on Betting Duty*,[1] with the evidence on which that Report has been based.

The circulating libraries and their members make a grave mistake when they pass on one side such books as these. The Betting Draft Report is astoundingly good reading. It is the raw material out of which *Esther Waters* was constructed, and every page of it is packed with suggestive hints on all the delicate psychological machinery which makes the human mind. If psychological analysis is the method of great works of fiction, then there is enough of it revealed in this Betting Report to found a new school of literature. The subject of betting is no simple affair which can be confined within narrow limits. It is continually dragging its students down side alleys of morals, finance, education, and into half the problems of national welfare.

The deep-rooted instinct for gambling is one of the most amazing characteristics of the human animal. The adjective is used deliberately, for it is the one selected by these official Commissioners, who say: 'Your Committee are amazed at the

[1] House of Commons (1923), 139: 1*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*. (H. M. Stationery Office).

extent to which betting exists at the present time . . . practically every class in the community now bet.' The peculiar significance of this sentence is that it immediately follows one of the most sensational paragraphs ever printed in a solemn official document. The Commissioners are of the opinion that 200,000,000*l.* per annum is a moderate estimate of the amount of money which is wagered with the professional bookmaker, and that the number of people who in the long run win any money in return for this risk is practically negligible, the only result being a net gain of perhaps 2,000,000*l* a year by the bookmaking class.

But here are the Commissioners' own remarkable words:

> Your Committee are unanimous in the view that betting is a useless thing except in so far as it gives pleasurable excitement for some and for others an escape from the monotony of their daily work It is in the main unproductive except to the bookmakers In other words, it is not inaptly described as 'a mug's game' as practised by the vast majority of backers It is a foolish occupation or habit It is a pure luxury and a fitting subject-matter for taxation unless there are strong reasons for allowing this luxury to escape.

This picture of a great nation, with an established reputation for steady balance, losing its head in a mad scramble for wealth which it can scarcely ever reach—such a scene is rather a subject for the creators of titanic dramas than for the economic decisions of a Committee of the House of Commons. A vast multitude of civilised people, rushing wildly about to increase the income of a few bookmakers, must have great moral significance, though at the first glance one might mistake it for a boisterous American musical comedy

There is another extraordinary fact in this most amazing of national habits. A great part of the present betting as conducted in this country is strictly illegal. By the Street Betting Act of 1906 no betting may be transacted in the public streets. That is the legal theory. The human practice is that (according to this Committee's estimate) there are at least 6000 street bookmakers in Great Britain and a vast number of persons transacting business with them. All these people are, in the eyes of the law, criminals; and money so paid is entirely beyond the scope of the law, and cannot be recovered by legal process. Nevertheless, the evidence goes to show that, on the surface at least, the bookmakers are one of the most reliable business classes in the community. Huge sums of money pass in the streets every day, and a receipt is never given by the bookmaker; yet denial of such receipts is apparently unknown. Then, concerning racecourse betting, the whole gigantic structure rests on 'starting prices,' which are fixed by the decision (after the race is won) of three private persons on the staffs of three of the sporting journals. There is surely enough

scope for corruption here; yet the decision of these gentlemen is accepted by the world of gamblers as if it came from heaven itself

In short, the domestic morality of the betting machine is of such a high standard that it works more smoothly than the general public business world, which is only kept in reasonable order by having its contracts enforced in the courts of law. A 'bookie' pays his debts without any legal compulsion Of course it may be argued, quite rightly, that if he did otherwise he would lose his trade; but it is astonishing what risks men will take in this way in ordinary commercial life The bookmaker (perhaps by necessity) pays without the threat of the law The fact is at least an interesting comment on a passage in Mr Lecky's *History of European Morals*, which runs

> Even the gambling-table fosters among its more skilful votaries a kind of moral nerve, a capacity for bearing losses with calmness—which is scarcely exhibited in equal perfection in any other sphere

There are a great many matters discussed in this Betting Report which are of intriguing interest It is, for example, very startling to read the evidence of Dr Lyttelton, the late Headmaster of Eton Being a scholar and a gentleman, and not merely a financial expert, a police officer, or a social reformer, one would naturally expect him to seek a more fundamental cure for the gambling mania than would occur to these cruder minds Nevertheless, the ordinary worldly man, who dislikes original thought, especially when it is also true, will be startled to hear that Dr Lyttelton says that one of the fundamental causes of excessive national betting is that human beings, by nature handicraftsmen, are bored to death by the monotony of their work in machine-driven factories, built by scientists employed by plutocrats. To say that people bet on the Derby race because they are wearied by the hum of a machine invented by Arkwright, or some other ingenious mechanic of the eighteenth century, is not unlike Darwin's link between old maids and the growth of sweet clovers But Dr. Lyttelton on this point is probably as sound a scientist as Darwin.

It is of further interest to note that this Committee appointed to consider the subject of betting ruled that it could not delay its proceedings by going into problems of morals. It appears that one witness from the Free Churches was very indiscreetly asked by a committee-man to define sin. Whereupon the chairman said: 'I think it very undesirable in a public Committee like this that we should enter on abstruse questions of theological belief or moral code of that nature.' To which a committee-man replied: 'How can you approach a question on the grounds of morality unless you discuss the moral code?' The difficulty was not

exactly met by the chairman's further ruling that if they once began to 'investigate the reasons for that belief, we should be here for ever.' Which may be one reason for the slow progress of mankind towards Utopia—the higher morality is so very evasive.

However, with this assurance that the Betting Report is the work of hard-headed business men of affairs, who have not wasted their time on problems of mere academic morality, readers will be the more impressed by the whole-hearted acceptance by the Committee of Dr. Lyttelton's views mentioned above. The Draft Report says:

> Your Committee have given due consideration to the reason for this prevalent habit of betting and its steady increase. They believe it to be probably due to the craving for some excitement among the artisan and working classes, arising from the general monotony of their daily work brought about by the intense specialisation of industry since the introduction of machinery. The variety of work practised by the old handicraftsman, and the pride of his handiwork, has disappeared, and it is as a refuge from a drab and boring day's work that the working man resorts to the excitement of betting. . . .

It may be doubted whether any Blue-book has ever got nearer the root of the problem it set out to solve. We can forgive a Committee which dismisses morals if it displays so much wisdom on æsthetics.

The question of betting has taken a very practical form at the present moment, for this Committee has proposed to make the taxation of this national craving a source of revenue for the State. There is already a considerable outcry at the mere mention of such an idea, mainly from the Puritans, who regard it as an absolute vice, and from the fanatical gamblers, amateur and professional, who on this point of a betting tax will probably agree, for once, with the Puritans. But great questions can never be fairly or accurately discussed by extremists.

Would a tax on betting be a wise and convenient manner of raising public revenue in this country to-day? In the days of the Stuarts we might have had some say whether we wanted to be taxed at all · for we were then a comparatively free people, with arms in our hands; and if we did not want to be taxed we went to war on the subject. But in these modern days, when we have no other form of protection than a vote in the ballot-box, pay we must; even if our lords and masters, the politicians and bureaucrats, go and waste all the proceeds of taxation on officials in the passport office, and such like useless forms of public expenditure. However, we still have a little say as to the manner in which we like to pay our taxes; so it may be worth while considering the conveniences and inconveniences, even the moralities and immoralities, of a tax on betting.

A lot of vague thinking on this subject will be cleared away if the inquiring citizen will read a judgment of the late Lord Justice Fletcher Moulton in the leading case of *Moulis* v. *Owen* (1907, 1 K. B. 746, at p. 757). It is a valuable piece of history, and, incidentally, a charming page of literature. It is, by the way, a pity that so much delightful literature and history and economics, and indeed all the multitudinous data of human life, should be hidden away in the Law Reports. In a more cultured and a wiser age they will be circulated by the subscription libraries as an alluring series of human tales, beside which the *Comédie humaine* of Balzac will be merely the chance notes of a few short years.

Lord Justice Moulton's judgment discloses the basis of the English law concerning gambling—showing that there is no fundamental tradition in our society that gambling is immoral. The Common Law would originally enforce a betting contract as readily as it would any other agreement. The man of the mediæval period had to go to his priest and confess his sin if he committed usury, but if he was silly enough to risk his money on a sporting chance that one horse would win instead of another, then the law said he must pay like an honest man.

The origin of the law against gambling had nothing to do with anything so visionary as morals. It was purely a matter of worldly wisdom. The governors of England one day announced that citizens had been found playing at (to quote the statute of 33 Henry VIII., c. 9) 'many and sundry new and crafty games and plays, as logetting in the fields, slide-thrift, otherwise called shove-groat, . . . keeping houses, plays and alleys for the maintenance thereof.' Then followed the objection to all this, which had nothing to do with ethics; gambling was wrong solely because 'by reason whereof archery is sore decayed . . . and divers bowyers and fletchers for lack of work gone and inhabit themselves in Scotland and other places out of this realm . . . to the great comfort of estrangers and detriment of this realm.' Therefore these houses and games were declared unlawful.

That is, certain games were made crimes in England, not because they were considered morally wrong, but for the very materialist reason that if men and boys sat about playing shove-groat they were not practising how to kill Frenchmen with bows and arrows, and so getting ready for the next war. It would be a difficult matter for the modern Puritan to decide whether, on the whole, it is not a more moral thing to play pitch and toss than to learn to kill one's fellow-men. Anyhow, such is the foundation of the legal crime of gambling—it stopped archery practice!

In spite of such legislation, a bet still remained a contract

enforceable in a court of law. But common-sense again discovered that gambling was inconvenient, if not immoral. So 16 Charles II., c. 7, was passed. It went no further than making it illegal to bet over 100*l.* at one time. As for the rest, it even encouraged gambling, for it said it was illegal to cheat thereat, thereby protecting the player The next step was purely a matter of convenience also; for, when play got wilder and wilder, 9 Anne, c. 14, drew the lawful limit at 10*l.* for one sitting at the table.

Within such limits (and a few others) gambling went on merrily, and losers could still be hauled before the judges and made to pay But the whole thing got to be a nuisance, and threatened to fill the courts with trivial business. The judges announced that they would not assist the gambler litigant 'more than needs must' (*Eggleton* v. *Lewin*, Reg Lib. 1687). Then one very severe judge announced that he would put all gaming cases to the bottom of his list; and so, by all sorts of excuses, the courts did their best to teach mankind that betting was not only a childish amusement, but a public nuisance

However, it was not until the Gaming Act of 1845 that the firm step was taken of declaring all contracts by way of gaming null and void so far as the courts of law were concerned—that is, the courts would not recognise or enforce them. A bet was not declared illegal, however, so it could still be recovered from the loser in the 'courts of honour' That is, the law still declined to say that gambling is in itself immoral, as it is immoral to commit forgery or to rob orchards.

The game of betting went on without the kind assistance of the courts Indeed, as we have seen, the 'bookies' and their clients invented a higher code than signed and stamped contracts, and met their obligations without judicial compulsion.

The whole system became such a nuisance that the State next proceeded by statute (Betting Act, 1853) to make it criminal to open an office to receive betting clients personally or to take bets in cash as a professional bookmaker, leaving it quite legal to receive bets on credit by post or telephone or telegram. Whereupon human beings, who have never paid more than an indifferent attention to those laws which do not fit into the pattern of normal nature, being restricted in their bets made in houses, did all the more betting outside houses, and especially on racecourses and in the streets. It will be noted that the Act of 1853 did not try to stop betting in houses because it was immoral; the excuse it gave was that so many people collected at the doors that they became a nuisance—which, as mentioned above, allowed people to bet on credit by post or telegram as much as they liked.

However, one day some zealous reformer thought of the dark idea that a bookmaker on a racecourse was in a 'house or other

place' within the meaning of the Act of 1853. But the courts, in the famous case of *Powell* v. *Kempton Park Co.* (1897), held that so long as he did not in any way attach himself to the ground, on a particular spot, the 'bookie' on the course was safe from prosecution; and so once more the law of England upheld the most frivolous of philosophers, who said it was not immoral to stake one's money on a sporting chance or no chance at all.

The law having tried, with doubtful success, to drive bookmakers into houses and herd them on racecourses, the tumultuous passions of mankind broke bounds once more, and street betting next became the favourite form Even the most ingenious of Puritan reformers could not prove that a betting tout dodging policemen in an open street was using a 'house or other place' within the Act of 1853 Municipalities did their little best, with private Acts and bye-laws against obstructing the streets, to deal with this 'nuisance,' but without much success, so at last Parliament tried to solve the problem by the Street Betting Act of 1906.

It has been about as effective as the lady who, lacking Cnut's modesty, tried to sweep back the Atlantic with a broom. The police confess that they are powerless against a populace determined to bet. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the police do not stop street betting, and that (in the words of the Betting Commissioners) 'the street bookmakers have perfected a system which gives them practical immunity from the law.' The Chief Constable of Liverpool told the Committee that after forty years' experience he could say that the bribing of the police to keep their eyes shut on street betting was practically unknown. There is probably not a man of the more sinful southern world of London who will be so optimistic on this point. The evidence even affects the geographical position of this great commercial city, hitherto we of the south had regarded Liverpool as merely nearer the North Pole, now we know it is near Utopia. But the point is not very material, because the whole history of the betting laws is that a determined people will do, police or no police, whatever public opinion refuses to condemn.

A dozen or so other Acts for the suppression or discouragement of gambling, and scores of judicial decisions, might be quoted The sum of them all is that the reformers are faced by a very deeply-rooted human instinct which will treat the Legislature and the police with a good-humoured disregard.

Every well-balanced mind will agree that persistent gambling is an entirely undesirable occupation for people having any pretence to civilisation. It is the immediate, or at least superficial, cause of a vast amount of poverty and waste. Among great classes of people it is a vice like excessive drinking; although the

poverty of the gambler may be a degree less objectionable in a social sense than the degradation of the alcohol maniac. For excessive drinking probably ends in a street row, and, in the last extremity, may easily lead to murder; whereas the gambler's last card is far more likely to be suicide. Heartless though it may sound, the balanced reformer must remember that as between murder and suicide the latter is the more egotistical, and therefore the less harmful social sin.

Every sensible person will agree that gambling in its present form is a national vice. But every sensible person also agrees that disease and rainy summers and railway accidents should be abolished. But how? The wise man is beginning to believe that it is often better to bear our evils as best we can, rather than make ourselves laughing-stocks by ineffective attempts at violent suppression that is beyond the power of Army, Navy, and police to enforce. The chief effect of Prohibition in the United States of America is, apparently, the training of a race that will have an utter contempt for law altogether.

National vices are produced by something vicious in the general social health, and they can only be cured by eradicating the fundamental causes, not by driving the patients about by police officers. We have glanced above at the unedifying spectacle of a helpless Legislature rushing wildly about from archery grounds to gambling saloons, from authorised betting houses to racecourses, finishing up in despair in the open streets, with every 'bookie's' tout laughing at the law as he dodges round the corner with the betting money in his hand.

One can scarcely blame the Committee when it shrugs its shoulders and decides, in substance, that if so many people will insist on making themselves foolish by betting, then let the State take what it can by a tax on this worthless luxury. A betting tax may even have, the optimists hope, a restraining influence by raising the price, as a tax on alcohol raises the price, and therefore lowers the consumption, of beer and spirits.

But one can also sympathise with those who say that gambling is so clearly a game for the uneducated and the childish that the State should put it on one side, as beneath its dignity to make a revenue out of the hobbies of degenerates. It will, they say, be recognising vice. But we recognise gambling in dozens of laws already. We might have more objectionable forms of recognition than taxing it. Just as the extreme tax of the gallows is scarcely a recognition of vice, so a tax on betting cannot strictly be regarded as encouragement.

Nevertheless, there is something in the argument that if gambling is a vice it should be extinguished, not taxed. To take an extreme case, if a future hard-pressed Chancellor of the

Exchequer, at his wits' end for a revenue, proposed to put a tax on the incomes of professional burglars, even the worldly-minded might hesitate as to its propriety; while the Chancellor, with professional pride in his own craft of finance, might even find himself secretly praying that his new victims might have a successful season and get into the super-tax list.

Anyhow, the philosophical mind will see that the betting tax problem is not at all simple. On the mere material point, the possibility of its enforcement, there are troublesome doubts. The Committee proposes to make street betting entirely illegal; and having thus, so it hopes, driven betting into registered bookmakers' offices, it would then tax, at the rate of 2½ per cent., all the bets that pass through them. The weary sceptic will ask if there is any evidence that the public will obey the new law any more than it does the old one There will be a much greater temptation for the police to take bribes, which will presumably be offered as one way of escaping the tax imposed on the licensed betting houses.

In the Australian colonies they have tried to meet the difficulty by a miraculous scientific invention called the totalisator. This ingenious instrument is declared by law to be practically the only legal place for public betting It reduces the system to the simplest procedure. All that is needed is sufficient intelligence to ask a clerk for a ticket with the name of the horse one intends to back, then put it into a slot in the totalisator, which, by some mysterious process of the higher mathematics, immediately announces to the onlookers the total amount staked, the odds, and everything else that has gone into the machine. In a few minutes after the race it disgorges its receipts to the winners in proportion to their bets. It thus reduces the gambler to the level of a mental deficient, and carries man another step towards the great Paradise where he need no longer think at all The totalisator is, in short, the latest triumph of science. It is an admirable way of bringing betting within the powers of the inmates of a lunatic asylum. But that is scarcely the true end of reform.

People will cease wasting their time and money on backing horses when, and not until, their minds are filled with more exciting and more amusing desires. Until then the wiser citizen will not attach too much importance, one way or another, to the manipulations of the Treasury in search of a revenue. As to the moral issues involved, he will not be aroused to enthusiasm by proposals to send honest bookmakers to prison, while successful gamblers on the Stock Exchange can have reasonable hopes of going to the House of Lords. If it comes to morals, it is surely as great a social transgression to supply tenth-rate sensational fiction to the suburbs as to quote a fair price on the Derby to

the slums. The day may even come when a wise Government will declare all betting legal, and use the police instead in seizing young ladies' magazines as improper literature. There are many 'best sellers' that have done more harm to the standard of our civilisation than a day on the Epsom Downs with 'bookies.' So hard is it to find the roots of evil.

G. R. STIRLING TAYLOR.

RUGBY FOOTBALL TO-DAY

THE remarkable boom in Rugby Football witnessed during the last few years has attracted universal attention, but the equally remarkable changes that have come over the game itself during the same period appear to have been largely ignored. The grounds are packed to congestion; the papers give a prominent place to all Rugby news, but few people have stopped to consider where the modern tendencies are leading us, or indeed where they have already led. Yet it is no great exaggeration to say that in the game itself an actual revolution has taken place, and this revolution has not been engineered by Rugby Union officialdom, or even by the clubs that play Rugby, but by unofficial pressure from the outside.

If an International player of the 'eighties were asked to give his impressions of a modern game of Rugby as compared with the games of his day, he would probably comment first on the change in the number and type of the spectators who now frequent great matches; he might then go on to note the open nature of the modern game and the very high scoring that results from it; and, if his criticisms extended any distance below the surface, he might perhaps draw attention to the different spirit in which the game itself is played There are other minor points also, with which I propose to deal in this article.

But first as regards the spectators: their advent in such numbers has meant huge gates and consequently much more comfortable accommodation. Visitors from the country, if they want to watch a big match, do not have to choose between a covered seat in an impossible corner of the ground or the chance of sitting it out in the open with rain pouring down their necks for an hour and a half—the other side of which picture is that, unless you know you will be able to be present months before, you may not be able to get any accommodation at all owing to the number of people who will want to see the match. And these spectators are not, as in former times, players or ex-players who know the small points of the game; they are largely people who are there because it is the fashionable thing to do. They only appreciate the more obvious and more showy manœuvres, and

it is to them that we owe the far too prevalent fashion of disputing the decisions of the referee. I heard this done at Twickenham for the first time about four years ago, and it was started by a spectator who clearly knew nothing of the game. It is but a short step from disputing the referee to intimidation, and on some grounds this has already come. These spectators too, presumably because they pay the piper, are beginning also to try to call the tune; they have got hold of a silly phrase 'give the ball plenty of air,' and seem bent on branding anything except perpetual pitch and toss as 'unsporting.' If a side has no good three-quarters but a good pack, it is expected, nevertheless, to play an outside game and lose its match to please them!

And having now come to this question of more open play, I would say that, since Rugby was in its origin a school game, and since it is one of the main instruments to which schoolmasters look to help in the formation of character, much that is here written is avowedly written from an educational point of view; but let no one set me down as an antediluvian supporter of the old-fashioned forward game. I was, as a fact, thirty years ago quite unpopular with a certain London club because I was an advocate of outside play. It may be admitted at once that an open game is interesting and exciting to watch. It is also easy of comprehension by the vulgar, and I have no desire whatever to see a return to the antique scrum as the staple feature of the play. But I would plead for more variety, since just as in cricket perpetual hitting can be almost as tiresome as stonewalling, so these incessant bouts of machine-like passing leave me a trifle chilly after a time. A loose forward rush, or even a solid wheel, should be accepted occasionally, if only as a foil to set off the sparkling brilliance of a passing bout.

Some of the objections to the present very fast game are obvious. The extra number of collisions in the open have undoubtedly increased the number of accidents. The old scrums looked fearful, but they were not what they looked; people were moving too slowly to hurt one another. It is the meeting of players at full speed that produces accidents, and now that forwards are becoming 'extra threes' such meetings are far more frequent than they were. Yet there is no deliberate facing of danger; it comes too suddenly for that.

Again, such fast play must put a far greater strain on the heart than the play of even five years ago. This strain is, I am convinced, very serious in the case of growing boys, and as soon as the doctors have grasped this fact we may well have a crusade against Rugby, which, combined with the great effort made at the recent Headmasters' Conference to induce schools to return to Association, might do a great deal of harm. It is also obvious

that the faster the game the more does training count, and the more hard training that is required the less is likely to be seen of the real amateur, the man who plays merely for sport and cannot be bothered to keep in training like a prizefighter. Perhaps it was not a mere coincidence that before the last 'Varsity match a paper cheerfully referred to the two teams as 'these young gladiators.' Yet I do not wish to emphasise the danger of professionalism—in this connexion, at all events.

To come to the less obvious but no less serious objections. I wish first to suggest that the weak spot of this incessant outside play is the fact that it favours the stronger side too much and therefore tends to runaway wins. I take it the essence of a good sporting encounter lies in getting an even fight with the result in doubt as long as possible, the best of all such fights being the one in which a weaker side is by abnormal efforts holding its own against one that is superior in weight and pace. Until recently it was possible for the weaker side, if inspired with a fine enough spirit, and if it displayed the better strategy, to put up a fight against very considerable odds; but since the new rule, or new interpretation of the rule, about a tackle has come into force, the fight against odds has become almost an impossibility, because if a player is allowed to pass the ball after being brought to the ground, the attack becomes so incessant that the defenders are run off their legs and cease to be physically capable of producing the extra bit of spring that means just stopping instead of just missing a man.

It follows that when once a side has got a certain distance ahead it can do almost what it likes with the weaker team, as witness the last 'Varsity match, a miserable affair to watch for anyone except a rabid partisan. Before the change in the rule 'Varsity matches were almost always interesting till the finish, but I fancy easy wins will be far commoner in the future These easy wins, besides providing poor fare for a real sportsman, are most deceptive tests for the International Selection Committee. What I may perhaps call the 'lambkin' type of three-quarter is in his element the moment the game is won, and it is only a matter of 'piling up the points.' He will gambol with great effect amidst a beaten side, though he may be quite incapable of getting a decisive try in the critical stages of an even fight: the quondam lamb becomes the lion of the piece and selectors do not always realise the cause.

I will pass now to a feature of the modern game which perhaps more than any other is calculated to raise the ire of a schoolmaster—I refer to the treatment of the man who falls on the ball. From the educational point of view there is nothing in the game to touch 'falling,' as anybody may see who sets out to coach beginners. Very few boys do it naturally, and the face of a boy

screwing himself up to do his first 'fall' is an index of its value as a developer of pluck. A reputation for 'falling' would at one time get a man into a good team, and rightly so. But how stands it now? Falling, it has been discovered, temporarily interferes with the sacred duty of 'airing the ball,' and *à bas* the faller is the secret thought of everyone, though people do not actually utter it and the rules have not openly eliminated him. No, Rugby still professes to encourage pluck, so he must be got rid of by subterranean means. The players do their share by showering hacks upon his ribs—they can show their valour safely by hacking a man who is down—and the referees are worse still; they may have ignored deliberate offside play by famous wing forwards or jabs under the chin out of touch, but here is a real felon to be dealt with: now is the time to give a popular free kick and get a newspaper puff next day as a reward, and, unless more than six burly forwards are actually sitting on the unhappy offender's corpse, a free kick, possibly in front of goal, will ensue. It follows from all this that falling on the ball hardly pays nowadays; you take a big risk to check the opposing attack and give your backs the time to recover their defensive positions, but the rules as administered prevent your opponents being checked. I believe it would be a more paying policy to kick the ball back to a 'three,' soccer fashion, and chance his muffing it.

But, as if it were not enough to deprive us of the 'fall,' this modern refereeing is in a fair way to deprive us of low tackling as well. There is not really much use in springing at the legs of a runner if, when you have brought him down, he may pass the ball off the ground to another runner, who will canter in behind the posts. I recently saw a small player by a glorious spring land on the ankles of a strong runner and bring him down. Result—small player carried off to the pavilion with concussion, attendant 'three' walked in unopposed! When this fact has penetrated the British brain we shall have an era of high tackling 'because it pays.'

Now a very simple remedy could end all these evils at one blow, and, though the suggestion may sound like blasphemy to some ears, I propose to make it, nevertheless—after a fall on the ball, or a tackle that brings down the runner, there should be, as in olden days, *a formed-up scrum!* 'The cloven hoof at last,' I can hear someone exclaiming; but just think out what it means. It does not mean doing away with outside play and returning to tight scrummaging, we have dozens of such scrummages as it is, and nearly all end in the same way—the forwards heel the ball directly it is put in and off starts another passing bout. Yes, but this time with the defending backs in position and fortified by the breather that will enable them to oppose a sound defence. It will

be necessary to pass someone before a try can be obtained, and we shall get back to the days of lower scoring with the issue trembling in the balance till the end.

And what should we lose? Well, nothing that matters in the least. At present we are sacrificing the best points of a fine game for a craze, disastrous from every point of view save that of the non-Rugger spectator. Why on earth should everything be sacrificed for him?

Having embarked on a programme of reaction, I feel that I may as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb There are other matters that might be reconsidered by our legislators

These unspeakable free kicks! Why, because it is impossible to play certain clubs without their aid, should ordinary sporting sides have their matches spoilt by their interposition? I remember the time when, if the opposing 'half' got offside, you asked the opposing captain to keep him back and he did so, and even now I think that captains might with advantage be allowed to contract out of goals from free kicks There is no sort of pleasure in winning by them, and the direct result of their introduction is the modern idea, as expressed by a player in a leading club, that you can 'play as much offside as the referee will let you'!

I heard a man say recently, 'On the whole, the advantage rule has been a mistake' I am inclined to agree. it makes the game more fluky and far more irritating, especially in the hands of a self-advertising referee; it should apply only to an intentional hand forward. In days when 'internationals' are as handy with their fists and teeth as with their feet nothing should be done to upset the serenity of these great men. The working of the advantage rule, though perfect in theory, is often upsetting in the field; we did better without it. We also did better when a 'tackle' was defined as having two hands on the ball. This was not perfect either in theory or practice, but it worked better than anything that has been evolved since. Everyone then knew what a tackle was; now a tackle is what a referee chooses to make it. It may mean one thing in the North, another in the West and a third in the South, and this again leads to bad blood and makes the result of a match more fluky.

I think also that, to avoid free kicks, forwards should again be allowed to put their feet up before the ball is in. If it leads to foul play, the offenders should be sent off, and I do not think it would necessarily waste more time than at present. In any case, a goal scored off a free kick for 'foot up' is the most irritating of all, since a man may raise his foot quite against his will if his side is being shoved just as the ball comes in. If the present rule is to remain, I suggest that players should wait till the ball has

touched the ground in the scrum before raising a foot. This would be more definite, at all events.

Wing forwards, licensed and otherwise, have played a prominent part on the Rugby stage in recent years. Their presence obviously tends to unfair play and disputing, but, though I do not like them, I see no chance of getting rid of them except by depreciating their value. I will point out one or two facts in this connexion. One of their chief functions is, I believe, to get on to the opposing backs and break up their attack, which, by the way, ought surely to be made illegal on the ground that it stops the airing of the ball. However that may be, the programme completely fizzles out if the opposing stand-off half has the gumption to stand really deep, as Kittermaster did in the 'Varsity match of 1924, in which contest the Cambridge wingers played a singularly innocuous part. When Cambridge in that match took the field, I prophesied a win for them on appearances; but when the first scrum formed up, and I beheld two massive sterns erected at right angles to those of the other six, I at once told my companion that I revoked, my idea being that the Oxford eight would hold the Cambridge six well enough to give sufficient chances to their backs. They did so and the backs took them.

If halves will only stand deep I believe it will gradually come to be recognised that wingers are not worth playing. Assuming the other eight to be all honest players, it means that eight men are shoving solidly against six, and in the second half they will wear them down, after which all manner of things are apt to happen in a very short time. The wingers must have done more than is generally the case in *actual* scoring early in the game if they are to make up for causing a general collapse in the second half. Again, how often does a winger annex a ball which but for him would have reached his faster threes? And how often does his side actually get the try, which might well have been gained by the faster players that he has forestalled? Captains should seriously think out this question of wingers; it would be a good plan to keep account of their actual achievements. At present they are merely disliked as pilferers of the plums provided by other players' honest work, but this is apparently not enough to discredit them.

As regards the pack, though no one has yet patented a 'clunimeter,' it is becoming the fashion to choose forwards not for all-round ability, but because they fit into certain places in the scrum. It is quite true that some forwards fit in nowhere and do upset a pack, but they are exceptional. The good player of average adaptability can fit in anywhere, except, perhaps, as a 'hooker,' and it is best to choose all-rounders and give them a bit of drill before the match.

The new system tends to ignore grit and the match temperament—two most important qualifications.

May I sum up by saying that we can pay too dearly for a spectacle; that, since the essence of a sporting encounter is not an exhibition of pace or tactics but a fair fight between equals, the rules should so far as possible favour the weaker side; that the man-making rather than the spectatorial side of the game should be fostered; and that, as we are a phrase-ridden nation at the moment, someone should begin by coining a phrase to make 'falling' popular?

I have written as I have done in the hope that modern developments have come about, so to speak, unawares, and that if people will only think them out they will realise that they are unworthy of a sporting race, and that this last alteration in the interpretation of a 'tackle' has in particular done a world of harm. There are other sports in which skill and pace can be exhibited, but 'Rugger' has so far been the nurse of men as well as players, and from the educational point of view its value has been untold. Why need people tinker with it and eliminate the very features which are specially worthy to be retained?

E. C. ARNOLD.

BIRD SONG

In this country, where most of our birds are sombre in plumag it is usually by their songs that our attention is drawn to ther True, the kingfisher's cobalt and emerald livery may flash upc us as it wings its headlong flight over river or mere, but it only in a bright light that its lustre attains complete beauty and only under these conditions do the patches of azure on tl jay's shoulder and the violet and green reflections on the magpie wings strike the eye. The golden oriole would be a brilliant objec were it ever allowed to establish itself here, but 'sportsmen working on the principle of 'There's a strange bird; let's shoc it,' and the tribe of jackdaw-collectors, ensure its rarity Golc finches' glittering wings show up amid crimson thistle crown and the white rump of the wheatear flickers as it flies across th sand dunes or a sweep of purple heather. The gulls, in whos plumage white predominates, attract attention through the ey as much as through the ear. But, generally speaking, Britis birds are inconspicuous.

So much has been written about bird song that it may seer impertinent to add to the existing literature. But every fiel naturalist gleans a few fresh facts—here a little and there a little also, the appeal made by song to different temperaments has a infinite variety. A dozen individuals may listen to a nightingale but the effect upon their respective temperaments will not be th same: to the cockney the music may be simply 'a sparrer 'oller ing'; for the poet it hints at strains even more lovely—to hir 'heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter'; th musician marvels at those *bravura* passages which defeat musica notation; to the bird-lover it is a never-ending wonder and delight Yet all these diverse impressions have their interest.

Theories as to the origin of bird song are many. As Professo J. Arthur Thomson has pointed out, there is no voice amon invertebrates; the instrumental music of insects is mechanical The grasshopper produces its cheerful noise by rubbing certai knobs on its hind legs against a portion of its upper wings. Th 'chirrup' of locusts and crickets arises from friction. To quot Professor Thomson, 'birds inherited their voice . . . fro

reptilian ancestors,' and have 'reinvested this legacy.' Doubtless call-notes—the signals by means of which one bird communicates with another—are the source from which bird song has evolved. Some of these are obviously hereditary and instinctive. They are (*e.g.*, in the case of the lapwing) uttered by young birds while still in the egg. The songs of some of the British species have not even now progressed much beyond a repetition of such notes; that of the goldcrest, for instance, is simply its call reiterated. The tree-creeper's ditty, a thin quavering pipe, is founded on its feeble call, 'tsee tsee,' though it is true that there are added embellishments The cirl-bunting and the corncrake afford further instances of songs which consist of a succession of simple notes.

The similarity of call and alarm notes in birds belonging to the same species argues a common origin. The wood-warbler, when one is near the nest, utters a note which is more appealing in its plaintiveness than that of the chiffchaff, whose word of protest under similar circumstances is, again, more tearful than that of the willow-wren. The common whitethroat greets your presence with a churr which is obviously a curse, the lesser whitethroat's 'tchik' is a more feminine expletive, a 'sarcenet' oath, such as Hotspur bade his lady leave 'to velvet guards and Sunday-citizens.' But all these warbler call-notes are similar in type. The objurgations of the crow tribe have a distinct family resemblance—their mouths are full of cursing and bitterness, but the raven's curse is deeper and more awesome than the hoarse imprecation of the carrion crow the raven, when it swears, does it like a gentleman, his cousin's remarks recall a Thames bargee or an *habitué* of Billingsgate The rook's caw has sweet reasonableness in it compared with the notes of either crow or raven: as for jackdaw, jay and magpie, there is a comic element in their villainous jargon; they will never make your flesh creep as a raven can, but their remarks are distinctly corvine

Again, there is an affinity between the calls of chaffinch and brambling. The screams of peregrine and merlin are also very similar, though the merlin's is more shrill: a kestrel's 'kee kee,' though less virulent, bespeaks its consanguinity with both The call-notes of the buntings—corn, yellow, and cirl—resemble each other closely. It is hardly necessary to comment on the likeness between the angry chatter of the thrushes—blackbird, song and mistle thrush, ring-ousel, and fieldfare The redwing's note, though softer, is still specifically thrushlike. The conversation of the tits, though bewildering, is all in the dialect of their clan.

The same likeness also appears in songs of birds of the same or nearly allied families, though, as song marks a higher stage of evolution, there is usually here a greater divergence But even the songs of cirl-bunting and yellow-hammer are very much alike,

when the latter omits the 'cheese' ending it is often difficult to be sure which is which. To one good observer the cirl's notes sound more distinct; but, in fact, the *tempo* of his phrase is varied. Most cirl-buntings known to me inhabit Somerset, where we do not believe in indecent haste, and it may be that they have unconsciously assimilated the charming but easy-going ways of the Wessex folk. Most of the warblers have songs which approximate to each other, both in theme and method of delivery. The rapid, rippling passages which make up the music of blackcap and garden-warbler are so much alike that it sometimes puzzles even an expert to say at once to which bird he is listening; the shrill crescendo which ends the blackcap's carol usually puts his identity beyond all doubt, even if he is invisible, but occasionally one meets with a garden-warbler whose pitch and *timbre* make one hesitate until one has got a view of him. The songs of the whitethroats, common and lesser, have a marked cousinly connection: both clearly belong to the warbler family; in fact, the low warble of the latter—a clarinet solo *molto piano*—sounds very like the garden-warbler's flute. I once heard an American say, in praise of his wife's proficiency in French, 'I guess she sputters it at 'em pretty quick.' The same might be said of the whitethroats—they babble confusedly. To parody Dryden:

> The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,
> But whitethroats never deviate into sense.

But in his well-known 'rattle' note the lesser whitethroat is curiously unlike a warbler—it is nearer to chaffinch or cirl-bunting music; indeed, when this bunting and a lesser whitethroat were both giving tongue in my garden this summer, I had to listen very carefully in order to separate them. Sedge and reed warblers, too, chuckle in distinctly warbler modes, though the reed bird's small talk is more liquid and mellifluous than the sedge's chatter; both play reed instruments, but the one prefers the '*cor anglais*' and the other a miniature and etherealised bassoon.

The songs of the various members of the thrush clan, though they vary far more than do their respective call-notes, show an obvious cousinship. If the throstle is the most brilliant performer of this group—his art is that of a *virtuoso*—the blackbird, to many ears, tunes a sweeter, simpler melody; one might call him a *naïve* folk-song singer. The stormcock's rather monotonous strains are a connecting link between the two, while the ring-ousel trolls a robustious ballad such as one would expect from the throat of a blackbird who has deserted the copses and lush meadows of the plain for stark tors and lonely moorland spaces.

The 'territorial' theory of bird song has been worked out exhaustively by Mr. H. Eliot Howard.

Song [he says] in its full development belongs . . . to the season of reproduction ; it is heard at the dawn of the seasonal sexual process, and is the most conspicuous outward manifestation of the internal organic changes which ultimately lead to reproduction . . The male whilst travelling to its breeding grounds, and, even after its arrival, whilst in search of a territory, sings but little . . Yet, when a suitable territory is eventually secured, . . it . . . advertises its presence by a song uttered with such perseverance as to suggest that the end is at length attained. Hence . . . the instinct of song seems to be related to the establishment of a territory.

By song the male announces his presence to and attracts the female. This idea is beautifully expressed in Walt Whitman's well-known poem—though there the ' he-bird ' was calling in vain for his dead mate.

> Loud ! loud ! loud !
> High and clear I shoot my voice over the waves ,
> Surely you must know who is here, is here ,
> You must know who I am, my love

And, of course, ' territorial ' song also acts as a warning to other males that the singer has pegged out his claim and that ' trespassers will be prosecuted ' after the avian fashion, with beak and claws

Song among birds is, of course, mainly the prerogative of the male sex. A careful observer has recorded that the female robin occasionally sings, and I myself have heard and seen hen wood-larks and blackcaps pipe a few notes, but, so far as our present knowledge goes, these are exceptions.

The influence of imitation or mimicry in the evolution of bird song was discussed in great detail and with a wealth of examples by the late Mr. C A. Witchell in his book *The Evolution of Bird Song*. He gives many instances of caged birds imitating the songs of other species, and records similar characteristics in the songs of wild birds.

One may doubt whether the imitations by caged birds of the songs of others confined near them are of much value in deter-mining how far imitation affects the origin of bird song Birds in a cage are not in their natural surroundings, and the presence of other prisoners gives them opportunities of copying songs with which they would not otherwise become acquainted. But some species are well-known mimics, even when living their natural lives in the wild. W. H. Hudson in his *Adventures among Birds* has a charming chapter on ' The Marsh Warbler's Mus...'

> Listening to the marsh warbler at some distance, [he writ...] it seemed to me at first that he sang his own song interspersed with im...ations, that the borrowed songs and phrases were selections which acc...ded best with his own notes, so that the whole performance was like s...e ever-varying melody. On closer acquaintance, I found that the ...rformance was mainly or nearly all imitations in which the loud, h...sh and guttural

sounds were subdued and softened—that the mocker's native, silvery sweetness had in some degree been imparted to all of them.

He goes on to enumerate over twenty species whose songs and calls he recognised in the marsh-warbler's song. A certain type of ornithologist has, of late, begun to decry Hudson's knowledge of British birds If anyone compares his chapter on the marsh-warbler with some purely scientific description of the same species, he will, I am sure, gain from this 'ignorant' writer an intimate knowledge of the real bird for which he will look in vain in the scientific essay. Hudson's birds live for us because he loved them alive, not dead.

The sedge-warbler is also a well-known mimic. One to which I listened for ten minutes last summer introduced into his song the scold of the common wren, the chitter of the house-sparrow, portions of the skylark's carol, the call-notes of the brown linnet and dunnock, the shake of the nightingale, the alarm note of the swallow, the chaffinch's 'spink,' and the 'tchink, tchink' of a blackbird which thinks it has seen a ghost at dusk All these birds were quite common in the neighbourhood; in fact, a nightingale was singing intermittently from the copse on whose border the sedge-warbler was performing

Starlings, too, are accomplished ventriloquists. One in my garden constantly imitated the blackbird's song, another would occasionally hoot like a brown owl. The curlew's weird, wild whistle evidently appeals to this species; I have on several occasions heard starlings reproduce it. The 'tchack' of the jackdaw, the mad laughter of the yaffle, the spring call of the lapwing, they can copy to perfection. When living in a part of Cheshire where the buzzard is practically unknown I was surprised one morning to hear its peevish 'pee-ou' from an oak some 30 yards away. A starling had imitated it to the life. On another occasion this clown among birds again made a fool of me. The common sandpiper is a migrant which reaches Cheshire about the middle of April., I was therefore puzzled to hear its call from my bedroom window so early as February 22, until I saw a particularly roguish 'shepster' (to use its Cheshire name) gurgling and chuckling from the top of a chimney near-by, enjoying the joke it had played upon my too credulous self.

The blackbird is less famous as a mimetic artist, though Witchell records his imitation of the crowing of a barndoor cock and the cries of some dozen other species. One May evening I heard a green woodpecker's laugh in an elm in front of me: I raised my field-glasses, hoping to catch a glimpse of this ever-attractive humorist, but I could see only a blackbird; as I admired his glistening black plumage I was amazed to see him throw back his head and give vent to a perfect peal of yaffle

laughter, ending, however, in his own inconsequential cadence. Soon he flew further off, and, in the distance, repeated the joke to his friends. I had before this heard what I thought was a green woodpecker near the spot, but I am wondering now how often this ouzel-cock may have deceived me.

The song-thrush's imitative bent is better known. Witchell listened to fifty thrushes in fourteen months, and heard 1120 phrases 'which seemingly contained some recognisable imitations.' A song-thrush singing in the same thicket as a nightingale last June copied the 'foreign singer's' throbbing trill so well that it was puzzling to decide which bird was singing; in his attempts to emulate that long-drawn, low, plaintive wail of the nightingale —a phrase which, to my mind, puts him in a class by himself among British songsters—the thrush was less successful; his note was higher in pitch, and, perhaps for that reason, failed quite to make one's heart-strings tremble. Another thrush, in a Cheshire wood, constantly introduced into his song the 'bubble' note of the hen cuckoo. I have heard one suddenly shout the curlew's danger cry, which sounds like 'pereèk.' A chaffinch will utter the nuthatch's well-known whistle as a prelude to his song, and a robin intersperse the common whitethroat's chuckle among his own melodies. I have also noticed affinities in the songs of some common redstarts to those of chaffinch, blackbird and redbreast, and have heard a robin imitate the call of a cock redstart and the song of the common whitethroat. The young buzzard has a cry which is so like a rabbit caught in a trap that I have been quite deceived: indeed, I was going into a copse to look for the rabbit, when suddenly the buzzard flew over my head, crying, and showed me my error.

Witchell, rather tentatively, asks whether it is not possible that many wild birds have unconsciously learnt to imitate sounds persistent in their neighbourhood, and that these sounds have been, partly by filial mimicry, partly by voluntary imitation, gradually reproduced in their songs. He points out that several birds of the duck family, for instance the sheld-duck and wigeon, have whistling cries; and so has the whooper-swan: the sound of its wings can be heard at some distance. Birds accustomed to long flights and to a life in lonely places would, he thought, observe sounds caused by flight, especially at the times of migration. He alludes to the likeness of the cries of owls to the moaning of the wind in the hollow trees which they frequent. Robins, wrens, hedge-sparrows, blackbirds and blackcaps might, he surmised, have acquired their music partly through the influence of the murmurs and gurgles of rippling streams.

Every field naturalist must often have noticed this resemblance of bird song to elemental sounds. The song of the goldfinch is like

golden rain falling upon smooth waters; and some of the brown linnet's notes suggest the same imagery, only his, perhaps, are silver rather than gold. The whinchat's delicate warble has the same delightful 'raindrop' quality; Hudson described the song as 'a mere drop of sound, yet to all other bird sounds about it like the drop of dew or rain among many other crystal, colourless drops,' which catches the light at the right angle and shines with loveliest colour. The dipper spends as much of his time in the water as on land or in the air: it is not wonderful to find that his song is such a perfect imitation of the rippling, gurgling chatter of the swift-flowing mountain rills which he loves, and, at times, his song is almost as unintermittent as the brook's, which goes on forever, I have heard one sing without perceptible pause for three minutes on end. The grasshopper-warbler, of course, takes his name from the similarity of his song to that of the insect. Witchell points out that the young of this species, and also of the yellow and cirl buntings, have ample opportunity, during their infancy, of hearing the notes of grasshoppers and crickets, and suggested that their songs might be imitations of these cheerful chirrupings. The alarm notes of stonechat and wheatear resemble the sound made by one stone striking another; both these birds inhabit places where

> The stones falling,
> Fill empty gorge on gorge with echoes calling.

Witchell also studied the subject of the musical phrases in the songs of birds It is, he says, easy to record 'the intervals expressed in limited cries, though, of course, with only approximate accuracy, for the birds have no knowledge of our scale of music.' Whether it might be possible to score bird song more precisely if one were acquainted with Indian music, which has twenty-two intervals in its octave, I cannot say; Mr. W. H. Davies' mariner told how 'the strange Chinese,' another Oriental race, 'conversed much as our homely blackbirds sing'; but he was 'a damn bad sailor and a landshark too': hardly a reliable witness! Witchell recognised the impossibility, in the case of birds which sing long, rapid passages, of setting down their songs in musical notation, but he did capture musical phrases in the songs of several species, and as many as seventy-six in those of thirty different blackbirds. But it must be confessed that some of the phrases convey very little bird melody to the ear when played on piano or violin. Figuratively, one may liken birds' notes to various instruments of music, but I know of none which really attains the peculiar *timbre* of avian voices, though the 'gentle-sounding flute' is capable of giving some bird notes with considerable verisimilitude.

The difficulty of reproducing their songs in terms of human

speech is equally insurmountable. It is significant that few British birds are named from their songs or calls. True, the cuckoo does say 'cuckoo' unmistakably, and the lapwing 'peewit'; 'u-tick,' the Cheshire name for whinchat, is exactly its alarm note. One could recognise the chiffchaff from his oft-repeated solo on two notes, but I can hear very little 'ch' in them Translations of bird music into bird language are, in only a few instances, satisfactory, and this is not strange when one remembers that birds do not produce sounds in the larynx, but in a special organ, the syrinx I recognised the quail's call the first time I heard it as 'wet-my-lips,' or 'wet-my-feet,' which is perhaps nearer the original The ringdove's 'take *two* cows, David, take' is certainly very happy, much more so, to my ear, than the alleged 'little-bit-of-bread-and-no-cheese' of the yellow-hammer, which makes considerable demands on the imagination; and so does 'in-another-month-will-come-a-wheatear' for the chaffinch's song. An Artois peasant rendered it to a friend of mine as 'J'avais ung tout p'tit, p'tit, p'tit catiaou [chateau]'—quite a good interpretation; but French patois is more plastic than English

Witchell thought that birds such as the thrush and blackbird had acquired their musical passages by imitation during their age-long association with the human race in fields, villages and country towns. But, as W. H. Hudson pointed out when commenting on this theory, some of our song birds 'are imitative in a much higher degree than the blackbird, yet never come near to human music in their songs.' He believed that the blackbird sang such phrases naturally, because it is his nature to. He

> throws out his notes anyhow, until in this haphazard way he hits on a sequence of notes, or phrase, that pleases him, and practises it with variations Finally, he may get fond of it, and go on repeating it for days or weeks Every individual singer is, so to speak, his own composer.

He goes on to recall 'a blackbird of genius' he once heard in the New Forest.
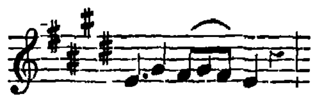
> This bird did not repeat a strain with some slight variation, . . but sang differently every time, or varied the strain so greatly as to make it appear like a new melody on each repetition, yet every one of its strains could have been set down in musical notation . . No person . . . could believe that these strains were borrowed They were too many, and they came as spontaneously as water gushing from a rock

I believe that Hudson was right. It is true that some of Witchell's collected blackbird phrases are 'musical' to our ears (many of them are very like bugle calls, which, fluted by a blackbird, could summon only elfin hosts), and he also records a starling imitating a parrot that whistled the four notes of the common chord; yet, for all that, it is a comparatively rare thing to hear

wild birds sing a phrase which is a recognisable imitation of man-made melody. We humans do not know

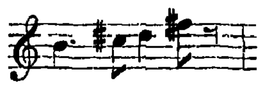
> The dialect they speak, whose melodies
> Alone are the interpreters of thought,
> Whose household words are songs in many keys,
> Sweeter than instrument of man e'er caught.

I have notes of a good many musical phrases heard in bird songs, but the only one which approaches a 'tune' is this crow of a barndoor cock:

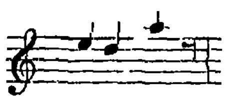


The notes are the same as the opening bar of a dance tune popular in the early days of this century. As this rooster crew outside a lonely cottage on the borders of Exmoor a year or two ago, the possibility of imitation is unlikely. The following are phrases from blackbird songs heard by me:

(1)



(2)



(3)



No. 1 occasionally repeated the initial B natural at the end of the phrase, but this was usually omitted. The second bird sometimes sang the three notes in the middle of a long 'unmusical' passage, and sometimes separately. The third phrase was like a posthorn, and reminded one of Witchell's 'bugle-call' blackbirds. All three birds were evidently fond of their little bit of melody and repeated it often, but the *motifs* sounded inconsequential, as all blackbirds' songs do, and, after listening to them, the impression they left was that the singer had lit upon them by accident rather than by imitation. The same was the case with a musical phrase which I heard often repeated in the song of a mistle-thrush.

It seems possible that both the 'territorial' and 'imitative' theories of the origin and evolution of bird song are sound, in so far that both have played their part. But, whatever may be their history, there can be no doubt that their songs to-day are always the result of heightened emotion. This may arise from various causes, or a combination of several, but evidently the sex impulse is the strongest. The physical changes which take place in birds

as the breeding season approaches make them 'renew their old melodious madrigals of love'; at this season, if it be true that every flower enjoys the air it breathes, it is equally certain that every bird enjoys the song it sings. The strains that charm and delight us are ecstatic lyrics; birds, like poets, sing 'because they must, and not because they will.' The song of both is an imperfect effort to attain the unattainable, to express that 'something more' which cannot be told in words or music Though the bird may not know it, this is the impulse that controls the evolution of his own and all other poetry. If the nightingale sang to Neanderthal man, we may surmise it was a less perfect lyric than that which he sings to us to-day. Perhaps the song which found a path 'through the sad heart of Ruth' was not 'the self-same song' which Keats heard that memorable night at Hampstead, but some simpler melody.

With some birds it seems that this exuberance of joy can only be expressed by flight and song in combination: the skylark and woodlark are obvious instances, though both these also sing when stationary. Tree and meadow pipits descend in giddy spirals as they sing, whitethroats toss themselves deliriously aloft and bubble over, the redshank literally dances in the air as he trills his love-melody. Others, who normally sing from a perch, such as song-thrush, blackbird, chaffinch and mistle-thrush, at this time cannot restrain their music even when on the wing. Some, darkness itself cannot silence: sedge-warblers, nightingales, and corncrakes are well-known night singers, but I have also heard the common wren shatter the silence of a June midnight with irrepressible music.

Gradually, as the sex impulse gives way to the cares of a family, the choral symphony fades and wanes. The singers are fewer, and those who still gladden us have lost their verve. The glory has departed; even the throstle cannot now 'recapture his first fine careless rapture.' The willow-wren will warble on a sunny September morning, but it is a farewell song before his long journey southwards. In August the reed-warbler sings slowly and disjointedly, as though it were an effort: his voice is huskier and more squeaky; it recalls the rustling of brown reeds when the 'sedge has wither'd from the lake, and no birds sing.' Soon the cirl-bunting, that persistent optimist who stutters his staccato throughout the hottest August days, is the only bird voice left. The shortness of song's duration is one of the tragedies of a bird-lover's life! Never comes mid-June without regret that the few short weeks when song is at its zenith are over, and that fuller use has not been made of the opportunity to let bird music saturate and sink into the mind.

In autumn, though our migrant visitors have left or are leaving

us, there is a short revival, which, though it never attains to such a pitch of ecstasy as in the summer festival, has moments of great beauty. The woodlark's renewed song in September vies even with his spring exultations, the robin in October attunes his note delightfully to 'mists and mellow fruitfulness' and the patter of golden leaves as they fall. But, even in winter, bird song never dies I have heard the songs of cirl-bunting, song-thrush, storm-cock and woodlark, and the laughter of the yaffle, in every month of the year. Even in November the dabchick whinnies cheerfully. I have known the ringdove suggest cattle stealing to David in December. Wrens, robins, and occasionally blackbirds, are winter singers, and so is the dipper. Chaffinches begin again in late January, and early February turns the thoughts of the yellow-hammer to 'bread and no cheese' This winter music depends largely, of course, upon weather conditions. High wind with low temperature silences most singers, cloud seems to depress others, but many birds sing in the rain; calm, bright days always make some feathered optimist think that spring is here

The fact that birds sing after the breeding time is over shows clearly enough that love is not the only well-spring from which their song arises, what these other emotions may be is bound to be largely a matter of supposition. Besides weather conditions and a plentiful supply of food, alarm is a powerful song stimulus. I once saw a kestrel stoop at a skylark the hawk missed its quarry by a fraction of an inch, immediately the skylark soared up and burst into full song A fisherman friend once saw a hawk attack a dipper, which fell, partly stunned, into the water. He scared off the hawk, and the dipper floated downstream till it came to a stone, when it crawled out, gradually recovered, and finally broke into music It is, of course, possible that the stimulus in both these cases may have been relief from danger. Birds which are good singers are volatile in temperament, and therefore likely to be easily influenced by environment—in fact, to possess in some measure the æsthetic sense; hence they respond readily in song to any stimulus, pleasurable or otherwise. A stone thrown into a reed-bed makes all the sedge and reed warblers hysterical—'when the little heart is big, a little sets it off.'

It would be interesting to discover by a plebiscite of bird-lovers which was their favourite song. I suppose that where the nightingale is well known he would be universally given the first place. I should plump for him; no British songster can match a good nightingale in richness and variety. But all nightingales do not sing equally well; and a fine song-thrush may run an indifferent nightingale very close W. H. Hudson, writing to me soon after his *Adventures among Birds* had been published, said that the book had brought him an astonishing number of letters from all parts

of the country, and most of the writers declared that the blackbird was their favourite songster. Before I had heard the woodlark sing, I think I should have placed the blackbird second after the nightingale, but now, knowing and loving the woodlark's musical powers so well, the blackbird must yield precedence to him. Probably our referendum would reveal some strange choices, but I can well imagine that some might give second, or even first, place to blackcap, garden-warbler, song-thrush, woodlark or skylark. Burroughs, the American naturalist, apparently put the willow-warbler very high in the scale

> The song of the willow-warbler [he wrote] has a dying fall no other bird song is so touching in this respect It mounts up round and full, then runs down the scale and expires upon the air in a gentle murmur.

All bird-lovers must have memories of bird song heard under ideal conditions, say at dawn or sunset or amid exquisite scenery, or when, for no discernible reason, except, perhaps, that one's digestion was in perfect order, the mind was 'attunèd to the note of Philomel,' or some other fine singer On such occasions the listener is inclined to ask with Walt Whitman, 'Is it indeed toward your mate you sing? Or is it mostly to me?' I have memories, alas too rare, of the marvellous burst of song at dawn in spring or early summer. One such chorus, to which I listened just on the borders of a Cheshire copse, was so bewildering in its fulness that it was hardly possible to distinguish the strains of individual singers In fact, one ceased to attempt it, but passively allowed pure music to sink into one's brain Another such symphony I heard on the outskirts of a village. The throstle stated the opening theme · then blackbirds, with flute and oboe, suggested the second subject, this set off the whole orchestra, in which song and mistle thrush, blackbird, chaffinch and yellowhammer combined. Unfortunately, this awoke the house-sparrows, with their banderlog chatter, as irritating as the conversation of cads throughout a Beethoven concerto, but it was persistent, and, after some ten minutes, the musicians gave up the attempt in disgust and left the field to them. Only the yellow-hammer continued to perform imperturbably.

Or perhaps the memory may be of the song of some new singer, or one heard unexpectedly, or with some rare touch of sweetness and beauty. Once in midwinter and again in early autumn I have heard the low warble of the redwing, though he sings but little in this country, and then usually just before his departure. A morning in April is memorable to me, because I then heard for the first time a flock of at least 500 bramblings make the bare beech boles throb with the shrill 'cree' call of the male birds as they sought their food among the golden leaf carpet. Or I would

picture to you another April noon, with half a dozen linnets, in a patch of gorse so brilliant that it paled the yellow-hammer's breast, scattering all manner of tender love notes upon the mild, warm air—and this beneath a sky of clear and unfathomable blue. Once in a Welsh valley there came to me from among beeches almost more yellow than green in their spring livery the laugh of the yaffle; and then another mocked him with merriment so faint that it seemed like an echo, a ghost of the call of the first bird. One day my wife and I listened to three cuckoos singing together: one sang a major, one a minor third, and another a perfect fourth. Two of these were calling at a different pitch, the one much higher than the other, so that the 'coo' of the tenor cuckoo was the same note as the 'cuck' of the bass!

I will end with a comment upon the statement which one finds almost invariably in books on birds that the nightingale ceases singing when the young are hatched. It is at least as old as Bewick. Last June I was watching a pair of nightingales feeding four nestlings about a week old. I heard the cock's well-known notes while I was approaching, and, as I watched, on several occasions he sang before going to the nest with food. His warbling was not so continuous as it is earlier in the season, but the throb and trill passages were there. Of course it is foolish to generalise from a single bird, and it may be that the statement is generally correct, but I cannot help wondering whether at any rate some modern writers on birds have not simply copied it from older authors without having taken the trouble to test its truth for themselves. The field naturalist has corrected many errors of armchair oracles, and the tally is not yet complete.

E. W. HENDY.
(*Ernest Blake.*)

THE HIGHER INTELLIGENCE OF INSECTS

THE wonderful activities of insect life were remarked upon long before anything approaching a serious study of their habits was attempted; but the subject was exploited chiefly by essayists. No other group of the animal kingdom has provided material for so many morals, sermons, poems, and philosophical discourses as insects, but the references to them in early literature show no desire to investigate the laws which govern them; that side of the matter was only touched upon with the deepest reverence, and then dismissed as some holy mystery which forbade conjecture. Moreover, they were viewed solely from the human standpoint; that is to say, their actions and motives were ascribed to a highly developed reasoning power only possessed by human beings, and then only by the advanced members of the race. The attitude towards the insect world in those days was a respectful admiration for the intelligence with which they managed their affairs, acting under the guidance of laws which were considered beyond human understanding.

Then followed the period of scientific research leading to a more accurate delineation of conscious and unconscious action, and general opinion swerved in the opposite direction. Those insect activities which for so long had been regarded as evidence of their intelligence were now proved to be merely the working of a very delicate and highly organised machinery, which brought about results that had only a superficial resemblance to those produced by the working of conscious mind.

Those who still clung to their belief in the reasoning powers of insects were shaken out of their position by the work of Loeb and Jennings. The former proved by very careful and interesting experiments that most of the actions of insects can be traced to 'tropisms,' a word first used in connexion with plant life to express the forced movements excited by powerful stimuli, such as light, heat, chemicals, electricity, etc., acting on the organism. Repetition of such excitations (or stimuli) were proved to result further in the formation of habits. These experiments were repeated and added to by various scientific workers, and the results are as convincing as they are remarkable.

Actions in response to light are called 'phototropisms'; where they are caused by the direct influence of the sun's rays they are known as 'heliotropisms.' These actions are compulsory; the animal under the influence of a tropism acts mechanically, but when once the action is accomplished the tropism weakens, or probably other stimuli prove stronger. Loeb illustrates this in his experiments on the caterpillars of the Browntail moth (*Euproctis chrysorrea*). These come out of hibernation early in the year and feed on opening leaf buds, they display a strong heliotropism on first awakening, which impels them to seek the strongest light by climbing to the tips of the branches or the top of the tree before stopping to feed. When actually on their food they come under the influence of a stronger stimulus, namely, the scent of the young shoots, which, acting on their scent-organs, induces them to feed After the first meal they were proved to be no longer heliotropic, nor did they again become so when they were made to fast. If when the caterpillars first emerged from hibernation they were placed in a glass tube lighted at one end, and with food at the opposite end, they remained in the light until they starved. This seems to indicate that if no response follows the first stimulus the subsequent actions fail. For the caterpillars in the tube were subject to the influence of the scent of their food plant, but until the heliotropism weakened no other influence could prevail, and this could not weaken until a muscular response had been evoked.

Kellogg while working on a hive of bees in his laboratory made a valuable discovery with regard to the part which heliotropism plays in the swarming of the colony, and consequently of other swarming insect communities which live in the dark.

The hive was of glass and stood under the skylight, and was kept covered by a dark cloth Hearing the excited hum of the bees, beginning to swarm, Kellogg took off the cloth to watch their behaviour. Some individuals had already passed out of the exit, but when light was introduced from above the rest changed their course and made for the top of the hive. When the cloth was replaced they again moved towards the exit until checked by its removal; and while the cover was off the bees remained crawling on the top of the hive until the swarming ecstasy died down and the workers returned to their normal occupations. In three hours the humming recommenced, and again Kellogg was able to check the swarming by introducing stronger light from above; but ultimately he allowed the bees to emerge and swarm in the normal fashion. This striking record proves beyond dispute that the impulse which impels the swarming brood to emerge from the nest is heliotropism. After they have emerged other influences lead to the successful carrying out of this wonderful episode in the

life of the community, and when once the bees are dominated by the powerful swarming instinct they cannot be forced to respond even to a strong light.

Certain animals which are said to be attracted by curiosity to light—a fact which has been made use of in many instances to bring about their destruction—are thus proved to be under the influence of positive phototropism. The attraction of light for moths is very well known, and anyone who has lived in a neighbourhood where glow-worms are abundant must have been distressed by the reckless manner in which the winged males in the breeding season will commit suicide in candles and lamps. The reason for this attraction is obvious, thanks to Loeb's experiments; the unfortunate males develop a strong phototropism for the purpose of being guided thereby to the light which the female exhibits, and he is automatically drawn away from his mate to be destroyed by her more powerful rivals.

Kellogg's experiments with silk-moths (*Bombyx mori*) determined the power of the chemotropism by which the male moth finds the female. This is in response to the scent which the female diffuses by means of two little scent-brushes that she protrudes from the abdomen. The scent excites and guides the male, and it is well known that such scents can be carried long distances. Kellogg found that the male moth of *Bombyx mori* failed to find the female when the antennæ, which are the seat of the organ of smell, were removed. A decapitated female, however, copulated at once, and the removal of the thoracic ganglia, and even of part of the abdomen, did not interfere with copulation or even with oviposition. The eggs laid were fewer in number, but they hatched out normally.

Canestrini, in his investigations on decapitated insects in 1883, found that a female fly when decapitated copulated a moment later, and one specimen even copulated twice; but he does not record that they oviposited, which is a more remarkable fact, as it proves that the whole operation could be carried through without any directing control from the chief nerve centre. The body of an insect can carry on its functions for some time without the head; Canestrini, in the course of these same experiments, proved that the head of a Praying Mantis remained alive for sixty hours after removal from the body, and that the latter responded to stimuli for fourteen days!

With the testimony of such experiments before us, carried out by such able scientists, it would seem that there is no place for speculation on the intelligence of this group. That if we observe certain actions which cannot be classified under any of these headings, it must be simply because the particular tropism which directs the insect's behaviour in that instance has not yet been

ascertained. Such was the opinion of Bethe, who came to the conclusion that all invertebrate animals lead a purely mechanical existence and perform automatically the acts that appear intelligent.

And yet with all these proven facts there are a number of level-headed scientists who still pause in doubt before the stupendous evidence of such inconsistencies as variable conduct of individuals exposed to the same excitations; of individuality among insects of the same species and even of the same brood; of varying moods, as well as memory, calculation, and the ability to profit by experience, all of which we are accustomed to associate with a higher grade of mentality. Even the experimentalists themselves waver in applying the laws that they have discovered when they are confronted with some of their own observations; Kellogg, after recording the results of his experiments on silk-moths quoted above, says:

> Personally, while still inclined to see more wit in ants than Bethe's extreme confidence in the reflex theory of their behaviour would admit, and while recognising the reasonableness and legitimacy of the query, does the reflex basis of behaviour really simplify our conception of the springs of animal behaviour?

Among naturalists not influenced by the more recent work of Loeb we find very high tributes paid to the intelligence of insects from those who had made careful observations on their behaviour. Bates, when he observed Army Ants being tended by their fellow-workers after unusual exertions, remarks:

> It was a curious spectacle, and one well calculated to increase one's amazement at the similarity between the instructive actions of ants and the acts of rational beings, a similarity which must have been brought about by two different processes of development of the primary qualities of the mind.

Belt, after witnessing the marvellous powers of the same insects, the Army Ants, and experimenting on their resourceful manner of dealing with a problem, boldly uses the term 'reasoning power' when describing them; and, referring to a statement by Houzean that of all animals the ants most nearly approach man in their social condition, Belt adds his personal comment that if man could learn the wonderful language of ants he might find that their *mental* condition also ranks next to humanity.

Fabre dismisses all claims to intelligence with an irritating verbosity which is not very convincing:

> Pure instinct, [he says] if it existed alone, would leave the insect unarmed in the perpetual conflict of circumstances . . . a guide is necessary . . . this guide the insect possesses to a very evident degree. It is the

second domain of its psychology. In this domain it is conscious and can learn by experience. Not daring to call this aptitude rudimentary intelligence, which is too advanced a title, I will call it discernment.

Perhaps the eminent entomologist, having emphatically stated his belief in the changelessness of instincts all through his *Souvenirs Entomologiques*, found it easier to invent new articles to his creed than express a doubt which might have involved rewriting the whole book. Forel, on the contrary, emphasises that instincts are changeable.

If we carefully study the behaviour of each individual of a species of insects with a developed brain, we are not long in finding noteworthy differences, especially when we put the instinct under abnormal conditions. We then force a nervous activity of these insects to present a second and plastic aspect which has been to a large extent hidden from us under their enormously developed instinct

It is acknowledged, then, that there are instances of behaviour which, with our advanced knowledge of the origins of habit and behaviour, are still inexplicable. In such distinguished company as the naturalists quoted above we may proceed, without fear of assaulting some fixed formula for solving the problems of insect behaviour, and consider the evidence of individuality among insects, which, even if we may not call it the product of individual mind, or even of consciousness, yet cannot be explained by any form of instinct.

To follow up these theories it is necessary to carry in one's mind a general idea of the development of instinct.

All instincts originate in excitations or stimuli coming from outside the organism and affecting it through its sense-organs. Even so lowly an organism as the *Amœba* is sensitive to stimuli through the sense of touch, for it retracts when it comes in contact with anything solid, and expands when its way lies clear.

The highest mental activities—reasoning, deduction, comparison, imagination, and so forth—also originate from outside stimuli acting on the sense-organs. Sense-organs are the doors by which external influences enter the consciousness of an organism. If one could imagine an individual deprived of all his senses—touch, sight, hearing, taste, smell—he would be completely imprisoned in himself and shut out from all communication with the outside world. A highly cultured mentality would be of little use to such an individual, since no influence whatever could reach him except through the sense-organs.

The highest mental activities presuppose a highly developed organ for retaining impressions, and the function of this organ we express by the word 'memory.'

The evolution of memory marches parallel with evolution of mind, because no advance in intelligence can be possible without

some means of registering on the organism those influences which reach it from outside, and each step forward is marked by an improved method of registration.

In the lowest planes of life we find mere response of the protoplasm to anything which can reach its sensibility. When the responses to excitations are registered a higher grade is reached, because they can be transmitted to the next generation as habits.

This is logically sound, for a casual excitation is of no special importance in the life-history of the organism; there is therefore response, but it is not registered. If there should be repetition of these excitations, it is proof that they must influence the organism in some definite fashion; the response is therefore registered for the benefit of future generations.

When in the higher organisms sensation, instead of being diffused all over the protoplasm, is concentrated in special organs, namely, nerve ganglia, it is possible for a combined series of actions to be registered, which are added to in the course of transmission, these are known to us as complex instincts Among insects instincts have developed to an exquisite point of perfection which is not equalled in any other group of the animal kingdom. At every point of their life-history we encounter new instincts fitting them for new activities and shielding them from adverse influences of their environment. But side by side with these fixed instincts, which are certain defined actions often very complicated, resulting in the first place from certain defined excitations of the sense-organs, there are perplexing deviations from the general rule These deviations are in reality the insect's safeguard, for if insects had been the perfect automata which such scientists as Bethe and Wasmann would have us believe, they would never have succeeded in taking possession of this planet and exploiting its resources, as they have done and are still doing to-day.

It is this plasticity of habit which is the secret of the insects' success and gives them such a marked advantage in the fierce struggle for existence, for this is the power by which they are constantly adapting themselves to new conditions.

All new conditions involve the formation of new habits to cope with them, and new habits must be supported by new organs. These are the stipulations insisted upon by Nature for all creatures which change their environment for one to which they have not been adapted; and Nature is very exacting—the penalty for flouting this law is death to the species. But these conditions insects are constitutionally qualified to fulfil.

The wide distribution of insects, as well as their immense antiquity, is due to their bodily structure, which lends itself to special adaptation to new conditions. A very remarkable

example of adaptability to climate has been shown quite recently. The Praying Mantis belongs to what has always been considered an essentially tropical group of insects; and yet during the ascent of Mount Everest specimens of young mantids were taken at a height of 16,500 feet. As the power of adaptability or variability—or plasticity, as it is sometimes called—emanates from the constitution of the insect itself, we are able to trace in allied forms the same elements which in some species will form a particular character. For instance, the secretions which supply the luminant for a glow-worm's light are actually present in beetles belonging to other families which do not show a light. These latter have not concentrated the material in certain parts of the body and evolved an organ for showing it off, nevertheless they have the means of doing so had the need arisen Therefore, when they evolve a new habit to preserve the species under some new condition, this will be made a fixed habit by some change in the bodily structure.

Instincts are sufficient to any insect so long as they meet all the exigencies of its daily existence, the propagation of the species being, of course, the sole end in view, but so soon as occasions arise in the life of the species which cannot be met by instinct, and it is a question whether that species will go under or develop new habits, then the plasticity which led to the building up of these instincts asserts itself again, and we find that these mechanical impulses are by no means unchangeable It has been admirably shown by Pictet in his experiments on the food of caterpillars that individuals may respond to new excitations and become indifferent in the course of a few generations to those that stimulated their ancestors Pictet proved that in four generations the caterpillars of the Gipsy moth (*Ocneria dispar*) could become accustomed to a totally new diet. He tested them with the leaf, which is not the natural food-plant and has a very distinct flavour Only a few caterpillars of the first generation came through on this new food, and these produced moths abnormally small and weakly To restore their vitality the second generation were allowed their customary diet of oak, but the third generation took to walnut leaves with less difficulty, and the moths were normal in size. The fourth generation fed naturally on the new diet.

Sometimes a species will tentatively throw off suggestions in several directions, markedly in schemes of protective colouration; and those which are advantageous to the species probably become fixed, thus forming a new race. Colour may vary even among members of the same brood.

This, broadly, is the process in the development of characters, which we can also follow out in the psychic evolution of insects

until we reach the most highly developed order—namely, the Hymenoptera. And, still bearing in mind the characteristic flexibility of insects, we find in this order a point where a higher grade of mentality confronts us which has no parallel in any other order. It marks the boundary where the most intricate and finely adjusted instincts fail to fulfil the exacting demands made upon them; and we find new evidence of the extraordinary plastic powers of insects in the fact that they can even penetrate the areas of controlled reason, which we are apt to consider our own private domain.

Much work has been done on the social insects—wild bees, ants, wasps—and on the solitary wasps. Although many actions of these insects which appear to be directed by intelligence have been proved by experiment to be merely instinctive, there have come to light astounding proofs of what is best described as a choice of action.

In the excellent book of the Peckhams on *Solitary Wasps* it is when the insects fall short of their achievements rather than when they are successful that one gets some sort of insight into the process by which they accomplish their marvellous tasks; and we shall find that in all instances quoted there is no inalterable law of conduct, but there is a marked tendency to deviate directly instinct fails.

Memory for Colours and Objects.—Many experiments have shown that both bees and wasps have a remarkable memory for colour, and further that, although they have learnt that certain colours represent certain necessities, such as food or their home, they can be educated to attach meaning to other colours. With bees one colour will be registered to the exclusion of others for a period. Lord Avebury's experiments with honey on different coloured papers showed that a bee will continue to search all day for the colour which first yielded food and ignore honey on other colours This is doubtless one of the articles in the agreement between bees and the flowers which are fertilised by them. An individual bee will do a half or whole day's work on one species of flowers, thereby ensuring a minimum of waste of pollen.

Both bees and wasps rely upon colour memory as well as object memory when they are memorising the landscape of their nest in order to return to it. The Peckhams carried out ingenious experiments on a wasps' nest by putting coloured paper over the entrance, with a hole for the wasps to pass through. As soon as the workers became accustomed to one colour this was exchanged for another. The first time this was done there was considerable confusion among the incoming wasps, but each time the colour was changed they showed more aptitude to recognise the entrance

under a new aspect. To ascertain whether they had really learnt to rely upon the colour to guide them the coloured paper which they had last learnt to associate with the entrance was removed to a little distance and another colour substituted for it; every home-coming wasp flew straight to the false entrance, and some even began to excavate behind the paper in searching for the nest, which was only a short distance away. Evidently wasps, like bees, memorise certain colours associated with their daily work, but the most striking fact connected with this experiment was that the wasps showed greater aptitude for learning a new colour each time they were tested.

Solitary wasps stock their nests with live insects, on which the larvæ feed when they hatch from the egg The female wasps have first to dig a burrow, then make an expedition in search of prey, which may detain them several hours and take them very far afield. Before setting out to hunt, the wasp flies round the burrow, hovering before the most conspicuous objects, and taking in the whole locality in ever-widening circles until she has thoroughly mastered all the points which are to guide her on the return journey. She has to search for particular prey, and overcome it by paralysing it with her sting. Her attention is so entirely absorbed in the work that nothing will distract her, and yet during this time she must retain a detailed image of the nest with its surroundings—especially those wasps which provision the nest with large insects and have to walk back every step of the way dragging their prey with them.

On reaching the burrow some species of wasps have the habit of leaving the insect outside while they go below and make final preparations for its storage. The spot where it is left must be also memorised to ensure their finding it again. So we see that these wasps must be very dependent on memory. The Peckhams tested this by removing objects near the burrow, and this was found to have thrown them out in their reckonings completely: just as we might be confused if any of the landmarks by which we are accustomed to guide ourselves, more or less unconsciously, should be suddenly missing.

The marvellous sequence of events from the digging of the burrow to the laying of the egg may be attributed to instinct alone. One observation of the Peckhams on *Amophilus* indicates the compelling force which directs the actions. They actually witnessed on one occasion the laying of the egg in the middle of these events instead of its being the culmination of the female's labours, owing, no doubt, to some uncalculated delay. The distressed female was apparently quite at a loss how to act in these circumstances. She dragged out the caterpillar she was preparing to store and flew away with it (followed by her inde-

fatigable observers), made a circuitous flight, and returned to the empty nest—when, since she had no physical promptings as to the events which should follow the arrival at the burrow, she lost heart and deserted it. The account of this failure is very illuminating, since it indicates how mechanical are these instincts. Not so do wasps act when their landmarks are removed. They search with the utmost diligence until some object gives them a clue, and for this they must depend solely upon memory.

Social Instincts.—There are certain instincts which dominate all others, and these concern the needs of the community. They assert themselves with great suddenness from time to time, as, for instance, when swarming takes place, and on these and similar occasions the instincts connected with these social necessities prove stronger than any other influence

A colony of stingless bees which I had under observation were never known to emerge if the temperature was below 72° F., and no individual was visible after sundown, but on one occasion when the workers were engaged in building the entrance to the nest they worked on it all day and far into the night at a temperature of 65° It is not unusual for the social insects to work on night shifts when there is an urgent piece of work to be done The Peckhams recorded a hornet queen which worked for forty-two hours at a stretch.

A colony of wood-ants (*Formica rufa*) on exhibition in the Insect House when first established showed unusual solicitude for their major workers; when these were in danger of drowning in the moat which surrounded the nest, rescue parties were sent down to the bank to drag them ashore and dry them. But after a new brood hatched out there was no more display of anxiety, and a worker struggling in the water would be left to find a way out or drown with the utmost indifference. This I interpret as social instinct, which studies the individual only when he is necessary to the community. I consider that the behaviour of my *Formica rufa* emphasises that this instinct is not unchangeable, but that on certain occasions a higher judgment may suspend the law. Forel mentions an incident that he witnessed himself, when a worker which was obviously sick was rescued by one of his fellows, treated with positive tenderness, and guided back to the nest. This ant belonged to the same species as our exhibition nest; and I should consider the motive for rescuing an individual to be the same in both cases, namely, that the colony at that time had need of all its workers.

Moods.—It is impossible to study insects closely without being struck by the changes of mood in some individuals, often bearing such resemblance to those of human beings as to be quite ludicrous.

Frank Finn made some personal observations on some specimens of Red Admiral butterflies which he kept through the winter months. He noticed that when they were feeding on fruit there was often friction among them, and some individuals would not allow others to feed, but would oust them from their position by kicking with their legs and flapping their wings.

Ants show distinctly varying moods. On one occasion while observing the nest of *Formica rufa* in the Insect House I wished to mark some of the ants, so, choosing a time when there were a number feeding on raw meat, I placed a dab of Chinese white on the thorax of six major workers. The paint was so thick that each ant was lifted into the air on the tip of the brush. Five of the six were quite unmoved by this treatment, and when restored to *terra firma* continued feeding as if nothing had happened ; but one, on the contrary, showed deep resentment, and ran round with jaws wide open looking very fierce, and threatened all the workers in the neighbourhood. Suspicion fell on one worker which passed carrying another worker to a special piece of work (as is the habit of this species), and the indignant ant followed them, touching them repeatedly with her antennæ. Finally, as these threats were unheeded, she seized the burdened ant by the leg, and the latter was obliged to set down her load and menace the quarrelsome creature with her jaws before she could proceed with her own business All six ants had received precisely the same treatment, but only this one resented it

The Peckhams give an instance of one wasp, *Pompilus*, which lost its temper (to use human phraseology) with an ant which persistently dogged its footsteps Ants are unwelcome to these solitary wasps, because if they have the opportunity they will frequently drag away the insect which the wasp has been at such trouble to obtain for her nest. This wasp was laboriously dragging home her victim, and, being much irritated by an ant which was following her, lost patience (to revert to human phraseology), seized it with her mandibles, and tossed it away from her.

Individual Action.—Of all remarkable observations on insect behaviour, those which prove that a wasp can on occasions use a pebble as a tool stand out alone. This was first noticed by the Peckhams, and when the record was published it was corroborated by an independent observer, Dr. Williston, who confessed that he had waited a whole year before publishing his observation because he feared that the statement was too amazing to be credited. The wasp in question in tidying up the entrance to her burrow took a small pebble in her mandibles and with it pounded the soil smooth at the entrance. The smoothing of the soil is a habit of the species, but only twice has an individual been observed to use this means of shortening her labours.

Individual actions undoubtedly occur most frequently among ants and wasps, because their daily needs require such resourcefulness that fixed instincts could not fulfil all the demands made upon them. It is upon the scouts or leaders of ant and wasp communities that responsibility rests when an obstacle is to be removed or a problem solved. These are workers which make excursions to discover food and report it to the community. Their duties therefore give more scope for developing independence than the routine work of the other members of the nest. Belt records an instance of this which is well worth quoting. He observed on one occasion in Nicaragua a number of army-ants crossing railway lines, and that every time a train passed thousands of them were crushed. When he returned a little later to watch them there were no ants on the lines, but the whole army was marching through tunnels which they had made under the rails. He took the trouble to scrape away these tunnels, but could not induce any ant to cross the lines again; they merely held up the multitude until they had tunnelled afresh. This action was no doubt due to the leaders, who direct and control the actions of the masses.

The ant colony of the Insect House already referred to aroused much interest by their clever solution of two problems. The first concerned a dead mouse which was given them as food, and which they buried too near their moat so that it rolled into the water. As they could not recover the corpse it was removed and another dead mouse laid on the same spot as before. But this time the ants dug on the side farthest from the water so that it rolled away from it. This was clearly the work of their leaders, who had profited by the memory of their previous disaster.

The second instance of their sagacity was in connexion with the larva of a Tiger beetle, which preys upon ants (though not such large species as *Formica rufa*) and makes its burrow near their nests. A full-sized larva was established on the anthill, and in a few minutes was discovered by a patrolling scout, which showed no alarm, but seized the larva by the head and tried to drag it from its burrow. Other ants to the number of five joined in the struggle, but the larva carries a horny hook which it fixes in the soil, and no force could detach it. After an hour of this tugging the tactics were suddenly changed; two of the ants dug a hole behind the enemy, forced it to emerge by biting its soft, unprotected body, and carried it below to be chopped up as food.

It will be seen by the foregoing records that a considerable amount of evidence has accumulated to prove the dual nature of insects' actions. On the one hand we have highly finished actions which reduce insects to mere performers who are acting a part;

and on the other hand we have proof of purposeful action. But the conviction remains that all insects are not enslaved and bound by the natural instincts with which they are equipped, although this only becomes apparent when unusual circumstances force them to make ventures along paths unknown and perform actions which are unrehearsed.

L. E. CHEESMAN.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND IVAN THE TERRIBLE

IN a very interesting article published in 1880 [1] Sir Sidney Lee, the eminent Shakespearean critic, gave an explanation of the 'Russian incident' in *Love's Labour's Lost* which up to that time had been a matter of difficulty for many generations of Shakespeare's commentators A parallel study of the historical details of Shakespeare's time and of the comedy itself brought Sir Sidney Lee to the conclusion that the scene where the King of Navarre and his lords disguised as Muscovites visit the Princess of France was inspired by the interview of Czar Ivan the Terrible's ambassador, Pissemsky, with Lady Mary Hastings in the garden of York House. The extravagant speech addressed to the Princess by Moth, the page, on behalf of the King bears a close resemblance to the laudatory address of Pissemsky's interpreter to Lady Mary Hastings recorded by Sir Jerome Horsey, Shakespeare's contemporary, in his 'Relacion or Memoriall abstracted owt of . his travells, imploiments, services and negociacions observed and written with his owne hand .'

This is how Sir Jerome describes the interview:

Now was the Emperowr more ernest to send into England about this longe conceated match and marriage then ever. addressed one Feother Pissempscoie, a noble, grave, wise and trustie gentilman, to conferr and desier of the Queen the Lady Marye Hastings, daughter to that noble Henry lord Hastings, errell of Huntington, whome he haerd was her kyndsweoman, and of the bloud royall, as he termed it, and that yt would please her Majesty to send som noble ambassodor to treat with him aboute it His ambassodor went forward, toke shippinge at St Nicholas, arrived in England; magnificently receaved, had audience of the Queen, delivered his letters comendatory Her Majesty caused that lady to be attended on, with divers great ladies and maieds of honor and yonge noblemen, the nomber of each apointed, to be seen by the said ambassodor in Yorcke Howse garden She put on a stately countenance accordinglie. The ambassodor, attended with divers other noblemen and others, was brought before her Ladyship; cast down his countenance; fell prostrate to her feet, rise, ranne backe from her, his face still towards her, she and the rest admiringe at his manner Said by an interpritor yt did suffice him

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1880 · 'A New Study of *Love's Labour's Lost*'

to behold the angell he hoped should be his masters espouse; comended her angellicall countenance, state and admirable bewty. She after was called by her famillier frends in court the Emporis of Muscovia.

Rosaline's description of the 'frozen Muscovits' is by no means flattering.

> Let us complain to them what fools were here,
> Disguis'd like Muscovites, in shapeless gear,
> And wonder what they were, and to what end
> Their shallow shows and prologue vilely penn'd,
> And their rough carriage so ridiculous,
> Should be presented at our tent to us

Sir Sidney Lee shows that these words correspond to a contemporary description of the Russians made by Dr. Giles Fletcher, the Queen's ambassador to Russia in 1588, whose book *Of the Russe Common Wealth* was published in 1591. This Fletcher was an uncle of John Fletcher, the well-known actor of Shakespeare's company, and it is very likely that Shakespeare was acquainted with the contents of the elder Fletcher's book before its publication and took from it some descriptions for his comedy, written in or about 1589 It is also possible that Fletcher may have introduced Shakespeare to Sir Jerome Horsey, an intrepid traveller and clever diplomatist, whose many adventures deserve to be better known

The works of Horsey and Fletcher, published in one volume by the Hakluyt Society in 1856, furnished Sir Sidney with material for an outline of the early relations between England and Russia. Russian records being at the time unavailable, Sir Sidney's sketch is based on the narratives of one side only. We may now supplement it by the account of the same episode by one who played an important part in it—Theodore Pissemsky, Czar Ivan's ambassador. This account is the report presented by him on his return from England It was preserved in the Moscow State archives, but published by the Imperial Russian Historical Society only in 1883, just 300 years later.

Theodore Andreevitch Pissemsky, 'a noble, grave, wise and trustie gentilman,' to quote Horsey, reached England in 1582. The political part of his mission fulfilled, he protracted his stay in order to settle the confidential part, dealing with the Czar's matrimonial aspirations. The details of Pissemsky's report are so precise that it is difficult to doubt their accuracy, and the whole report is of outstanding interest, shedding a new light upon the relations of Queen Elizabeth and her Northern 'brother.' As I believe that this report has not been published in English, I give here the translation of the part dealing with the ambassador's confidential mission. This translation is as exact as the quaint

wording of the original allows. It is to be noted that Pissemsky throughout refers to himself in the third person. He is never quite certain of English names, so that the places he mentions are often difficult to identify, and nobles of the Elizabethan Court bear titles with a distinctly Muscovite ring.

On January 18 Queen Elizabeth ordered Theodore and Neudacha[2] to appear before her at the village of Crinmonde [Richmond] to listen to their secret message And as they reached the Queen's Court they were met by princes and lords sent by the Queen When they entered the hall the Queen ordered Theodore to remain with her in the chamber and said to him · 'Thou hast let me know through the interpreter Eliaser and hast told me thyself at the audience that thy Lord entrusted thee with a secret message It was impossible for me to hear it then, as there were many people (present), so now I have summoned thee alone and bid thee acquaint me with thy Lord's message'

And Theodore said: 'Our Lord the Czar and Great Duke commanded me to tell thee, his beloved sister Elizabeth, Queen. "We have questioned Doctor Roman[3] sent us by thee as to whether thou hast any royal daughter, widow of a royal prince or maiden of royal descent." And Doctor Roman told us that thou hast the daughter of the appanage prince of Huntintin [Earl of Huntingdon], who is thy niece, and her name is Mary Hantin [Hastings]. And thou, our beloved sister Queen Elizabeth, shouldst show this maiden to our ambassador Theodore, and, having a picture painted of her, shouldst send it to us with Theodore. And should she befit our royal state we shall discuss the matter with thee in a suitable way.'

Said Queen Elizabeth. 'Loving our brother, thy Lord, I will be pleased to become his kinswoman; but I have been told that thy Sovereign likes handsome maids, and my niece is not good-looking. I fear thy Lord would not like her, yet I bow low to him,[4] for in his love for me he wishes to become my kinsman As to her likeness, I should be ashamed of having it taken to send thy Sovereign, for she is not beautiful and is sick, having been laid up with small-pox, and her face is red and marked'

Said Theodore: 'Our Lord the Czar and Great Duke has sent me, his ambassador, to thee his beloved sister hoping for thy love, and he maintains his love for thee straight and staunch, and thou, Lady, command that the maiden be shown us and have a picture made of her as she is.'

And the Queen said: 'She is sick, and wert thou to offer me the treasures of the whole world, as she is now her picture cannot be painted.'

Said Theodore · 'It would be a great proof of thy love to our Sovereign, Lady, wert thou to have her picture made as she is'

Said the Queen. 'Well, if so, when she is better thou shalt see her and I shall have a portrait painted' The Queen added. 'Hast thou any other instruction as to how this great affair is to be carried out?'

Theodore said: 'My Sovereign has ordered me to discuss this business—not to conclude it, only to talk it over. If God grant, Lady, thy ambassadors will come to our Lord, and if thy niece pleases him, he will order a treaty upon this matter to be drawn up and ratify it'

Said the Queen. 'Indeed, without an agreement and its ratification I would not permit my niece, or even anyone of meaner rank, to go; now

[2] The Chancellor Neudacha Khovraleff, a member of the embassy.

[3] Dr. Robert Jacob, a physician sent by the Queen to the Czar.

[4] The original has the old Russian expression 'I strike the ground with my forehead,' signifying veneration

tell me whether thou hast any instruction as to how my niece is to wed thy Sovereign ? '

And Theodore said : ' Lady, my Lord has commanded me to discuss the matter and agree how it can be arranged between him and thee Lady, Queen Elizabeth, though I am to make no (final) arrangements.'

And the Queen : ' Tell me all ; see, I speak to thee personally and did not order my councillors to speak.'

Said Theodore : ' Lady, our Lord has commanded me to say : " If by God's will thou shalt betroth thy niece to our Sovereign, she is to wed him in the Christian faith, in the same faith as our Lord. And such lords and ladies as may accompany her and wish to remain at the Czar's court are also to be of the same Christian faith as she will be, whilst those who desire to return to England will do so freely by our Sovereign's good grace according to the agreement to be concluded And in future thy ambassadors, Queen, whom thou wouldst wish to send to my master or to thy niece will come and leave freely by our Sovereign's good grace " '

Said the Queen ' And if my niece has children by thy Lord ? '

And Theodore. ' God grant our Sovereign a long life After him the Czarevich Theodore, son of my Lord, and his issue, are to reign, but were God to send children to our Sovereign and thy niece they will receive appanages according to their royal state, as it has been customary with royal houses from olden times And my Lord will favour them equally with the Czarevich Theodore.'

And the Queen ' But were thy Lord to have a daughter, what will be done then ? '

Said Theodore ' Our Sovereigns marry their daughters to kings and kings' sons '

Said the Queen ' To which king has thy master married his daughter ? '

And Theodore ' Our Lord's daughters all died in infancy, his father, the Great Duke Vassili, had none, but the daughter of my master's grandsire, the Great Duke Ivan, married Alexander, King of Poland '

Here the dialogue ends. Pissemsky's firm and uncompromising attitude is easily explained by the awe with which the ' terrible ' master inspired his subjects ; he well knew the fate awaiting him in Moscow did he dare modify one jot of Ivan's minute instructions

The narrative goes on to record the visit of Thomas Randolph [5] to Pissemsky on April 5, 1582-3. He brought a message from Elizabeth. We will again leave Pissemsky to describe this episode himself :

' Thou hast asked the Queen [said Randolph] on behalf of thy master to show thee her niece Mary Hastings, daughter of the Prince of Huntintin, and also that the Queen should have a picture of her painted for thee to take to thy Lord. The Queen answered thee that when her niece recovered from her sickness thou wouldst see her and a portrait would be made and given thee for the Czar. But the Queen's niece is still sick, and neither canst thou see her nor can a likeness be taken of her.'

Said Theodore: ' My Sovereign wished to join into a good agreement

[5] Thomas Randolph, an English diplomatist, had been to Russia on a special mission in 1568.

with the Queen and become her kinsman, so that friendship between ther were stable If Queen Elizabeth desires my master's love, brotherhoo and friendship, she is to act according to the instructions given me by m Sovereign ; if she does not wish to do so, she should let me return to m Lord.'

And Thomas Randolph : ' I will report thy words to the Queen. Th will of God and the Queen be done '

On the next day Randolph sent for Eliaser the interpreter and ques tioned him

' Why does Theodore insist upon seeing the Queen's niece ? Whe you left Moscow the Czar had one son , now another is born to him '

These words he spoke to Eliaser confidentially and Eliaser replied ' Thy words are unfriendly [6] ones, and I shall report them to Theodore.'

The interpreter having duly repeated Randolph's speech tc Pissemsky, the Czar's envoy sent him to tell the Queen's coun cillors that :

' The Queen was not to listen to such unfriendly speeches , wicked person tried to sow discord between the Czar and the Queen, not wishing them tc conclude a friendly agreement , the Queen was to believe the Czar's lette of credence and me his ambassador Eliaser, the interpreter, can bea witness to this, as he was present when my master took leave of me anc gave me his instructions '

The councillors said ' The Queen does not believe these words, and al will be done according to the Czar's instructions to Theodore '

The fact that at the time Ivan was married to his seventh wife was in no way considered by him to be an obstacle to his suit though he was aware that it might raise objections Such a case was provided for in the most minute instructions given Pissemsky :

And if it is said to Theodore, ' How canst thou speak of this great affai whilst thy Lord is wedded ? ' then Theodore is to reply, ' Our Sovereign had sought for a bride in many countries, but no suitable match being available, he took unto himself the daughter of a boyar of his own country, not an equal Were the Queen's niece to prove seemly and worthy of this great match, our Czar and Great Duke will leave his wife and betroth himself to the Queen's niece '

At that time the approved Russian way of disposing of a cumbrous wife was to relegate her to some convent for life.

On May 17 Randolph was again sent by Elizabeth to Pissemsky with the message that, Lady Mary having recovered from her illness, she would be shown to him here in ' Lunda, at the house of her chancellor Prince Thomas Brumleff ' (Pissemsky's rendering of ' Bromley ') The Queen ordered the ambassador to be accompanied by Eliaser only, and ' no one besides him,' whilst, on the other hand, ' no one will be present except Prince Thomas and her brother the Prince of Huntintin and their families.'

So Randolph took Pissemsky by boat to the chancellor, who

[6] In the original ' quarrelsome.'

met them on the threshold of York House,[7] accompanied by the 'Prince of Huntintin.' The ambassador was led into a garden where a pavilion had been erected, in which stood two armchairs upholstered in gold brocade. When Pissemsky reached the pavilion Bromley bid him sit in one of the armchairs whilst he occupied the other himself, the Earl of Huntingdon and Randolph sitting on benches. According to Pissemsky Sir Thomas Bromley addressed him thus ·

> On thy Lord's behalf thou hast asked our Queen to show thee the daughter of the Prince of Huntin, Mary Hastins, being unwilling to displease thy master because of his great affection for her, the Queen has ordered [us] to show thee her niece and also has had a picture taken of her Princess Huntins will soon be here with my Princess

Pissemsky then continues :

> Shortly afterwards came Thomas's princess and another, the Prince of Huntin's [wife], and between them came Mary Hastings, daughter of the Prince of Huntins, and they were followed by many ladies and maids When they approached, Prince Thomas and Theodore rose and bowed to them, and they acknowledged their salute Said Prince Thomas to Theodore · 'Look well The Queen has ordered us to show thee her niece, not in some dark place, not in a closet or chamber, but in the broad daylight' Then they went to stroll in the garden, Theodore with them, and again they met, so that Theodore saw her well. Said Prince Thomas to Theodore 'Hast thou seen her well enough ?'
>
> Said Theodore 'I looked well, obeying my master's instruction and the Queen's order.'
>
> Then Prince Thomas again led Theodore to the pavilion and ordered fruit and wine in tankards to be brought, offering it to Theodore.

So Pissemsky after a while returned home, having seen Lady Mary 'well' Prince Thomas and the Prince of Hunstine (our author is never quite sure of the name, which he spells in many fashions) saw him to the boat, whilst Randolph accompanied him to his house.

Pissemsky thus describes Lady Mary : 'Mary Hantis is tall, slender, with a white face, grey eyes, fair hair, a straight nose, and the fingers of her hands are long and tapering.'

At the farewell audience given to the Czar's envoy Elizabeth asked him : 'Hast thou seen my niece well ?'

Answering in the affirmative, Pissemsky, however, again returned to the question of the portrait which he had not yet received. The Queen told him that it would be brought to him by Randolph, and as 'few people know of it here' she enjoined

[7] York House and its grounds stood on the site which at present is occupied by Villiers Street, Duke Street, and Buckingham Street The York House of Elizabethan times was replaced by another built by the Duke of Buckingham The only remnant of this second York House is the Water Gate which stands in Victoria Embankment Gardens.

secrecy upon Pissemsky until he returned to his master, assuring him that she dealt 'with my brother in justice and not by deceit —such as thou hast seen her, a picture of her will I send thee.'

Whether Elizabeth seriously intended to let her niece marry the terrible Czar or was merely humouring him in order to obtain more privileges for trade with Muscovy is difficult to guess from Pissemsky's report. During this same audience he says the Queen made the following remark: 'I fear thy Lord will not care for my niece, and not thy Lord only, but I doubt whether thou likedst her thyself.' The envoy's reply was not lacking in courtly gallantry: 'It seemed to me that thy niece is beautiful; however, all is in God's hands, and it is for Him to decide whether she is to wed our Sovereign and whether he will like her. Now what am I to report to my master upon the matter?'

Elizabeth's answer was an assurance of 'faithfulness and love to her brother, who was to trust her, whilst she was glad to please him in every way,' adding that, 'though my councillors will disadvise me upon some questions, yet I will not harken to their words and will do as my brother, thy master, wishes. But I am sending my ambassador to deal with all these matters and with the conclusion of the confidential affair, and he will receive my instructions.'

On June 13 Randolph visited Pissemsky in the 'village of Oolij' (Woolwich) to tell him that the portrait had been sent to him so that he should take it to the Czar.

We may add that Pissemsky's firmness, tact, and dignity gained him the Queen's esteem, and she praised him unreservedly in her letter to the Czar of June 13, 1583: 'And as regards thy Majestie's ambassador, I cannot refrain from commending him to thee for his perfect wisdom, his faithful service which I see in him; I wish that thou hadst many such [servants] as he is.' [8]

Mr. Bond, who edited Fletcher's and Horsey's works in 1856, assures us that Lady Mary Hastings was at first pleased with the proposed match, but was subsequently frightened out of it by reports of the ferocious character of her suitor, and easily succeeded in persuading the Queen to spare her the intended honour.

Sir William Russell, third son of the Earl of Bedford, was chosen to act as the Queen's envoy in this delicate affair. Horsey refers to him as 'a noble and wise and comly gentilman.' He declined the post, and then 'The Company of Merchants,' Horsey tells us, 'intreated for Sir Jerom Bowes, only for presence and person, and repented afterwards.'

Sir Jerome Bowes's mission was a complete failure. No

[8] I quote from the contemporary Russian translation of the letter kept i Moscow. It would be interesting to compare it with the draft which probab exists in the Record Office.

Russian records only but his own papers and Horsey's memoirs also show him to have behaved tactlessly and constantly taken offence without reason; he lent a ready ear to harmful gossip, and in a very short time succeeded in undoing almost all his predecessors had accomplished by patience and skilful diplomacy.

On his departure from England on June 21, 1583, accompanied by Pissemsky, Bowes received a detailed letter of instruction, a copy of which is preserved among the Cotton MSS. of the British Museum (Nero, B. VIII, f. 29). The Queen instructed him to dissuade the Czar from his matrimonial intentions, and we cannot but admire how tactfully objections were raised in this instruction. Here is the part dealing with the subject of this sketch:

> Hauing in this sort deliuered our meaning unto him, uppon the Treaty of amity, you shall declare unto him, touching the secrette message and request he made unto us by this said minister for and concerning the matter of marriage, how the Lady motioned is fallen into such an indisposition of health, as that there is small hope she euer will recouer such strength as is requisite for the state especially considering the long and tedious voyage, she were to make, in case [he] should uppon report of his Amb[r] and view of her picture, haue any disposition to proceede therein, and therefore our pleasure is, you use all the best perswasions you can to disswade him from that purpose, laying before him the weaknes of the Lady, when she is in best state of health, and difficulties, that are other wise likely to be stood uppon by the Lady, and her friends, who can hardly be induced to be so farr separate the one from the other, whereby the greatest comfort of them that are neere of blood are cut of, that unlesse their good wills and consent might be procured (which is a matter very doubtfull), the match could not in any so sort be brought to passe, considering that in those cases, as ouer the rest of our subiects, so especially ouer the noble houses and families, we haue no further authority then by way of perswasions to induce them to like of such matches as are tendred them, and by good apparante reasons maie tend to their aduancement.

Horsey has left us a detailed account of Sir Jerome Bowes's reception in Muscovy and the honours rendered him. But the ambassador made a bad start: he was displeased with everything, suspected the nobleman Protopopoff, who met him at Kholmogory and accompanied him on the way to Moscow, of the intention of drowning him, disliked the food, refused to mount the horse sent for his ride to the Czar's palace on the plea that a boyar, Prince Sitzkoy, was riding a finer steed, and so on. He acquitted himself of his mission concerning Lady Mary in the most unhappy way by belittling her and assuring the Czar that he had been duped by Dr. Robert Jacob and Pissemsky as to the lady's beauty and close relationship to the Queen.

These assertions are thus recorded in the official Russian document preserved in the Moscow State archives: 'And the ambassador, Prince Jerome, said: "The Queen's niece Princess

Mary is sick because of her sins, her illness is grave, and I also doubt she would forsake her faith, for there is but one Christian faith." ' Upon which the Czar told the envoy: ' I will not discuss religion with thee now, and what thou sayest is impossible; the Princess who is to wed us has first to be christened into our Christian faith. .'

But Sir Jerome continued by assuring the Czar that not only was Lady Mary one of the Queen's most distant relatives, but also that she was not in the least beautiful: the Queen had ' ten nieces,' all more important than this one. However, the Czar and his boyars demanded proofs of Jerome's words, and insisted upon being told the names of these ' ten nieces ' and whose daughters they were, but Jerome refused to comply with this request. The Muscovites, expert in the art of controversy, subjected the tactless ambassador to repeated cross-examinations upon the subject of the mysterious nieces, during which Bowes's behaviour did him but little credit

Yet, despite all this, the ' terrible ' Czar appears to have had a liking for Sir Jerome Fits of anger against him were invariably followed by apologies, increased attentions, and an extension of the privileges granted the English merchants in Russia. Ivan held up Bowes to his own subjects as an example of loyalty towards his Sovereign Had Sir Jerome known how to win the favour of the Czar's entourage, Anglo-Russian relations would have greatly benefited. Unfortunately he only succeeded in becoming universally detested, his particular enemies being the boyar Nikita Romanovitch Yurieff and the Chancellor Shelkaloff, who had once been beaten by the Czar personally in consequence of a complaint by Bowes

On March 18, 1583-4, Czar Ivan died, and was succeeded by his weak-minded son Theodore, whose maternal uncle, Nikita Romanovitch Yurieff, became for a time the *de facto* ruler of Russia Shelkaloff announced Ivan's death to Sir Jerome in the following terms: ' Your English Czar has died ! '

The boyars hastened to settle old scores with Sir Jerome. His high rank did not shield him from arrest in his own house for nine weeks, during which the question of his execution was debated. It appears that Bowes owed his life to the timely interference of Horsey, at that time an official of the Russian Company in Moscow. He threatened the boyars with the Queen's vengeance were Sir Jerome to suffer any harm. Horsey eventually obtained Bowes's release. From Kholmogory, the port whence he was to sail for England, Sir Jerome wrote an insulting letter to Czar Theodore, a copy of which is preserved in the Record Office. Attached is a note by an official of the company with the reflection: ' I wolde he [Bowes] had never come here.' Bowes also

returned to Theodore the letter he had given him for the Queen and some sables sent him by the Czar, adding: 'There was sent unto me iij [*] tymber of skynnes, they were named to be sables, but badd things they were God wott. . . . I thynke ten tymes more skorne to have such a gyft presented to the Quene of England's ambassodor, yea, were it but to my self. . . .'

Had Czar Ivan lived, would Lady Mary have actually become 'Emporis of Muscovia'? This is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Undeniably Queen Elizabeth was very unwilling to send her kinswoman to a semi-barbaric country to become the eighth wife of a bloodthirsty tyrant, yet State interests would probably have outweighed any considerations of a softer nature, and we know that good Queen Bess was not a sentimental woman. All things considered, it is allowable to suspect that Fate treated Lady Mary kindly in cutting the thread of the 'Terrible's' life.

But to English trade interests in Russia this death dealt a severe blow. Though of a very uneven temper, Ivan IV. had a great liking for the English, and favoured them more than any other foreigners. It was only due to Horsey's ability that Anglo-Russian relations were not broken off altogether. He succeeded in gaining the favour of Boris Godunoff, brother-in-law of Czar Theodore and virtually ruler of Russia. He obtained new privileges for the company, but subsequently his other and more selfish activities set the company against him, and it insisted upon the Queen's Government demanding Horsey's extradition. The Czar yielded to this demand, and Horsey was sent to England in 1589 with Dr. Fletcher, who had arrived a year earlier in the capacity of the Queen's ambassador and had been treated in a very unfriendly way by the Moscow Government.

In England Horsey managed, not without the assistance of Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's Chief Secretary, to clear himself of all accusations, and was even appointed ambassador to Denmark, Poland, and Russia in 1590.

It may be that in the Mermaid Tavern in Cheapside, that favourite haunt of travellers and poets in Elizabethan days, or in the house of Sir Francis Walsingham in Seething Lane, Shakespeare met both Fletcher and Horsey and listened to their stories of the strange Northern country, its queer people, its terrible Czar and his fantastic suit. It is to the influence of these tales that we probably owe the 'Russian scene' of Shakespeare's comedy.

GEORGE BENNIGSEN.

[*] Thirty.

BLAKE: AN ÆSTHETIC APPROACH

A FIRST impression of Blake's work is of a number of not very intelligible nor well-drawn pictures, and a queer, fragmentary collection of not very intelligible verses; a first effect is a consciousness of shy beauty and an uneasy sense of profound significance. We examine a little more closely, and we find a thousand elusive threads binding pictures to verses in a complex, not very orderly web, that has somehow a startling pattern. Above this strange creation we descry a figure, like one of his own visions, an ancient of days whose compass is not confined to a circle—one William Blake, a hosier's son of Soho, living in the prosaic years between 1757 and 1827, so that our grandfathers might have known him This man, he himself tells us, is one who wrote and painted in ages of eternity before his mortal life, and whose works are the delight and study of archangels.

What shall we make of all this? We cannot reason about his philosophy, because he condemns reason. We cannot set that standard against him, any more than we can judge a man running a race by the standard of height. We cannot compare his paintings with Nature, since he has condemned Nature as an illusion. He paints his own visions, the reality which is his own imagination. But these questions demand attention: was not Blake himself a part of Nature, and therefore of universal art? 'In brief,' said Sir Thomas Browne, 'all things are artificial; for Nature is the art of God.' Blake wrote from his imagination, as a seer of visions, but he wrote in words and symbols which were fashioned by reason: was not Blake himself, therefore, only reasoning against reason? The paradox, it must seem, is in him. He may be right; but how shall we know it, since not the prophet himself is free of those things he condemns as not being?

Blake was muddle-headed. That may be a very sublime state, and certainly the clear-headed ones do not explain the ultimate nature of things quite to our satisfaction. Muddle-headedness may be the halfway house between clear-headed stupidity and irrational clarity. Those clear-headed people who read life like a school history-book are always very certain that black is black

and white is white; and they are almost certainly wrong. But all the same, it is muddle-headed not to know the difference between black and white, though it may be the first sign of grace. What is, quite possibly is; but to speculate as to its relation to what is not is a most adventurous undertaking. It carries us inevitably into realms beyond reason. There Blake was half at home; unfortunately, the other half was at home in Soho. Dr. Johnson is an eminent example of clear-headedness, and, with all respect to his robust and darling memory, I submit that he always stopped short of possible truth. Blake, I repeat, was muddle-headed, but it is just conceivable he was right about some things. We may conclude that muddle-headedness is the highest state yet attained by man.

We do not, the most of us, aspire to be muddle-headed. We hang, I am afraid rather pettily, between the mystical and the rational. Personally, I frankly prefer Rubens to Blake, I think Rubens is a very much greater artist. But I am not quite sure that art is so important as muddle-headedness—which, I hope, redeems me a little. Said Pope:

> One science only will one genius fit,
> So vast is art, so narrow human wit.

So much vaster still, it may be added, is the world of immortality, and that is Blake's world. Yet, all this being said, and the weakness of my case thoroughly laid bare, I purpose to examine Blake just as I would examine Rubens. Whatever else he may be, he is, after all, an artist as well. Whatever he may have sought to express, he was, after all, a craftsman, and one who delighted in his craft, and often enough, like any prosaic Dutchman, he was stimulated by his craft.

> All impediments in fancy's course
> Are motives of more fancy

What simple Shakespeare freely admitted proud Blake would have denied. Yet it was true of the one as of the other. You perceive I begin to judge Blake by clear-headed standards, as a craftsman among craftsmen, a maker of pictures.

Neither the late Mr. Darrell Figgis in his magnificent volume of reproductions recently published[1] nor Mr. Ernest Short in his humble and excellent little monograph[2] has dared to lay aside the literature or mysticism of Blake. They are perhaps right, because in a book on Blake one must battle with the whole of him. We may be permitted, in the small space of an article, to pick out one approach and see how Blake looks from that aspect.

[1] *The Paintings of Blake.* With 16 plates in colour and 84 in collotype. Ernest Benn. 6*l*. 6*s*.

[2] *William Blake.* Philip Allan. 5*s*.

All art has ranged between the extremes of expressionism and realism (with which is included impressionism), between, for example, the Egyptians and the Dutch. Blake is obviously with the former His pictures do not intensify reality, as did Rembrandt's, nor beautify it, as did Giorgione's; they are not 'slices of life,' even in the valuable meaning of that abused phrase. Blake was an expressionist.

All art has ranged between the extremes of abstraction and representation, between architecture, ceramics, textiles and, again, the Dutch. A great deal of representational art has verged on the abstract—again, the Egyptians. It will be found, in fact, that the closer a work of art is to pure expressionism the more abstract it is. A building is a pure abstraction and an example of pure expressionism, an Egyptian statue has already the element of realism in it. It is an essential characteristic of expressionist art that it transcends logical meaning. We cannot say why a certain relationship of forms and colours moves us more than another, nor can we put into words the precise quality of our emotion, the æsthetic emotion. Pure realism, on the other hand, is photographic and not art at all: it is only the admixture of expressionism that raises it into æsthetic consideration. The difference between Ingres and Alma Tadema is not in their subjects or their realism, but primarily in their patterns, in the abstract, expressionist quality of their lines and colours. We may therefore revise our previous statement, and say that all art has ranged between the extremes of pure expressionism and expressionism combined with a maximum of realism. It is the expressionist element which is vital Vermeer van Delft, after all, is more akin to the architect of the Parthenon than he is to the Hon John Collier.

We may deduce from what has been said that illustration is a minor function of art and by no means necessary. A building does not illustrate at all, a Greek statue not at all, a Raphael Madonna not at all. On the other hand, illustration may play its part as an enforcement of the theme, a subservient helper to the expressionist method In so far as El Greco's *Agony in the Garden* at the National Gallery is an illustration, it is not overwhelmingly good; it is vastly inferior to Frith's *Derby Day*. But this does not mean that Frith's is the better picture. In the Greco, then, the element of illustration is weak. In Rubens' *Judgment of Paris* it is stronger; in Hogarth's *Rake's Progress* series stronger still. It will be observed that, as the illustrative element has increased, so we have moved from pure expressionism to the extreme of artistic realism. I hope the reason for this long digression is clear. Blake, who was an expressionist, was also an inveterate illustrator. Once more, therefore, Blake is a paradox.

Yet not so paradoxical as at first sight appears. By illustrator we understand one who depicts scenes or incidents more or less as they took place. Hence it is that we have found illustration and realism to go together. But Blake was an illustrator of another kind. He did not care how an event would have appeared to mortal eyes : what he cared about was its mystical significance. He illustrated the meaning of a scene rather than the scene itself. This point will be clarified by a comparison between Rembrandt's *Entombment* at Dresden and Blake's, in the possession of Mr. Graham Robertson, at present on loan to the Tate Gallery (this and all other Blakes to which I shall refer are reproduced in Mr. Figgis's book) To the Dutch master the scene is one of deep human pathos. It is re-enacted before the eyes of his imagination, he seems to have been present among those sorrowing men and women. His Christ lies awkwardly hunched in the cloth by which they are lowering Him into the tomb. The man who lowers Him is a simple Dutch bourgeois, grieving deeply. This Christ is a dead man, a man of sorrows, but only a man, and quite dead in death These others live and are sorrowing, but they will eat and drink, and come to laugh, and when they are dead they, too, will be quite dead. In this dark cave, lit only by the keen lantern light, is the last obscure ceremony observed over a Jewish malefactor, whom these people love. Beyond the mouth of the cave, in the evening sky, are the empty cross and the last lingerers from the day's show. Such is Rembrandt's illustration

Turn now to Blake's. The similarities are immediately remarkable, and yet in each point how significant is the difference. Once more we have a view at the back, but this time of indeterminate darkness only seen through the austere regularity of a rounded arch. Across the foot of the picture lies the dead Christ, solemn and rigid. Two figures bend symmetrically at His feet, a group stands symmetrically at each side, three figures stand abreast in the archway, the central figure holding a candle. Here is a solemn pattern of draped and upright figures, closed by an arch and based by the tremendous horizontal of Christ's body.

Rembrandt's design appears to be the hazard of life ; Blake's is a deliberate and confessed arrangement. Rembrandt's illustrates a scene that was, in all its pathos ; Blake's an idea conceived in the mind, where sorrow is subdued to a universal order and made subordinate to harmony. Rembrandt's Christ might have died without cause in a moment of time , Blake's served a purpose in dying and is part of time.

Blake's work, therefore, was charged not only with æsthetic but also with mystical significance. In method he was so original as to combine, in so far as that can be done, illustration with expressionism. He believed very literally that he was inspired.

'The man,' he once wrote, 'who on examining his own mind finds nothing of inspiration ought not to dare to be an artist.' Here, then, another difficulty arises. Since we have not all 'travelled to heaven,' how are we to judge whether Blake's works are faithful to his visions? The original is hidden from us. To this there can be but one solution, and it is all-sufficient. We must judge whether these works are convincing in themselves, whether they awake in us an æsthetic response equivalent in every way to that which the normal master awakens. On this point we must each decide for ourselves I believe that any man of æsthetic sensibility will conclude that somehow Blake's pictures are convincing. He may not accept visions in the ordinary, external way. I do not myself believe in chained and sheeted ghosts or the clap-trap of popular religion; but subjective vision is another and altogether more acceptable business. And since we are all men, why should we not all, at times, make for ourselves visions that are closely related to Blake's?

> It is a plain fact in experience [says Mr Figgis] that, when all their great qualities of imagination and execution are told, Blake's pictures are regarded (by friend and foe) just as much as a secret visionary scripture as a series of great examples of works of art
>
> Why is this? Why is it that some who look into his pictures see faces in them suddenly look back in response, as though they, too, as well as Blake, knew them somewhere not in this world?

Let us examine a few of Blake's designs directly, in the light of these ideas, putting altogether on one side his own mythology and his interpretation of the Biblical mythology. One of his grandest and most terrifying designs is the *Nebuchadnezzar* belonging to Mr. Graham Robertson, also on loan at the Tate Gallery. An old man crawls upon the ground, with a furtive, uneasy movement Shaggy hair hangs about his flanks, his nails are grown to claws, his untended beard sweeps the ground, his face is coarsely wrinkled, the cheeks hollow, the red, sensual mouth opened like a snarling brute's, the eyes wide, angry and afraid. This is the semblance of a man, but its soul is beastly and its affections inhuman. If there is a face in this which suddenly looks back in response to us, is it not simply that we recognise the likeness of a vision within us, the vision of our own secret beastliness, of that in us which arises and dominates in the ugly moments of our lives? In this print of fiery reds and unwholesome greens Blake has exposed all that in man is not loveliness; he has shown us the way to hell, which is the loss of our Divine vision and the God in us.

There is another picture in Mr. Robertson's collection which delivers its meaning in the same unmistakable way, apart, that is, from any foreknowledge of the story it ostensibly illustrates.

I refer to a water-colour known as *God answering Job out of the Whirlwind.* In the lower part of the picture it is evening, five squat, earthly figures are gathered together on a flat earth under a twilight-blue sky. Above there seems to be a chasm in the sky, through which infinite blue distances are glimpsed, and out of the chasm, in a yellow and orange glory, peers the head of a noble old man, his beard swept by a wind which does not blow on the silent world beneath. His arms stretch wide and knit the ends of the earth together. Round him circles a blast of wings and gleaming heads, that sweeps away to the right, lassooing him, as it were, out of the flat world in an angelic loop. One squat figure below looks up in naive astonishment towards this vision The others are hunched and prostrate in fear. Surely this picture illustrates a simple idea, the coming of revelation to the chosen one This Job might be St Francis of Assisi, or Shelley, or Dante, Wordsworth, Milton or Blake himself—any man, in fact, who has moved beyond the spheres of common vision and shown man to himself. It does not matter what precise revelation Blake intended to illustrate, or at least, from my special point of view it does not matter. Art is universal, and no picture of worth can depend on our acquaintance with anything outside itself but life.

Again and again, in Blake's work, we are confronted with the splendid assertion of the artist's freedom. Representation is the artist's tool and not his master, and just as El Greco passionately distorted, as the Byzantine mosaicists ignored mathematical facts—whether purposely or not is immaterial,—and the more vital of modern painters consciously condemn their shackles, so Blake. Turn to any of his pictures, and it is immediately obvious that he attended to two things only, the idea he wished to express and the pattern by which he wished to express it. One may chance upon *The Burial of Moses*, a water-colour belonging to Mr. Sydney Morse. One notes how the four angels bend together like trained dancers to support the weight of Moses, whose body in the cerecloth sags in the most exquisite curve. The bodies of dead men do not, in the clumsy world of reality, make such curves, but for Blake a dead body was only the symbol of life begun. Did he not profess to see the soul of his brother Robert 'pass from mortality, clapping his hands for joy'? Did he not profess, years after that mortal death, to converse with Robert, and with Milton, and with so many besides? Death to Blake was, as to Vaughan, 'dear beauteous death, the jewel of the just.'

Then above this gentle pattern of angelic pall-bearers and their burden two figures swirl in the air—one black, angry and distorted like a man in agony, the other curving in easy, forward flight, one arm raised with pointing finger. In every part of this thing of lines and colour washes Blake's idea is evident. Though

the tradition of winged angels were forgotten and the memory of Moses buried in ten thousand years, yet would this picture still express the triumph of beneficent, beautiful powers over ugliness; and, in whatever idiom might be current in that remote day, it would be said: 'This is the picture of man whose soul is saved.'

We may feel these things, though we may not know if we have souls, or whether Moses had one.

Take another example, *The Wise and Foolish Virgins*, a water-colour belonging to Miss Carthew. Observe the ordered, lighted sweep of the wise virgins, all moving in the harmony of a ballet chorus. contrast it with the dark disorder of the foolish virgins: mark how

> the grey-hooded Even,
> Like a sad votarist in palmer's weeds,

turns all the background to dark streaks and silhouettes, and how, spread over the night sky, a dark form blows a fearful summons Who needs know the old parable to feel the intensity of this picture and its dramatic value?

Such, then, is Blake, æsthetically considered, a master-illustrator of ideas and mental states If here and there the logical meaning of a design is hard to get at, it may be left. Too much time is spent in seeking for logic in one who disowned logic and held it evil Exactly as with certain etchings by Goya, we must receive the æsthetic impression, be content to recognise that we are moved by the consciousness of meaning, and not stretch too finely our poor intelligences. These are things, not of the brain, but of the soul, whatever that may be. Their appeal is to the unknown, the indefinable, the profound.

I do not suggest that this view of Blake is a solution. Like the eternal problems with which he dealt, he is insoluble. But I do plead for more immediate response and less roundabout matter of metaphysics. We should be to Blake as sensitive plates to the sunlight, not knowing why nor whence we take upon us the photograph of sublime things, the half-realised imprints of eternity.

I prefer Rubens, none the less. I prefer him because, however small it may be of me, I do like to know what I am about. The flesh, its beauty and vigour, and the sublime rhythm of its progress from generation to generation, these I know; and in Rubens I find a perfect microcosm of this universe. He saw a World in a grain of sand, but the Heaven in a wild flower was hidden from him. It is hidden from most of us, too. We feel, as I have said, while we look at Blake the certainty of all he means: that is the hypnotism of art. Away from him our abominable materialism reasserts itself, and we do frankly wonder whether it is not all a dream we have dreamed, and Blake along with us.

It is necessary, in concluding, to enforce the difficulty of isolating Blake and treating him simply as an artist, the process which I have attempted here and but poorly succeeded in Ultimately, Blake depends on our acceptance of his visions as reality. If we do not accept this, Blake's art must always be to us like an heroic trick. There was something up his sleeve after all, the white rabbit of mysticism. Yet so powerful is the sense of reality in Blake, that even as I write these sceptical sentences I am half afraid the Eternal Conjuror is at my elbow, scathing me with that biting doggerel of his. I will link arms with

> Rubens, low, vulgar, stupid, ignorant,

and we will go to the pothouse together, since Blake condemns both of us. I can put up with the company of the master of ' the Slobbering School '

Blake, for all practical purposes, is dead. His wild, restless spirit has learnt the secret—or not, perhaps. He has left us these tangible things of beauty, things of form and colour and swaying line, grave, hunched and aged men, whirlwinds of angels, darting fires. We must make of them what we can. He is dead and can explain no more.

ANTHONY BERTRAM.

THE CLOWNING SPIRIT IN MODERN POETR}

THE principal lesson of showmanship is, in Mr. Willson Disher words. 'Satisfy people's desire for the ridiculous and they wi accept your idea of the sublime.'[1] This has been recognised b the modern Bernard Shaw as clearly as it was recognised by th still more modern Shakespeare. In the Elizabethan dram owing to the fact that players as well as jesters were paid servant of the Court or of rich lords, the comic element was part of th play. The genius of Shakespeare drew out of this combinatic all the possibilities of comic relief. In the classical ages of Gree and Rome comic relief was not a part of poetry, for the history Europe has been to no small extent a matter of learning how ar when to laugh. The Athenian audience found relief from tl intensity of the tragic dramas in the impersonal character le to the players by masks, and also by the satirical burlesques whi alternated with the tragedies. In Rome the mythological dran was broken up by burlesque interludes of clowning not ve different from those in pantomime as we know it, or rather as v used to know it, for pantomime is discarding the harlequinad The mediæval Church, first at Constantinople and later at Rom recognised the necessity of comic relief, holy days becan holidays. When the miracle plays became too comic for the tas of the bishops, a generation of lay showmen carried on the trac tion of clownship. The combination of showman and dramati did not outlive the Elizabethans; but many of the min Elizabethans' plays are little removed from unusually well co structed pantomimes Dekker's 'Old Fortunatus,' for instan is really a harlequin. Or, to establish the parallel with a type show which replaced the Elizabethan drama in popular favo we may say that Old Fortunatus himself is pantaloon, Andelo is harlequin, and Shadow is the clown. When the fool was ca out of the drama, the drama began to wilt as a vital force becau seriousness was confused with pompousness. The history of t English theatre in the eighteenth century is largely the reco of a ding-dong battle between the Elizabethan tradition uphe

[1] *Clowns and Pantomimes.*

chiefly by Garrick (and used as a flail in the *Dunciad* by Pope) and the mixture of folklore and melodrama, clowning, and mechanical magic of Italian harlequinade, which developed into pantomime. After the pantomime clown (who passed his heyday with Grimaldi the second) came the music-hall clown, and then, as George Grossmith described himself, the 'society clown' of the musical comedy and the revue. And then we come to Charlie Chaplin and the other clowns whose harlequinade enlists the incomparable magic of the screen.

What, the reader may well ask, has all this to do with the subject suggested by the above title ?

The fact is that the preceding remarks are an all-too-brief summary of the historical background necessary to throw into relief what I regard as a characteristic attitude of modern poets. It will be noted, for one thing, that the art of clowning, a most important, an indispensable art of civilisation, has gradually been more and more widely separated from poetry.

Now let us consider the poet.

No history of poetry can be adequate which ignores the history of society in general Since the 1890's social revolutions and evolutions, wars and peaces (might one spell it pieces ?) have done much to tone that intellectual or spiritual atmosphere of which poets are the most expressive reporters. The 1890's in poetry were marked by a desire of many poets to find that enchanted forest opened up earlier in the century by Baudelaire, who was following in the broken trail of forlorn Edgar Allan Poe. Baudelaire had important disciples in Rimbaud and Laforgue, and all three have influenced young English poets since their time because the new spirit which moved them was a reflection of deep-seated conditions in the soul of Western European peoples. This spirit, which gradually changed to mocking irony, first appeared as a flowering of the ancient dark magic, a spirit of *ivresse*, a Dionysian impulse provided with modern 'nerves' and trembling in the control of artistic form. It troubled the mind accustomed to classical standards with a strange, exotic beauty. Running through the poetry which embodied this mood was often a vein of sardonic humour and of irony finding occasional vent in fierce satire. In extreme examples, however controlled the poet's style (and severely correct technique is a decadent corollary of Dionysian inspiration), it became frenzied, as in *La Saison en Enfer*, when the perverse Rimbaud screams: 'Faim, soif, cris, danse, danse, danse, danse !'

Now Rimbaud, like Baudelaire, tried to escape from the frenzy of this mood in an artificial paradise of toy conceits and fixed symbols. If one ignores the wrong-headed rant in Max Nordau's *Degeneration*, much revealing observation of the '*paradis artificiel*'

will be found. In the remarks on Baudelaire, quoting the *Rêve Parisien*, he says :

Such is the world he [Baudelaire] represents to himself and which fills him with enthusiasm not an irregular plant, no sun, no stars, no movement, no noise, nothing but metal and glass, i e something like a tin landscape from Nuremberg

Baudelaire's glistening, solid, noiseless world was an artificial alternative to the real world, and his attempt to create an illusion of a strange and new reality produced effects on poetry which are still to be seen A new stage-property as well as a new mood was acquired by the poets But the increasing loss of faith, the increasing despair of honest thinkers confronted with the puzzles of science and the stupidity of the world, deepened the pessimism and the irony of the new poetry. The poets felt they were unable to express their reactions to life without importing new idioms into poetic diction and discarding many of the classical rules as to poetic form. In Laforgue modern poetry found a self-conscious preacher of a new flexibility of form and diction, and the witty expositor of a Hamlet-like mood, now ironic now despairing. James Huneker called him, in a brilliant essay, ' the pierrot of dusty eternities ' One of his most striking prose poems in the *Moralités Légendaires* is *Hamlet*, and the choice of the theme is less significant than the witty irreverence of its treatment If in matters of form Laforgue foreshadowed the futurists, in the content of his work he is the forerunner of the spiritual harlequinade of twentieth-century poetry. He aimed at reproducing the very sequences of life itself instead of the harmonies of carefully selected experiences which represented the classical conception of absolute Truth and absolute Beauty. He may almost be regarded as the precursor of James Joyce. He and many other poets after 1880 imported colloquialisms, neologisms, slang and technical terms into poetry which served to embody their cynicism and painful flippancy, and behind the cynicism was a fear of emotion and an envious dislike of faith The poets were indeed seeking comic relief in their own way. They were clowning.

Encore un de mes pierrots mort,
  Mort d'un chronique orphelinisme,
  C'etait un cœur plein de dandysme
Lunaire, en un drole de corps

In the lyrical mood they suddenly laughed at themselves ; when they externalised emotion and became satirical they laughed at the world and its most cherished traditions.

Now to produce a new, hard, cruel laughter at the sins and follies of the world was what Marinetti at the beginning of this century was urging upon the music-halls. Twenty years later he

might have included the 'movies,' that glorious opportunity so shamefully misused. But the poets, as the most sensitive and intelligent members of society, were in most cases unable to avoid the task. If we turn to more recent times, in England, we find that the outbreak of the Great War seemed at first to cause a revival of faith, but as the years left 1914 behind, that last overwhelming irony of 'progress' began to make heroics in verse, such as Rupert Brooke's, read like a final text on futility. The new mood could not at first be adequately expressed by the poets who were soldiers. The iron went slowly into their souls Some of them turned away from the horror to sing desperately of birds and green fields and winding rivers of home. Others, like Siegfried Sassoon and Osbert Sitwell, turned in a rage upon the sentimental and the profiteers Intolerable disgust with the betrayers, intolerable pity and love for those whose sacrifice was vain, intolerable disillusionment at triumphant greed and dense stupidity, and very often more personal and urgent conflicts of sex arising out of the troubled atmosphere—how should the poets caught in that maelstrom of emotions blow soul-animating strains? As the war left its unpleasant aftermath of 'peace,' was it not natural that many of the most intelligent and honest of the younger poets resorted to satire, bitter satire mocking at themselves as well as the world? It was as if the clock had been put back fifty years, in literature as in society. Read Laforgue's *Hamlet*, and then read T S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*. The difference in the two does not measure the increased dimensions of the tragic irony of civilisation, but the mood is very similar. In the harder, calmer minded, more experienced Thomas Hardy the irony has been present throughout his wonderful career, which almost covers the whole period being discussed. Does not Hardy continually prick the bubble of easy emotion blown up by sentimental faith? When faith does receive expression by such a poet it is faith indestructible because based upon a stoic minimum of happiness In more readable form than *The Waste Land*, the spiritual harlequinade occurs in social satire, of which a poem like St. John Adcock's *The Divine Tragedy* or vivid and trenchant prose like the *Triple Fugue* of Osbert Sitwell may be taken as symptomatic. Richard Aldington's *A Fool i' the Forest* is definitely of the poetic clowning type for which *The Waste Land* may be taken as an extremely clear and important example.

Because the phantastic world where folly is wisdom and make-believe is logic is the world of the harlequinade, the chief harlequin of modern poetry, in English at any rate, is Walter de la Mare, whether he is writing haunting lyrics like *Motley*, phantasies with satirical implications, in prose, like *The Memoirs of a Midget* and

the *Broomstick* tales, or appears simply as the supreme poet of childhood. Apart from De la Mare's prose, and a little of his verse, the poetry of dream is rarely satirical; the poet is generally content to escape, if he can, into the enchanted wood. But if an anthology of modern poetry which is at once dream and profound satire were to be compiled, a considerable amount of Miss Edith Sitwell's work in volumes like *Bucolic Comedies*, *The Sleeping Beauty*, and *Troy Park* would have the right of entry. *Clowns' Luck* in the '*Troy Park*' volume, for instance, was suggested to the poet by the Picasso-Cocteau-Satire Ballet *Parade*. The pierrot-troupe is the modern version of the travelling puppet-shows so popular in the eighteenth century. The clowns in the poem are on the deserted beach of a seaside town. The watching poet sees their harlequinade as a microcosm of our life. Through the travelling theatre's portico the empty sea is visible, and she asks:

> What lies broken now behind
> That portico? Strange outworn masks
> Of tragedy and empty blind
> Masks of comedy the wind
> Has torn with whispers,—broken swords
> For fighting in a vast war only
> Of the spirit,—spears to fight
> The empty and the hopeless lonely
> Wind, or elegant scornful waves—
> And that drum for Time the clown
> To beat his little marches down
> The vistas to the listening grave

As for the actors, they are strangely like the pitiable puppets that ape 'high life' at Los Angeles and other film studios:

> they dream
> Of this life in this dead pleasure land
> Grown outside life for ever, if they call
> Or beckon, no one answers them at all . .

So we find the same poet, in her *Children's Tales from the Russian Ballet*, confronted with the same vision, writing words strangely in keeping with the *Moralités Légendaires* and extremely significant of a mood in the poetry of this century:

> In Petrouchka we see mirrored for us, in these clear sharp outlines and movements, all the philosophy of Laforgue, as the puppets move somnambulantly through the dark of our hearts For this ballet, alone among them all, shatters our glass house about our ears and leaves us terrified, haunted by its tragedy The music, harsh crackling rags of laughter, shrieks at us like some brightly-painted Punch and Judy show, upon grass as shrill as anger, as dulled as hate

And later, watching the clown in the ballet, she says:

> Do we not all know that little room with the hopeful tinsel stars and the badly-painted ancestral portrait of God? Have we not all battered our heads through the flimsy paper walls—only to find blackness?

Of course the majority never do batter their heads against the walls of seeming reality, though many are unwillingly battered through it; therefore the majority are not troubled by a knowledge of insecurity. Others have intimations of the mortality of Victorianism and, regretting it, are accordingly angry with the disturbers of a spiritual peace that rests upon crumbling foundations. Although these remarks are by no means intended as a defence of incoherence or any other artistic weakness, it must be added that the most scornful contemners of poets 'like those annoying Sitwells' are invariably the people who have not troubled to read their works But the modern poets who take part in the spiritual harlequinade of the age are fulfilling a function of immense importance: they are the unhappy Cassandras of the time. They deserve what sympathetic understanding we have to give; and although many of these Cassandras don the cap and bells, we ought to see, since Shakespeare taught us, when the Fool is a tragic character.

R. L. MÉGROZ.

THE BURNING OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

On Thursday, October 16, 1834, Mr. James Minion Cooper, of the firm of Cooper and Hall, ironfounders, of Drury Lane, a sober, respectable man of unimpeachable veracity, left London by the 7 a.m. coach for Birmingham, which he reached at 7.15 p m. At 8 p.m. he took the Tally-Ho coach to Dudley, and arrived at 9.50 p.m. He put up for the night at the Bush Inn and went into the commercial travellers' room to order tea. There he encountered four other gentlemen, one of them slippered. The slippered one left the room, and returned in two minutes saying that he had just heard from a traveller who had arrived by coach that the House of Lords had been burnt down, 'occasioned by some carpenter being careless with the shavings'

In truth, while Mr Cooper was drinking his tea in the Bush Inn at Dudley the House of Lords was blazing; but it had only begun to blaze at 6 p.m on that night, and by no means then available to man could the news of a blaze in Westminster at 6 p.m penetrate to Dudley by 10 p m. The news of the fire promptly brought King William to town, and twenty-two Lords of his Privy Council were hastily summoned to inquire into its origin

It was at once apparent that the inquiry must resolve itself into an investigation into the intellectual condition of Mr James Minion Cooper, and that blameless ironfounder was dragged from the obscurity of Drury Lane and haled before the Lords of the Council. There were four possibilities. Possibility No. 1 was that Mr. Cooper was a shameless liar; possibility No 2 was that Mr. Cooper was an addlepate; possibility No. 3 was that Mr. Cooper was a prophet; possibility No. 4 was that Guy Fawkes had come to life again, and that his secrets had leaked into the unwilling keeping of Mr. Cooper.

There was much to be said for the fourth possibility. It was an age of some social unrest, and the working classes were being exposed to the first hazardous experiments in elementary education. Many people were convinced that if the working classes began to drink from the fountain of knowledge the liquor would

inevitably go to their heads and produce results disastrous to Church and State. Nor were there wanting solid facts on which to base the theory of conspiracy. St. John's Wood had been even more fortunate than Dudley. A gentleman standing in Great George Street to watch the blaze heard a mechanic say to a mechanic that he had been told of the fire that day at noon in St. John's Wood. The mechanic remained anonymous, and the Lords could not question him. The detective stories tell us that for every crime a criminal is necessary, and their Lordships had no need to search for the criminal. There was no doubt whatever that it was Mr. Joshua Cross, of New Pitt Street, Westminster, who burnt the House of Lords, and that the *mens* of Mr. Cross was not *conscia recti*. He was a plumber by trade; water was his business, and not fire. The House of Lords possessed an official 'firelighter-in-ordinary,' whose duty it was to burn the House of Lords, if anyone was to do it. Mr. Cross, however, was always the favourite of fortune. He had divided his working life between the House of Lords and the penitentiary at Millbank. He had served the Office of Works in the House of Lords as his father had done before him. He had been detected in peculation of the property of his employers and was sentenced to seven years' transportation to Botany Bay, which the mercy of the Government had converted into three and a half years' confinement in the penitentiary at Millbank. A still more remarkable clemency restored him to his old office immediately on his release from prison, and some lucky chance took him away from plumbing for a day to set fire to the Houses of Parliament. His good fortune did not end here. The places he loved best were destined to the flames, and scarcely a year later, as he fondled his infant children at his house in New Pitt Street, Westminster, he had the unspeakable pleasure of seeing the destruction by fire of the penitentiary at Millbank.

Their lordships of the Privy Council had a great opportunity. Had they been detectives, they would have discovered the motive which made Mr. Joshua Cross a criminal; had they been psychists, they would have examined the aura which made Mr. Cooper a prophet. Had they been moralists, they would have branded Mr. Cooper as a liar. Unfortunately they were only a committee, and it is the function of a committee to quell popular suspicion and to allay popular dissatisfaction. The task is prosaic, and their conclusions were somewhat lame. Mr. Cooper emerged from the ordeal as neither a liar nor a prophet, but as an addlepated individual whose memories of what he heard a day later in an inn at Oxford were confused with memories of what he did not hear in the inn at Dudley. Mr. Joshua Cross, who had already been proved to be a knave, earned on this occasion merely

the reputation of a fool. Mr. Weobley, whose part in the episode will presently be explained, had throughout a long official career sustained a reputation which had earned him the title of the 'careful man.' Henceforth he was to be known as 'Weobley the Careless'; but there was some sweet mingled with the bitter. He was the only person cast for a principal part in the drama who was prepared (somewhat grudgingly, it is true) to agree with their lordships that the application of fire to the more combustible parts of the House of Lords would lead to a conflagration, and, though the committee blamed him for his carelessness, they congratulated him on his perspicacity. One person only received a good hard knock from the committee; but she was not an official, only the mother-in-law of an official, and no official tradition was infringed by a censure upon her. Her name was Mrs. Wright, and in the eyes of the committee she was the 'unaccountable Mrs. Wright.'

Before the sedative report of the committee all these popular suspicions vanished, like the Houses of Parliament, in smoke; but the full tale of that memorable day deserves to be told, not only because it illustrates the little-understood truth that effect follows cause, but because it is pleasant to observe how the blunders of a few Government officials were far more effective in compassing the destruction of the Houses of Parliament than the best laid plans of Guy Fawkes.

It all began with the Court of Bankruptcy, which could find no place in which to conduct its financial investigations. The Office of Works could think of no place more suitable than the ancient Court of Star Chamber, which had degenerated into a lumber-room. It was a lath-and-plaster building with a fireplace of exceptional beauty in which it was dangerous to burn anything. For years past the court-room had been used for the storage of Exchequer tallies. These tallies belong to the origins of English history, when civil servants could not write and great officials invariably peculated. They were hazel or willow sticks, about eight inches long, shaped like a paper-knife, except that the blade, instead of being thin, was of a thickness which enabled it to be split from end to end. When a payment was made to the Exchequer notches of various sizes were cut on the stick to indicate the amount of the payment; the stick was cleft in half and each party to the transaction retained a half as a record.

If this brief explanation is lacking in clarity, the reader may prefer the lucid if somewhat breathless explanation which Mr. Ashburnham Bulley gave to the committee. He was the appointed custodian of these mysteries:

The accountant has money paid him into the Exchequer; the tellers sent his bill to the tally writer, who was the auditor, and the tally writer

gave his receipt on the receipt side to strike the tally, which was an ash stick cut into two; and when the accountant had received from the auditor his tally the counterfoil was sent to the court side to be joined with the same tally previously to the accountant passing his account before the Barons of the Exchequer or the Auditor of the Imprest; therefore there must be a difference, inasmuch as the one is longer than the other. The tally and the foil must join and be indented before the accountant can pass his accounts.

Thus we see these twin pieces of wood severed for a time, going off on their travels accompanied by a gorgeous official with a historic title and a corresponding salary. Soon these officials became so gorgeous that they could not be expected to work and discharged their duties by deputy. Sir Robert Walpole when Prime Minister did not disdain to make his younger son Clerk of the Pells with a salary of 3000*l.* a year and his elder son Auditor of the Exchequer with a salary of 7000*l.* The tallies ceased to be dry pieces of wood; they became luxuriant trees bearing a rich crop of sinecures. Edmund Burke laid his axe to the root of the tree in 1780; and an Act of Parliament abolished tallies, subject to a saving of vested interests, in 1782. In forty-two years the vested interests expired, and the last tally was handed to the last accountant in 1826

The twins had been severed, only to meet again when the accountant passed his accounts, and they met only to die. Henceforth they were mere sticks. The office-keeper of the Exchequer used them to light fires, and on one occasion there was a bonfire of them in Tothill Fields. In 1826, however, there was an accumulation of them in the Star Chamber representing two cartloads for a one-horse cart. For eight years they grew dustier and dustier, and then they were required to make room for the accommodation of bankrupts. Thereupon the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury on October 7, 1834, issued their minute:

> Write to the late Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer and convey to them My Lords Authority to destroy the foils which remain in the present Tally Office of the Exchequer which My Lords understand to be entirely useless and to deliver up to the Offices of the Woods and Forests, the Tally Office and the other rooms alluded to in a letter from Mr. Milne, one of the Deputy Commissioners to this Board, of the 16th ulto in order that they may be prepared for the temporary accommodation of the Bankruptcy Court.

To hear was to obey, and the august command filtered down through a number of subordinates, who subsequently all contradicted each other, until it reached Mr. Joshua Cross, the humblest of all. First there was Mr. Alexander Milne, Commissioner of Woods and Forests, formerly Deputy-Chamberlain of the Exchequer. He alone emerged unscathed from the fire, which shrivelled many reputations. He consulted Mr. John Phipps, Assistant Surveyor of Works to the Department of Woods and Forests, and

arranged that the tallies should be burnt in the courtyard of the Exchequer or in some other open place; on no account in the historic fireplace of the Star Chamber.

Whereupon Mr. Phipps proceeded to consult with Mr. R. Weobley, the Clerk of the Works—'a most careful man,' as Mr. Phipps had always found. Mr. Weobley scouted the suggestion that the tallies should be burnt in the courtyard of the Exchequer. 'We cannot do that; we should alarm the neighbourhood. The police would stop it,' he said, with small premonition of the extent to which alternative devices might alarm the neighbourhood.

Various schemes were suggested and rejected. The porters and clerks of the Exchequer had petitioned that the tallies should, as of old, be used gradually for firewood in their office, but in Mr. Weobley's view this did not conform with the order for destruction given by the Lords of the Treasury. Another rejected suggestion was that the tallies should be cut up to make matches or that they should be burnt in Palace Yard. Eventually the 'careful man' suggested the burning of the tallies in the flues of the House of Lords, and Mr. Phipps acquiesced in the suggestion, in total forgetfulness of the fact that this was directly contrary to the instructions of his superior. In the next few weeks he lamented his lapse in the dust and ashes of the Houses of Parliament as he went about his work on the verge of a nervous breakdown, sometimes shoring up the ruins of the Palace of Westminster, and sometimes shoring up his impaired reputation before the Lords of the Privy Council.

Three men, therefore, were engaged on the evening of October 15 in the task of removing on a small handcart from the Star Chamber to the House of Lords the tallies which were to be destroyed and in dusting and rearranging the tallies which were to be saved. They made about seven journeys with the cart, and before they rested a large pile of tallies was stacked in the archway of the House of Lords in readiness for the morrow.

In the dusk of the next October morning, as Mr. Minion Cooper was leaving Drury Lane to catch the Birmingham coach in preparation for his remarkable vision, Mr. Joshua Cross was leaving New Pitt Street, Westminster, in preparation for the burning of the Houses of Parliament. Here he met Mr. Furlong, an Irishman with a gift for perjury, who was to be his assistant in the work. The key of the furnaces had already been obtained from Mr. Cox, who bore the curious title of the Clerk of the Furniture belonging to the Woods and Forests; but in fact this was not the only key, and it transpired in evidence that anyone who had a fancy for burning down the Houses of Parliament would have had no difficulty in obtaining a key from a large number of different holders.

There were two furnaces to the House of Lords adjacent to each other. They were about three feet deep and about two feet square. They communicated with a flue of brick which was fourteen inches by eighteen inches square, and that flue rose for thirty feet till it reached the House of Lords in close proximity to the box occupied by the Yeoman Usher of the Black Rod. Cross took one furnace and Furlong the other, and the two of them fed the furnaces throughout the day with tallies They left the doors of the furnaces open, in order to produce a good draught which would make a satisfactory blaze, and this device was more successful than they had anticipated. At 7 30 Mr. Weobley came along and found the fire proceeding according to plan. About 9 a.m. no less a person than Richard Reynolds, the official firelighter of the House of Lords, arrived on the scene The furnaces were his especial charge, and, as he told the Lords of the Privy Council afterwards, 'Never no accident has happened while I have had the care of those places.' We gather that he was not pleased to find an interloper sent by another department, and that interloper a plumber by trade, stoking his furnaces. He stopped for only four or five minutes, and during that interval delivered himself of two pregnant observations—'You are going on very rapid burning those sticks,' and then, after an interval of further observation and probable expectoration, 'You are going on too rapid.' So he vanished from the scene, presumably to take a day's holiday, while others were doing his work.

We must now be introduced to the upper regions and to that remarkable matron Mrs Elizabeth Wright, the mother-in-law of the housekeeper of the House of Lords, and acting housekeeper during the absence of her daughter-in-law. The Lords of the Privy Council found Mrs. Wright 'unaccountable,' but that was merely because the cares of State prevent Lords of Privy Councils from studying the mentality of their housekeepers.

As befitted the acting housekeeper of the House of Lords, she was the perfect pattern of the housekeeper of all time. A little more majestic than most of them, she never appears on the stage of this story except in the company of an attendant satellite. She was a late riser when the House of Lords was not sitting, and it was not till 10 o'clock that, accompanied by Daniel Reynolds, the son of the official firelighter, she came down and opened the great west door of the House of Lords. Her nostrils immediately observed in the House a very strong smell like wood burning. The cause was explained to her, and, in the manner of housekeepers, she at once perceived a dark conspiracy to affront herself. She said to Mr. Cross: 'If Mr. Pulman was here he would not allow you to do it and annoy me.'

Mystery surrounds the advent of Mr. Cross from the furnaces

to the House of Lords chamber. He may have been summoned by Daniel Reynolds the satellite, or he may have come on his own account; and if he came on his own account, the reason of his coming is obscure. According to his story, he went to the House of Lords to see if there was 'any particular heat,' and we may surmise that some vision of possible danger had penetrated to his brain. Mrs. Wright complained to him of the terrible smell of wood, but gave no hint of any danger. He did not find the place where the flue came up 'particularly hot.' He also went for the purpose of looking at the thermometer, but he did not know what a thermometer was for: 'I am no judge of those kind of things.' In fact, it stood at 55 degrees.

Soon after this Mr. Weobley paid his second visit to the furnaces. The idea of danger had never crossed his mind. He knew, however, his Mr. Joshua Cross, and he explained that his visits were due to an anxiety lest Mr. Cross should purloin the tallies. At 1.30 Mrs. Wright sent Mr. Cross a message that the House of Lords was in a complete smother and that the Throne could scarcely be seen. Mr. Cross sent back a message that he could not help it and that he would soon be done. About 3.30 Mr. Weobley dropped in for his last visit. He saw nothing wrong: not a tally had been stolen, and the pile was nearly consumed.

A little later Mrs. Wright went into the House of Lords accompanied by Jukes, the foreman, and Daniel Reynolds. She said to Jukes: 'I do not like the appearance of the House. It is very hot below the Bar.' Jukes ripped up the bump (a technical name for a piece of floor covering), and Mrs. Wright put her hand on the floor and was obliged instantly to take it away. Jukes said: 'It is very hot, for this bump is quite in a sweat.' Mrs. Wright said 'Go again to Cross, for I feel very uneasy; they will set this place on fire.' Daniel Reynolds came to Cross, but Cross was adamant. His orders were to burn the tallies, and burn the tallies he would. He would soon be finished.

At 4 p.m. the last of the tallies was consumed: Cross's work was finished He went out to get a glass of beer, and then went home to his house in New Pitt Street, Westminster. He was nursing one of his children, when his attention was attracted by an unusual illumination in the sky.

Shortly after 4 o'clock Mr. John Snell, of Tiverton, a country cousin seeing the sights of London and something of a connoisseur of tapestry, arrived at the House of Lords accompanied by Mr. Shuter, and was shown over the chamber and the adjacent rooms by Mrs. Wright. He observed how much smoke there was, and after much meandering went to Black Rod's box and said: 'Bless me, how warm it is here: I feel it through my boots. I should almost be afraid this would take fire.' Mrs. Wright, who

had previously admitted her disquietude, clearly did not think it was the place of Mr. John Snell, of Tiverton, to express an opinion on the question whether her House of Lords was on fire or not. 'Oh no,' she said, 'this is a stone floor.' She then proceeded to explain that there was nothing unusual in the heat. People often fainted from the heat at this particular spot. Mr. John Snell and Mr. Shuter were snubbed, but not satisfied. Mr. Snell said subsequently: 'I could not see the Throne from the Bar. I was so much grieved that there was so much smoke in the House I could not see the tapestry; I went over and put up my hand to convince myself it was tapestry, but I do not think I saw above a foot square when I was near to it' He saw, however, more than anyone ever saw again. Mr. Snell took his departure with Mr. Shuter. Mrs. Wright had come to the end of a weary day, during which everything had conspired to annoy her. She left the House of Lords to its curling smoke, soon to develop into licking flame, and locked the door, so that the process continued undisturbed. The evidence shows that she must have been seriously alarmed, though afterwards she denied it. She explained that if she had really been alarmed she would have removed her 'things' from the premises—not, it may be noted, have attempted to save the building. No doubt she felt she had done her duty, and if another department insisted on entering her domain and on burning down the Houses of Parliament it was not her place to interfere.

At 6 o'clock Mr. Weobley was just going home, and was at the Abingdon Street corner of the House of Lords, when he 'saw a chimney very much afire.' He ran up by Mr. Bellamy's stairs, at the end of Abingdon Street, into the House of Commons, turned to go into the House of Lords, and saw under the door that it was all on fire. He saw Mrs. Wright and Mr. Moyes, a doorkeeper, and said: 'Oh, Lord, it is all on fire; it is much more than a chimney.' He said he would never forget the countenances of those persons. He rushed up Guy Fawkes' staircase to get on the roof, but could not get on the roof at all owing to the fire. If Mr. Weobley could not forget Mrs. Wright's countenance on this occasion, Mrs. Wright could not forget his. 'He seemed perfectly petrified,' was her phrase.

Mrs. Wright derived her first news of the fire from Mrs. Mullencamp, who 'lives at the corner.' She went out on some errand, and as she came back she halloed: 'Oh, good God, the House of Lords is on fire.' Mrs. Wright actually ran to the scene of the fire, encountered Mr. Weobley, and continues her narrative: 'What happened then I do not know; I know I ran about the street without bonnet or shawl, and my maid followed me with the lead running on her shoulders.'

Scenes such as this reduce even housekeepers to disorder and convert their prose into poetry. No more poignant description of a scene of disaster can be found since the description of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. It will be observed that Mrs. Wright was actually seen in public without bonnet or shawl, but she contrived to keep that other remnant of her dignity—her eternal, though changing, satellite—to the last. The reference to that satellite is probably more poetical than exact. No maid can run very far with boiling lead streaming on her shoulders.

The rest of the story was for the public eye, and is comparatively short. The fire at once burnt with a fury unparalleled. Efforts, which were to a large degree successful, were made to save the contents of the edifice. At 8 p m. the wind veered from south to west and spread the flames from the House of Lords to the House of Commons, the roof of which soon fell in with the noise of an explosion. Westminster Hall was encircled by flames at its southern end, and was only saved by the introduction of a fire-engine into the hall itself. The night ended in a scene of blackened desolation, in the midst of which we find a faithful civil servant defending the rescued records of the Court of Augmentations from the curiosity of the mob.

One notable fact emerged from the inquiry, namely, that the House of Lords was in the habit of catching fire. There had been a fire in another flue five years previously. For years past the Yeoman Usher of the Black Rod had been grilled by a quite unwarrantable heat in his box in the House of Lords, and with yeomanly fortitude had suffered in silence. On more than one occasion Mrs. Wright had found the matting of the House of Lords on fire, and when the present fire broke out had regarded it as a repetition of a common occurrence. No doubt the flues of the furnaces were in a state of serious disorder—they had not been swept for a year; and it is easy to understand the result without attributing a criminal intent to that interesting ex-criminal Mr. Joshua Cross.

W. R. BARKER.

P.T.O.

THE WHITEFRIARS PRESS, LTD., PRINTERS, LONDON AND TONBRIDGE.

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

XIX- -XX

Founded by JAMES KNOWLES

1926 APRIL No. 590. Vol. XCIX

LONDON : CONSTABLE & CO. LTD., ORANGE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE, W.C.2.
PARIS : MESSAGERIES HACHETTE, 111, RUE REAUMUR. NEW YORK : LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.
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No. DXC—April 1926

IS FRANCE MAKING FOR A DICTATORSHIP?

Bolshevism or Fascism? The man with a blood-stained dagger between his teeth or the stern leader wielding a repressive sword? Such is, according to the daily statements published in responsible papers and reviews, the dilemma which confronts France, from which nothing can save her. Dictatorship would seem to be a certainty. One point, only one, is not clear—the quarter whence the master is to spring. Meanwhile, remote from the noisy masses at the poles of opinion, the public at large, though to all intents and purposes indifferent to the solution of the problem, agrees, however, in expressing the hope that the nation should submit to an authority. The country asks for a reliable Government and at its head a leader capable of exercising power, who, having adopted a good, nay even an indifferent policy, should prove steadfast in his purpose and resort to drastic measures, whenever necessary, to stem any individual or collective resistance.

But is France truly ripe for a dictatorship? The question concerns not that country alone, but all civilised nations, if for no other reason than that they all exhibit signs of a similar discontent. Throughout Europe the position is critical: time-honoured institutions are shaken, and unsettlement is gaining ground among all classes; we witness a growing mistrust in that particular mode of governance which had, until a recent period, proved, on the whole, very beneficial—the parliamentary system. In these circumstances, should a violent upheaval suddenly succeed in enthroning a dictator in France, the movement would spread all over Europe. Such was the case with the revolution of 1848. Its world-wide after-effects are too familiar to us all for a restatement of them to be necessary. That the question is of universal interest cannot, therefore, be denied.

Before attempting to answer it, let us for a moment take a look at past happenings. As a rule, history affords reliable guidance. What teaching does it impart in connexion with the present problem? Viewed objectively, it shows that dictatorship may occur in a certain number of complex, yet clearly defined, circumstances, namely: when, the legal authority of the Government being inadequate to cope with home or foreign affairs, the central power tends to fall into the background; when strongly organised groups play the part of the State on the wane; when the main political parties, shirking their obvious and paramount duty, prove reluctant to undertake the onus of such responsibility as devolves upon them; when public spirit gives way—when, in a word, an ever-deepening gulf yawns open between the nation and its representatives. Given such data, should there arise a man devoid of juridical principles, but energetic, domineering, active, and, above all, possessed of that indefinable something which creates a strong 'presence,' he may, with the support of a small following, launch himself into power. Crowds are gregarious. The bulk of a nation willingly follows the minority, provided the latter acts boldly and with decision. Having reached this first stage, the man in question may freely use whip, rein, and spur. The majority will obey as submissively as a well-trained horse. Henceforth it is an easy task for the dictator to force divergent currents into the right channel and to rouse slumbering energies. Monsieur de Lavelaye, in his book *Le Gouvernement et la Démocratie,* quotes, in connexion with this assumption, the following passage written by Napoleon in St. Helena:

'Lorsqu'une déplorable faiblesse et une versatilité sans fin se manifestent dans les conseils du pouvoir; lorsque cédant tour à tour à l'influence des partis contraires et vivant au jour le jour, sans plan fixe, sans marche assurée, il a donné la mesure de son insuffisance, et que les citoyens les plus

modérés sont forcés de convenir que l'Etat n'est plus gouverné ; lorsque, enfin, à sa nullité au dedans, l'administration joint le tort le plus grave qu'elle puisse avoir aux yeux d'un peuple fier, je veux dire l'avilissement au dehors, alors une inquiétude vague se répand dans la société, le besoin de sa conservation l'agite, et, promenant sur elle-même ses regards, elle semble chercher un homme qui puisse la sauver.' (T. 1, p. 229.)

Now the question may be put: 'Are these conditions being fulfilled in France at the present day?'

A casual observer would no doubt answer in the affirmative. Neither, judging superficially, would he be wrong. Appearances offer but little scope for optimism. Looking at it generally, the picture of France in this year of 1926 presents much analogy with that of 1799. Enlargement is unnecessary. From a purely parliamentary standpoint things seem less encouraging still. What do we see in both Houses? Mushroom Ministries, born from empty talk, crumble to pieces, because they fail to muster a consistent majority. The names of each successive Cabinet may differ, but the characteristics remain unaltered. Not one has shown unity of design or strength of endeavour. Not one has clearly understood the urgent needs of the country. Three great reforms the nation imperatively calls for: (*a*) a fiscal reform; (*b*) an electoral reform; (*c*) an administrative reform. But how could the Ministers as much as approach the discussion of these vital matters? Compelled to answer the flood of questions brought forward by the Opposition, dubious whether on the morrow they will still keep their posts or be shifted from one department to another, uncertain whether the majority will not within twenty-four hours' time dwindle into a minority, they are handicapped and powerless. All proceedings are delayed by the party rivalry. Paradoxical as it may seem, the two extreme groups, despite their hatred towards each other, yet join in stubborn opposition against the very principle of the parliamentary *régime* they crave to destroy. Parenthetically, it should be noted that, contrary to what exists in England, the regulations of the French Parliament do not provide for a strictly limited 'question time.' Taking advantage of that deficiency, the 'extreme wings' seize on every opportunity to clog the wheels of the Government machinery: the deputies indulge in protracting effete controversies, in raising points of order without plausible grounds, in blaming one another for averred or presumed errors committed in the past. Such practices prevailing, how can the Ministers get through any useful work? No wonder, then, if the whole *régime*, taxed as inefficient, is fast falling into disrepute.

That much harm has originated in the two Houses, more particularly in the Chamber of Deputies, cannot be denied. Yet the French Parliament is not the sole culprit. The dangerous

symptoms referred to above must be traced to deeper causes. The primary source of all the trouble is disappointment. In human beings, disappointment creates envy; in nations, it vents itself in revolt against the leaders. And to be sure France has experienced a bitter disappointment.

This is not the place for an exhaustive survey of that nation's grievances; yet some of them may be profitably recalled to mind. Every Frenchman believed that the Great War would be the last—at least, in Europe. To reach this most noble ideal France consented to sacrifices so great that in days to come, when the lapse of years has set things in their true light, the unbiassed historian, investigating her annals, will stop, wonder-stricken in his inquiry, and marvel, with that religious awe so strongly expressed in Vergil's immortal verse:

'Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.'

Nothing but the fervid, mystical elation of the patriotic feeling raised to the purest form of heroism could render such self-sacrifice possible and acceptable. But after the long dream of four and a half years came the irony of a brutal awakening.

What about the protection of the French eastern frontiers by the Allies jointly? What about the reinstatement of the devastated areas at the expense of the authors of the damage? From a military point of view the danger of a fresh invasion is merely postponed, not done away with; from a financial point of view the payees take the place of the payers; for half a century to come the orphans of the victims who fell for a sacred cause will have to contribute huge sums of money towards the making good of damages accomplished before they were born—nay, 'the widow must pay for the overcoat which served as a shroud wherewith to bury her husband's corpse.' Meanwhile, the man in the street argues 'thrift is of no avail'; his knowledge of arithmetic does not enable him to find out what price in francs should be saved to refund both principal and interest of the inter-Allied debts reckoned in pounds sterling and dollars.

From those two groups of causes—those strictly political and those of general import—proceeds the present attitude of mind of the French nation: they are all sufficient to account for the call for the iron grip of a strong hand.

Moreover, we cannot afford to ignore, first, the *coups d'état* which took place in France in the past on two critical occasions; secondly, the dictatorships which have recently been established in other countries—Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, and Persia.

What weight do these arguments carry? First, the French

precedents. France, it is argued, has experienced two dictatorships—a change that has already happened twice may recur a third time. In these matters ' what has been ' does not necessarily imply ' what will be.' All depends on the nature of the events under consideration, the moment and circumstances of their occurrence. To the student of history the two French dictatorships present one feature in common—they were Napoleonic. Strictly speaking, December 2 appears as a distant and faint reflection of the 18th Brumaire. It became possible mainly because the regular army had during decades been nourished with the epic legend of the Imperial glory. Hence the 18th Brumaire alone counts. Now, in the movement which launched Buonaparte into supreme power there is hardly any trace of mysticism. Logical, matter-of-fact in the extreme, it proceeded from an extraordinary combination of circumstances unique in history. An unprecedented financial crisis, due both to the lavishness of the ancient monarchy and to the expenses incurred by Louis XVI to help the American insurgents, had already led to the Revolution. The country felt exhausted by ten years of civil and foreign wars. Nothing short of a great military effort could deal with those twofold odds: revolution at home, coalition abroad. Furthermore, the maintenance of peace seemed as arduous an achievement as the conquering of it—superhuman, in truth, as Taine so clearly puts it:

Il fallait contenir à la fois les royalistes et les jacobins, rendre à 140,000 émigrés leur patrie, et néanmoins rassurer les 1,200,000 propriétaires de biens nationaux, rendre à 30,000,000 de catholiques orthodoxes le droit, la faculté, les moyens, de pratiquer leur culte, et cependant ne pas laisser maltraiter le clergé schismatique, mettre en présence dans la même commune le seigneur dépossédé et le paysan acquéreur de son domaine.

Public spirit was dead. Any effort for the good and welfare of the nation seemed sheer foolishness. The venality of the Directoire struck even the less keen-sighted admirers of that so-called republican Government. Deliberate anarchy and bullying despotism superseded each other by turns. Buonaparte, not only an exception in himself, but popular because of his former victories and haloed with glory, had practically nothing to do but to appear and to wrench the power from the hands of hated incompetent tyrants, and restore that personal power which France had known ten years before, and had not yet forgotten. The tradition persisted, the break had been short.

How different the present situation. Financially, critics aver, now as then, there exists a serious crisis. We grant it. Politically, they argue, Parliament, now as then, appears powerless. We agree. But there ends the analogy. Though a prey to these two

similar evils, the social state of modern France cannot, in any case, compare with what existed at the time of the Revolution. There is no agrarian question now. Most of the extensive domains of the ancient nobility have been parcelled out to such a degree that small and middling estates are, in comparison with the population, more numerous in France than anywhere else. The celebrated cry, 'Three acres and a cow!' with which the Right Hon. Jesse Collings, M.P., succeeded in carrying the small-holdings amendment against Lord Salisbury in 1886, would have no echo in the French villages of to-day. Why should the peasant ask for three acres and a cow? He owns that, and more. Unlike the factory hands and the townspeople, he hardly suffers at all from the fall of the franc. What he sells everybody needs. He is free to raise his prices. He can make money. He likes his work. What else should he want? Now, if we remember that those peasants (including village carpenters, blacksmiths, saddlers, and men of other callings implying rural interests) number more than half the aggregate population of France, the fact that they are the last to favour a change which might menace the privacy and independence of their homesteads leads us to deny the finality of the deductions drawn from French history.

It remains to be seen whether the reasons taken from the examples furnished by other countries are more conclusive. Instinctively, on looking at Italy and Spain, one can't help paraphrasing Pascal's words: 'Vérité au deçà des Pyrénées, erreur au delà.' Comparisons of this kind often prove misleading, epecially with countries where social conditions, education, habits, manners, differ. Buonapartism in nowise resembles Fascism. Fascism is due to many causes. To begin with, it must be looked upon as a product of the war and the after-war, leaving aside Mussolini's extraordinary genius. But this is only one cause. On the whole it by no means depends upon outward circumstances. Italy, the country of the old Roman *latifundia*, had experienced, long prior to 1914, agrarian strikes unknown in France. Furthermore, she has been at all times, 'to a far greater degree than France, the land of civil feuds and strifes waged by towns, quarters or guilds of craftsmen, one against another. Under the Guelph and Ghibelline banners many a selfish passion was enrolled.'

Elle est le pays, beaucoup plus que la France, des luttes civiles, des rivalités de ville à ville, de quartier à quartier, de métier à métier. Sous l'étendard guelfe ou l'étendard gibelin, bien des passions particulières se sont enrôlées. (*L'Europe Nouvelle*, Novembre 14, 1925.)

The classical literature of other countries furnishes few instances of curses hurled at towns or classes of citizens anything like the execrations so commonly met with in Italian authors;

take, for example, the celebrated verses with which Dante calls down on Pisa the direst malediction of Heaven:

> Ahi! Pisa, vituperio delle genti,
> Del bel paese là dove il si suona;
> Poi che i vicini a te punir son lenti,
> Muovansi la Capraia e la Gorgona,
> E faccian siepe ad Arno in su la foce,
> Si ch'egli annieghi in te ogni persona.

Another essential dissimilarity between the two nations foils any attempt at parallel. France is an old nation; Italy has only quite recently achieved her political unity.

> L'Etat italien sort à peine de l'enfance, il n'a pas encore de passé, de traditions. Des vieillards se rencontrent en Italie qui se souviennent d'une époque où il n'y avait pas d'Etat italien. (Comte de Fels, *Aurons-nous la Révolution ?*)

Plainly, then, any endeavour to forecast the eventual developments of the present French deadlock, in the light of Italian Fascism, seems somewhat futile. And, for reasons still more forcible, inferences from Spanish, or, for the matter of that, from Greek, Turkish, Hungarian or Persian precedents, can hardly be drawn.

Thus, from whatever angle we look at the problem, we finally land in the necessity of evolving the future of France from our knowledge of the modern conditions of that country, as revealed by the interests, callings, tastes, habits, tendencies, etc., of its inhabitants. On that plane we would venture to conclude that most of the pessimistic announcements have been dealt with and dismissed.

However, the charge against the *régime* remains. The clamours attacking Parliament rise on all sides—loud, bitter, continuous. Is not this a fatal symptom? Here, again, we must not take things tragically. The recurrence of such criticisms strikes the observer as the burden of a very old song. In the ears of the middle-aged man the note is but an echo of complaints heard or read of in his childhood. And his father and grandfather express the same opinion, so inveterate is the habit that leads the French to scoff at their Government. Monsieur d'Arzens, in a book written in 1898 entitled *The Failure of the Parliamentary Government*, quoting Monsieur Thureau Dangin (*History of the July Monarchy*, book 1, p. 92), very distinctly emphasises the fact. Already at that time, 'in certain circles, a man was quite welcome to speak ill of the parliamentary system,' and to declare 'the whole machinery effete.' Long before 1914 the word 'Republic' no longer roused in France that religious enthusiasm with which the Liberals of the early nineteenth century had cheered a Govern-

ment, to their eyes, disinterested, pure, beautiful—the hall-mark of perfection. A by no means negligible portion of public opinion steadfastly opposed the Republic, and most of the Conservatives who had reluctantly rallied round it secretly hankered after the traditional Monarchy to which in their heart of hearts they had remained loyal. Rochefort's ironic witticism, 'La République, qu'elle était belle sous l'Empire,' is distinguishable—by letter, not by spirit—from hundreds of others to the same effect. Most of the French Republican statesmen have vied with one another in speaking or penning their share of such sarcasm. 'Nous sommes loin de la raison et de la santé,' Monsieur Sembat, the great Socialist leader, wrote in 1913; 'Nous sommes dans l'incohérence,' Monsieur Clemenceau had said previously; 'La France se dissout,' Monsieur Rouvier had affirmed earlier still; 'La France est bien malade,' Monsieur Bourgeois himself had asserted. Such statements, from Deputies and Ministers in whose opinion the two terms France and the Republic were synonymous, clearly show that even prior to 1914 there existed a strong misgiving as regards the future of the *régime*.

Neither should too much weight be attached to the fact that the present-day Ministries are short-lived; the longevity of its Cabinets has never been one of the characteristic features of the French Republic. From September 4, 1870 (the date of the proclamation of the Third Republic), to August 3, 1914—that is to say, a period of forty-four years—France can boast of having had fifty-nine Ministries. As time went on things grew worse. To-day they seem desperate, politically speaking. Yet should one conclude that the nation is on the verge of a violent change? For the nation to yield to an impulse, amounting to a clean sweep of the whole *régime*, it must be urged on by some such mighty incentive as a crying injustice, or, again, a great national danger, and be led on by a chief. Now, doubtless, that sword of Damocles, the financial crisis, is hanging over its head, but it has not fallen yet, which makes all the difference; and as for the leader, we can say that Buonapartes are scarce.

And deep down this fact remains: despite the call for a chief, there is in France an obscure, somewhat sentimental dread of dictatorship. The men of an older generation fear dictatorship from experience, remembering what illiberal measures they suffered from when Napoleon III. held sway; the younger men fear it because of what they have learnt of the arbitrary rule which prevailed under a personal Government; the well-informed men fear it for more precise motives. They reason like this: In the past, at least since the Middle Ages, despotism was confined within certain bounds, not only because of the scheme of tenure created by the feudal system, but also as a result of the privileges,

immunities and franchises, of almost infinite kinds, subsisting in favour of various districts, boroughs, ports, guilds and crafts, and even of private individuals. The well-known benefit of the clergy, founded upon the text of Scripture, 'Touch not Mine anointed, and do My prophets no harm,' which was gradually expanded and finally applied to laymen provided they could read, is but one example amongst many others. Thus, as Monsieur de Lavelaye writes:

> La force dont disposait la noblesse, l'autorité dont jouissaient les Cours de Justice, les privilèges des villes, des provinces, et des corporations surtout l'imperfection et l'impuissance de l'administration, bornaient le pouvoir du souverain. (*Le Gouvernement et la Démocratie*, t. 1, p 218)

But the mighty arm of Napoleon I., by fusing into one the whole of the judiciary and administrative institutions of France, swept away such barriers. Nowadays the already elaborate machinery created by him has been improved to such an extent that its intricate mechanism clutches every Frenchman. None can escape its teeth. Dictatorship would therefore be more absolute to-day than in the past. So, owing to dissimilar but equally potent reasons, both the politically well-informed higher middle classes and the bulk of the stolid, placid country-folk, averse from all change, and numbering more than half the aggregate population of the country, are opposed to dictatorship. It would be difficult to go against that two-fold current.

An hour did sound, nevertheless, when the venture might have been attempted. It was during the war, or, more exactly, at the precise moment when the victorious Armistice put an end to hostilities. Then enthusiasm was reigning supreme: the most inaudible summons from one of the leaders of the day, in whom everybody believed like the Gospel, had sufficed. The change would have taken place, as a matter of fact, without anyone inquiring as to the means or purpose of the *coup d'état*. Neither were the Socialists blind to the danger. Interpreting in an erroneous sense the meaning of the Greek proverb, 'ἀρχη σοφίας, φόβος κύριου,' to serve their interests, they were not slow to give out that a victorious chief is the enemy to be dreaded. During the ominous days of the early summer of 1914 Jaurès could not forbear from crying out: 'If things come to fighting and we are beaten, it is the end of France; if we are victorious, it is the end of the Republic.' His statement is the result of his opinion of the French Army at that time, an army founded on the three years' compulsory service system. That army, he thought, might to a great extent be compared to the Prætorian Guard, standing in readiness for any violent stroke of State policy devised to subvert the Constitution. Hence he persistently advocated the

creation of a militia with short-term service; such troops, he argued, would be more strongly attached to the Republican institutions than units composed of long-term soldiers.

As it happens, the gloomy presentiments of Jaurès have not been borne out by facts. Not in one instance did those chiefs make the slightest attempt to avail themselves of their favourable position, and this though their armies, a million strong, consisted of troops which after serving three years in peace-time had also been mobilised for four and a half years in war-time, and had thus acquired the blind obedience characteristic of professional soldiers. On the contrary, the most glorious generals ever pinnacled by fame—after saving their country and civilisation, and at a time when round their portraits, to be seen on every chimney-piece in mansion and cottage in France, hovered a halo of glory almost superhuman—unflinchingly obeyed the orders of whatever obscure politician chanced to hold legal authority, even allowing themselves to be undeservedly 'Stellenbosched' into the bargain. When Cicero wrote the words which have so often received effective quotation: 'Cedant arma togæ, concedat laura linguæ,' there existed good reason for the subserviency: his was a manly civic gown; his a noble eloquence, thrice enhanced because of its constant adherence to the interests of the Republic. But that after the Armistice honoured generals should have yielded to political incapacity and the laurel given way to idle talk seems incredible. Yet it was so: khaki, when it had the best chance to get the upper hand, obediently bowed before mufti. That fact alone is sufficient evidence that the favourable moment for a *coup d'état* has passed.

Bolshevism or Fascism? was our query at the outset. The object of this article throughout has been to prove that, unless new difficulties of a serious character arise, neither the former nor the latter is likely to reign. Dictatorship, though not impossible, appears as logically improbable and practically not feasible. How, then, solve the problem? In the present case there are possible alternatives to the extreme courses we have presented.

Hitherto the word 'dictator' has been understood as synonymous with usurper. But its received meaning has a wider significance.

Historically a dictator is a man invested for a time with the mastery. Originally no disparagement attached to the name. In ancient Rome, where the prerogatives of the different magistrates had been minutely defined and strictly limited (a policy calculated to compel each of them to keep a watchful eye on his neighbour's doings, and thus nip in the bud any eventual

attempted act of tyranny), it was provided that in the event of sudden, pressing necessity all powers should, for a specified period, be handed over to an extraordinary magistrate—the dictator. Thus in those days the dictator appeared as precisely the reverse of what is dreaded at present—not a usurper, but, on the contrary, the responsible chief-elect, upon whom all authority parcelled out amongst several others devolves in full, normally, automatically, legally, but for a short period, with the primary view of saving the country; the idea of preventing such powers from being illegally and arbitrarily taken by an oppressive and irresponsible tyrant was no doubt subsidiary.

Rightly understood, the functions of a dictator ought not to inspire any fear. Further, the example of Rome might even, *mutatis mutandis*, furnish France with a means of establishing a provisional Government able to help her to wade through her present difficulties. Viewed in this light, various courses might be adopted. The important point is that they should be confined within the limits of the modern institutions of the country, and make due allowance on the one hand for a return to authority which circumstances demand, and on the other hand allow liberty which every Frenchman desires as well. There is no impassable gulf between the two.

The first course would be the following. The French Parliament, inspired by the example of ancient Rome, would, so to speak, by special proxy, entrust one or several men with the task of carrying out, within a fixed period, a certain number of previously well-defined reforms. Such a policy would not be contrary either to the fundamental principle of the French Revolution, 'All power is vested in the State' ('*Tout pouvoir réside dans la nation*'), or to the binding legal axiom, '*Nemo plus juris concedere potest quam ipse habet.*' Deputies and senators do not hold their office in virtue of superior personal right. They are substitutes that have been returned by their respective constituencies to the lower or higher House with definite objects. Those objects, however different, infer efficiency as a primary postulate, in the same manner as every underwriter's policy implies a warranty of seaworthiness. If the members of Parliament cannot fulfil their trust, nothing in reason or law forbids them from temporarily making over their temporary powers to a third party. The grand names of dictator, consul, triumvir, extraordinary parliamentary commission of public safety, or other newly-coined titles must not give cause for alarm. As Monsieur Charles Benoist, late Ambassador for France at the Hague, so ably explains:

> Ce n'est pas le nom ni même l'état de dictateur qui fit Rome esclave, mais bien le pouvoir que s'attribuèrent des citoyens en perpétuant en leurs

mains le commandement. Le tout est que le dictateur soit créé en vertu des institutions mêmes, dans l'ordre constitutionnel, non dans une entreprise de sa volonté, et qu'en outre, certaines conditions soient observées Le dictateur doit être créé pour un temps déterminé, pour un objet précis. Si ce temps est court, si cet objet est manifeste, si enfin c'est la loi qui institue la dictature, elle est sans danger, elle peut être bienfaisante; une démocratie ne saurait s'en passer. (*Echo de Paris*, January 10, 1926)

What precedes shows that the temporary handing over of all or part of the powers of Parliament to one or several delegates would be perfectly legal. Many people advocate the scheme, deeming it the most opportune measure. To men conversant with the spirit of both Houses it appears as Utopian. The nearer a man feels to death the more desperately he clings to life. Members of Parliament are not supermen. One would hardly ask them voluntarily to commit suicide.

A second course depends on the First Magistrate of the State. The President of the French Republic holds, from the Constitution of 1875, powers notably more extensive than are usually conceded to the chief of the State under a parliamentary *régime*. On him, jointly with the two Houses, devolves the initiative of all laws, whereof he, moreover, enacts the enforcement and supervises the good working. the commutation of capital punishment of criminals, termed in French '*droit de grâce*,' is among his prerogatives; all the land and sea forces of the country stand at his command; he appoints to all military and civil posts; he presides over national solemnities; to him representatives of foreign Powers present their credentials; with the assent of the Senate, he has a right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies; without any outside advice, he has a right to summon both Houses to extraordinary sessions, as also during the term of any session to adjourn them twice, for a period, however, not exceeding one month; within the delay fixed for the first official publication of every new law he is entitled, by means of a special open message, substantiated by facts, to enjoin both Houses to discuss the subject-matter over again, and they must comply with the injunction; he negotiates and confirms all international treaties; he chooses his Ministers at will, amongst the members of both Houses or elsewhere. So great are his legal powers that many authors who promote democracy as a principle have branded the Constitution of 1875 with the epithet of 'Royalist.' Theoretically they are perhaps right; in fact, the Presidents of the French Republic have, from sheer disuse, seemingly waived their powers. Once only did a President avail himself of his right to break up the Chamber of Deputies; the crisis which ensued taught his successors to act more reservedly in the future. Many jurists bewail the fact. Were the President to cling to the existing

system of laws established by the State for its own guidance, he might become the constitutional leader.

There yet remains a third course—one more conformable with parliamentary usage, which would present the advantage of keeping to a middle path and follow the steps outlined by Monsieur Poincaré. In his Bill No. 6972 of January 17, 1924, the former President, notwithstanding the fact that he thus might be impairing existing laws, requested the right to issue decrees termed '*décrets lois*' with a view to carrying out urgent administrative reforms. Such a procedure, he argued, while saving much time, would little by little do away with the parliamentary routine. The system presents a further advantage which President Poincaré tactfully left in the dark. It would speedily break down the resistance of such deputies as lose sight of the general welfare of the nation when the interests of their constituencies are at stake. After a keen debate Poincaré succeeded in carrying the section of the law of March 22, 1924, reading as follows:

> Des réductions dont le total ne devra pas etre inférieur à un milliard de francs seront effectuées en 1924 sur les dépenses de l'Etat Pendant les quatre mois qui suivront la promulgation de la présente loi, le Gouvernement est autorisé à procéder par des décrets rendus en Conseil d'Etat, après avoir été approuvés en Conseil des Ministres, à toutes les réformes et simplifications administratives que comportera la réalisation de ces économies Lorsque les mesures ainsi prises auront nécessité des modifications aux lois en vigueur, les décrets seront soumis à la sanction législative dans un délai de six mois.

The fates opposed Monsieur Poincaré's Bill from going through that best of all tests—experience. After their defeat at the legislative elections of May 11, 1924, his Government resigned, dragging down the whole scheme in their fall. For France the consequences of that to all appearances quite trifling detail, the non-enforcement of an enactment, amounted to a national disaster. A judicious use of the provisos of the Bill as early as 1924 would have relieved the country of the ordeal of the last two years. But an interred Bill may be exhumed. The best policy, even now, would be to adopt measures similar to those commended by Monsieur Poincaré. They stand for what is most required in the present circumstances—simplicity and stamina. Furthermore, they offer no danger. Their machinery may be applied to any kind of work. Their action is directed towards producing results. Their effects could not fail to be immediate.

Stirred by such an example Parliament in its turn might, foregoing its routine, decide to amend its methods. Not more than three changes—but important ones—would be enough to bring the Houses to play their true part and restore their vanished prestige:

(1) A return, in parliamentary elections, to uninominal ballot

—the form of voting best fitted to put a stop to such compromise as so often characterises coalitions.

(2) A notable reduction of the number of members of Parliament. 'Too many cooks spoil the broth' applies not only to kitchens, but also to assemblies; besides, to use the phraseology of marine insurance, jettison, under necessity, is always legitimate.

(3) Personal voting made compulsory. Under the system now in vogue each deputy or senator is given slips with his name printed. These ballot-papers are put into the box either by the voters themselves, or in their absence by the appointed delegate of their party. Important Bills or motions may thus be carried when no more than a dozen members sit in the House. As deputies and senators can admittedly vote by proxy, the custom of summoning them to attend at the same hour the sittings of the House and of one or more select committees has become prevalent. The practice is disastrous.

Since the fall of the Poincaré Ministry much water has passed under the bridge. Time the great teacher, time, that ripens not only the crops (' *Et validas segetes, quod fuit herba facit* '), but also the schemes of men, time and personal interest, may have convinced many of those who in 1924 opposed the ' *décrets lois* ' that their adoption would restore the Executive to its former state, do away with the petty expedients of party device, and be generally valuable.

Thus, to sum up, the dangerous issue, namely, usurpative dictatorship, amounting to an open or disguised *coup d'état*, seems, for the present, out of the question. Yet obviously the situation has outgrown the spirit and capacity of Parliament. The prevailing state of things cannot last much longer. If bloodshed is to be avoided, if the French nation is to endure one and undivided, a constitutional settlement must be resolved upon without delay. To effect this, one of the three courses indicated above ought to be resorted to. The majority of the nation are sane and of staid opinion. Led by the Press, the universities, the chambers of commerce and all other authoritative corporations, they cannot, surely, fail to obtain the reform should they persistently demand it.

And the most recalcitrant supporters of French liberties will be forced to approve an action bearing no blemish of illegality. For, inasmuch as equity did not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, the adoption of one of the courses above mentioned will not wear down the French Constitution, but strengthen it and render it ' κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί ' (' Good to-day, and good for ever ').

ANDRÉ PAULIAN and ADRIEN PAULIAN.

IRAQ

THE present is perhaps a suitable moment for attempting a somewhat more comprehensive review than has hitherto been made of that very interesting political experiment of Iraq which began to take definite shape in 1921.[1]

The promises which were made to the Arabs during the campaign in Mesopotamia did not necessarily imply the immediate setting up of complete constitutional government; and to have taken such a step at once would no doubt have been repugnant alike to the instincts and to the judgment of the *quasi*-military administration under which, in accordance with the strictest principles of international law, the country lay after the Armistice, while the councils of the Powers were busy framing the terms of the Treaty of Peace.

It has been the fashion in many quarters to decry that intermediate administration, to describe it as arbitrary and oppressive, resting on brute military force, grinding the inhabitants with excessive taxation and compelling them to adopt an alien and uncongenial form of government. And these critics point triumphantly to the Arab rising of 1920 as proof of the accuracy of their diagnosis. It has, however, never yet been shown that, but for the intervention of forces outside Iraq, the provisional Government set up after the Armistice might not, without very violent changes (changes, moreover, actually then contemplated), by the enlargement of the national element in the administration, and by the erection perhaps of a nominal but popularly chosen head, have gradually developed into a State enjoying the promised independence of Turkey and yet supported and controlled by British authority resting on the general consent of the inhabitants of Iraq.

Certain it is that, for a brief space, the country enjoyed good government. Taxation was not heavier than in Turkish times; taking into consideration the enhancement of the value of agricultural produce, the share demanded by Government was less, not more. The national Government which has succeeded has had to raise the level of taxation in every direction. If progress

[1] 'The Significance of Mosul,' by Kenneth Williams, appeared in the March number of this Reveiw.—EDITOR.

was prematurely stimulated by the robust impetuousness of the head of that administration, the country received the benefit of the institution of medical and utility services of a standard of excellence beyond all natural expectations.

Those, however, who dreamed that the fulfilment of our pledge was about to take place under a form of government combining liberality of institutions with an efficiency of which British Imperial history furnishes many splendid examples were doomed to disappointment. Two causes, each having its origin outside Iraq, frustrated that hope. One was the growing restiveness of the British taxpayer; the other, the propaganda of a pan-Arab movement headed by the Hedjaz dynasty.

The devotees of this movement owe more than perhaps they realise to the necessitous state of British finances at the end of the war. When in March 1921 Mr. Churchill, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies (whose jurisdiction included also the Middle East department), held his famous Durbar in Cairo for the settlement of the affairs of the Middle East—of Palestine, Aden, Trans-Jordania, and Iraq—the text on which he harangued the assembled consuls and pro-consuls with his usual masterful impressiveness was the urgent and paramount necessity of relieving the British taxpayer. He spoke of the hardships, the suffering and the misery, of the poverty and unemployment in Great Britain in terms which the recording angel, no doubt (judging by events), noted for use in the formation of future Cabinets. The occupation of Mesopotamia was in that year costing Great Britain about 28,000,000*l*. He determined to reduce it in three years to 4,000,000*l*. The main purpose of his mission, he constantly affirmed, was to give the British taxpayer large and immediate relief. At the same time, thinking perhaps to sanctify the too sordid cause of economy with the fire of liberating zeal, he brought with him to Cairo Colonel Lawrence of Hedjaz fame. Between them they evolved the Hedjaz kingdom of Iraq. Well might Mr. Churchill, in his gratification at this lucky combination of political expediency with the romantic championship of a depressed nation, refer with justifiable pride to the torch of civilisation now to be kindled anew in Baghdad. Meanwhile, as has once before in recent Eastern history been discovered to our cost, a kingdom implies a king. Faisal, the second son of Hussein, the newly created King of the Hedjaz (now departed with his other son and successor into voluntary retirement), was the man on whom the choice at Cairo fell. But it was felt that the great act of liberating the Arabs of Iraq and giving them an independent kingdom should not be sullied by any impertinent outside advice as to the selection of their King. The choice was to be the spontaneous act of the nation.

The agent chosen to stage this dramatic venture was Sir Percy Cox. No better choice could have been made. Nearly all his official life had been spent in holding the scales between the petty rival chieftains of the Persian Gulf, whose internal affairs, indeed, were insignificant; but the balance of power between them was of international importance. He had acquired a marvellous dexterity in threading the gossamer mazes of intrigue woven by Persian *finesse* and Arab duplicity. In his maturity (he was well over sixty when this task was laid upon him, and had qualified for rest by a score of notable services) he had the sagacity of Ulysses and the front of Wellington.

He set about his delicate task with business-like efficiency. The first necessity was the election of the King. The rival candidates (the most dangerous having already been judiciously removed) were, of course, to be allowed to canvass their claims; but it was indicated that it would be a graceful act that an invitation should be sent by the nobility of Baghdad to Faisal, the stranger from the southern deserts, while the local aspirants who mentioned their claims were no doubt made to feel much as those simple citizens of London felt who, in the financial stress of war, presented their notes for gold at the Bank of England. They were not encouraged to call again. Eventually the stranger from the south secured a triumphant majority of some 95 per cent. The universal ardour was not allowed to cool before Faisal was installed on the throne in August 1921.

The curtain fell on the first scene of the drama amid tumultuous applause.

In making the arrangements for this remarkable election and recording its results Sir Percy Cox was assisted by the various political officers scattered through Iraq, who constituted the machinery set up for a very different purpose by Lieut.-Colonel A. T. (now Sir Arnold) Wilson, the real head of the provisional *quasi*-military administration which preceded the national Government. These officers formed the backbone of the previous administration; they have been destined to play a very different *rôle* in the Arab Government of Iraq. Of the machinery of that Government—from its tentative inception in October 1920 to its more formal installation after the accession of Faisal—it may now be convenient to give a brief description.

When Sir Percy Cox arrived in Baghdad in October 1920 his business was to set up a national executive Government, the precise form of that Government being left for subsequent determination. Within a few weeks, therefore, a Council of Ministers, drawn mainly from the leading Arab and Jew notables of Iraq, was formed under the presidency of one of the most influential personages of Iraq, the Naqib of Baghdad. To each

Ministry a British adviser was attached. Rules were drafted for the conduct of business by Ministries and the Council, subject to the general control and direction of the High Commissioner, and a formula was found for adjusting differences of opinion between a Minister and his adviser. The departments outside the central Government were at first staffed very much in the same way as during the previous *régime*, but a slight reduction in British personnel and a considerable diminution of Indian establishment began to take place at once, the vacant posts, and many additional appointments, being filled by local inhabitants, who to a large extent were ex-Turkish officials. Naturally the technical departments—*e.g.*, public works, irrigation, and medical services—remained almost entirely in non-Iraqi hands, and their composition has been little changed up to the present time.

The greatest infusion of the Iraqi element occurred from the outset in what, in Turkish official parlance, is called the 'administrative' service—*i.e.*, the chief executive officers of law and order and revenue administration in the various local divisions into which the country was formed. These officials, who took the old Turkish titles of mutasarrif and quimmaqam, took the place of those British officers who, under the designation of political officers, played the principal part in the late administration. There is a danger that the part they then played, under the inspiring leadership of their admired chief A. T. Wilson, may be forgotten. Fate decreed that their work should be annulled and that the end for which they strove should be frustrated. But, whether or not it was in the public interest that the lines on which they were working in 1919 and 1920 should be maintained, only petty jealousy can deny that they worked with single-minded devotion, with high ideals, that many of them displayed abilities above the common, and that real heroism was shown in times of trial. In that pioneer work in a country of vast and empty distances, lacking every amenity and almost every natural convenience, scorched and blasted with heat and dust-storms in summer, chill and sodden in winter, there was needed youth, energy, hope, enthusiasm, in no ordinary measure; while in the rising of 1920 those men in their distant and solitary outposts, surrounded by cruel foes and uncertain friends, showed often a calm and steadfast courage which it is good to remember. For them, in the new dispensation, a very different *rôle* was prepared. They did not disappear, though their numbers were reduced. The residue remained, first as 'advisers' and 'assistant advisers' to the new mutasarrifs (who, with an injudicious liberality, were appointed in almost every district without delay), and finally as 'administrative inspectors,' with numerous definite functions but indefinite responsibility.

For a time they continued to work under the orders of a British chief, since the High Commissioner remained the administrative head of the Government until Faisal was actually on the throne. That event marked the first stage in constitutional government. The other stages, which had been mapped out at Cairo, now began to be put into process of development. Drafts of an organic and an electoral law were prepared, the latter taken largely from the Turkish electoral law, while the former, at any rate in its earlier forms, was a miscellaneous assortment of bits of various paper constitutions, some of which bore no very obvious resemblance to what purported to be the intended constitution of Iraq.

These drafts were prepared by British officials, more or less in consultation with the King and Ministers. They were intended to be placed before a constituent assembly, the formation of which was to mark the next stage in the evolution of government. Meanwhile serious difficulties began to arise on the subject of the relationship between the British and Iraq Governments—hitherto described by the term mandate.

To the then numerous enthusiasts for self-determination it was perhaps a fortunate accident that the term which was to signify the bond between the two Governments—a great Power and an infant State—should be new to political science and with no authoritatively defined meaning. It enabled them to support the agitation against the mandate without committing themselves to any overt opposition to the policy of the British Government. Indeed, looking back now on that controversy, it is difficult to see that the distinction between a mandatory relationship and one resting on a treaty was of any substantial importance. In any case, the mandate by itself did not constitute an instrument of agreement between the two parties. Rather did it represent merely the credentials held by the British Government from the League of Nations (and with this connotation the term is still current). If it was intended that a document of agreement should be concluded between the two Governments, a treaty was the natural form for such document to take. And that such was the intention is indicated by the fact that the draft of a treaty was actually in preparation in 1921, before the opposition to the mandate had assumed a violent character. To those not behind the scenes of these political manœuvres it was indeed a matter of conjecture whether substantial national independence or ultimate British control was the leading motive of British diplomacy in Iraq. The doubt is not yet set at rest. But, outwardly at least, the mandatory system seemed to bear the stamp—the degrading mark—of tutelage, and, while a part of the opposition was no doubt merely a factious desire to upset any arrangements the British Government might propose to make, no inconsiderable

part was based on a sincere wish to establish an outward show at least of independence, even though coupled with a disguised foreign control.

By the beginning of 1922 the draft of a treaty to replace the mandate had been prepared, together with the drafts of an organic and an electoral law to which reference has already been made, and discussions on them began between the High Commissioner and the Iraq Council. At the same time the High Commissioner was having separate conversations with the King. Moved by we know not what arguments, the latter was at first favourably inclined. But the Ministers, to whom perhaps the advantages of compliance were not disclosed, found much in all these documents to cause them hesitation. Their views differed in points of detail, no doubt, for they represented very diverse elements—the hot-headed but suspicious tribesmen, the *intelligentsia* of Baghdad, the selfish and astute merchant of Basrah, the venal lawyer, the rapacious landlord. Many of the Ministers were ignorant and narrow, but a few had administrative experience, and one notable figure, by his high character, deep knowledge, and wide experience of affairs, would have adorned any Government in the world.

If they differed in details, they seem to have agreed on the main points that the treaty was too much like a mere reproduction of the mandate, that its period (twenty years) was too long, that the financial control for which it provided appeared onerous and unnecessary since British expenditure was limited to strictly defined and closely controlled objects, and that generally too much was said of Iraq's responsibilities and too little of those of Great Britain, especially with regard to defence and external relations.

These were all criticisms somewhat difficult to meet, no doubt, in open discussion or formal correspondence with so heterogeneous a body as the Council of Ministers. It is hardly to be wondered at if the High Commissioner found it simpler to deal direct with the King, without too strictly regarding the latter's constitutional position. Thus separated from his Council, compelled to come to terms first with the British Government, and subsequently (when an opportunity offered) with his Council and newly-found subjects, Faisal was placed in an unenviable position. But the decision could not be uncertain. On the one side was ranged the strength of the Power which had brought him there and was openly pledged to his support; on the other a Government and people whose will to stand by him was uncertain and whose power was insignificant. Faisal did not hesitate long between the substance and the shadow. He accepted the High Commissioner's proposals.

It remained, then, to deal with a refractory Cabinet. It was also a disunited Cabinet. Some of the Ministers were entirely the King's creatures, imported with him from the other side of the

desert and bound to his fortunes. These, however they cast their votes in Council, could be counted on to back the King against their colleagues, and could be used to manipulate the local Press (now coming into prominence as a political factor) in such a way as to put a popular complexion on the King's actions. The recalcitrant members were got rid of by a process perhaps peculiar (among constitutional countries) to Iraq They were sent for by the King and told that they must resign. The Prime Minister, who was too powerful (and too useful) to be touched for the present, collected another and more complaisant Council.

The incident above described brought into clear relief an internal political issue of fundamental importance. The more experienced and far-seeing men asked themselves whether in all future differences between King and Cabinet it might be assumed that the representative of the British Government would throw his weight on the side of the King. The question was perhaps rhetorical, not requiring an answer. But there can be little doubt what the answer would be. If British power in Iraq was to be real, it must be arbitrary, resting, not on harmonious co-operation (that ideal was too remote), but on the fear of consequences. The party in the State most sensitive to threats of withdrawal was of course the King. He, therefore, was the natural object of the High Commissioner's unremitting attention. For this reason it is perhaps superfluous to scrutinise closely the terms of the various documents defining the Iraq constitution and its relations with the British Government. With the exception of certain subsidiary agreements (which will be noticed later) they were on the whole unexceptionable in principle ; but they did not represent the real facts which governed the situation, and it was more on account of what was not contained in these documents than for their ostensible purport that genuine as well as factious opposition continued throughout the year 1922.

If the arguments which the High Commissioner was able to place before the King were practically unanswerable, the national representatives were not wholly without the means of bringing pressure to bear in the same quarter. The King was well aware that to have given in to the British Government's desire for prolonged and close control must expose him to the recriminations of 'patriots.' His popularity in the country was by no means sufficiently assured to enable him to view such attacks with equanimity. It was therefore necessary for him as soon as possible to put himself in the right with his subjects—or rather, with that small but vociferous part of them which clamoured for *Istakhlal* (independence). What steps precisely he took to secure the desired end is known, no doubt, to few ; but that he was not altogether unsuccessful in vindicating his somewhat tainted

loyalty to the national cause appears from the fact that the royal palace itself was the scene of those strange anti-British demonstrations which occurred in August 1922.

The incipient disaffection was sternly repressed; the ringleaders were deported; the King fell conveniently ill and made a sick-bed repentance; the High Commissioner exhibited an unwonted decision of purpose, and was in complete command of the situation for a few weeks. He took advantage of the occasion to obtain from the Prime Minister his reluctant signature to the treaty—an act of public spirit on the Naqib's part for which he received the title of G.B.E. and a suggestion that his services were no longer indispensable, and that he might now retire and beguile his last years with the contemplation of the political riddle in which he had hitherto played so conspicuous a part. Taking the hint, no doubt with relief, the Naqib resigned and the Cabinet dissolved. The administration was carried on without a Council until the end of November 1922.

Meanwhile the policy of the British Government towards Iraq, which had at no time fully revealed itself in certain important directions, was showing signs of a gradual estrangement and *ennui*. The Secretary of State, after his brilliant display with the axe at Cairo in 1921, had begun to find Iraq affairs intolerably tedious. His fertile and active mind turned with far greater zest to the vast and romantic possibilities of Africa. He made little effort to conceal his boredom with the 'proud and pettifogging prelates' of Iraq. The country, moreover, showed signs of inability to meet the largely increased expenditure which the new self-determining policy imposed upon it. On this point the Government at home was at one with the nation. No fresh expenditure on Iraq could be contemplated. The Press went much further. On almost all sides arose the cry for the evacuation of Iraq.

The solution which Mr. Baldwin's Government devised for the problem was to shorten the period of British responsibility by deciding that the treaty would be in force only for four years from its ratification, or less if Iraq should qualify for admission to membership of the League of Nations within that period; at its conclusion a new agreement might, if necessary, be entered into between the two countries.

This somewhat cryptic decision was not announced in Baghdad until after the departure of Sir Percy Cox, who retired from the office of High Commissioner in May 1923. He was perhaps fortunate in the moment of his leaving.

History has seldom many pages to spare for the deeds of individual members of the public services. Their efforts, as a rule, are hidden from the public eye. They give their labour to the policies of others, and their handiwork seldom bears their own

superscription. But it fell to Sir Percy Cox to figure prominently in the public view. The Mesopotamian campaign, with its dimly-understood purpose, its tragic failures and heroic recoveries, its mistakes and successes, its frequent breakdown of organisation scarcely redeemed by brilliant episodes, its immense difficulties and great expenditure of blood and treasure, had attracted innumerable eyes to that country, now the scene of a singular political experiment, in which Sir Percy Cox was the chief actor. His personal qualities were well suited to his new *rôle*. Tall and striking in appearance, silent and inscrutable in demeanour, with a reputation won by a lifetime spent in shaping policy in the Persian Gulf, and a name so familiar as to be transliterated into the local vernacular, he affected those with whom he came in contact with a sense of impressiveness without effort and of mystery without design. Of the skill with which he performed the task of installing the Sherifian kingdom of Iraq it is impossible to speak too highly; he scored point after point over his antagonists; distinctions and rewards were showered upon him in rapid profusion. Whether the work he did then had the permanence of greatness time alone can show. If, as some hold, the Sherifian policy for Iraq was wrong from the beginning, if the visionary designs of a few pan-Arab enthusiasts were merely used by British politicians as a convenient device for giving nominal effect to our war promises with the minimum of trouble and expense, and if, therefore, the policy rested on no sure foundations and was bound, sooner or later, to collapse, few were in a better position to foresee the probability of such a result than Sir Percy Cox.

The task of informing the Iraq Government of the change in British policy fell to Sir Percy's successor, Sir Henry Dobbs. At first sight it might have seemed that the new High Commissioner had been given a unique opportunity of ingratiating himself with Iraqi politicians. He made his first appearance in politics with the congenial news that the foreign domination would disappear in a fifth of the originally prescribed time, and with a subtle compliment on Iraq's miraculously rapid progress along the path of civilisation and independence. Sober minds, however, perceived the less pleasant implications of the announcement. The disappearance of foreign domination meant also the withdrawal of foreign support. Was Iraq in the least likely to be able to defend and support herself in four years? No one could seriously answer that question in the affirmative. What, then, would happen at the end of the period? Chaos? Turkish domination revived, with its inevitable reprisals on those who had coquetted with the infidel? or a plausible pretext for further and more intense British control? No wonder that a profound uneasiness possessed the minds of men.

Meanwhile, arrangements went forward for the election of the long-deferred Constituent Assembly. At the same time the draft of the treaty was revised to suit the altered plan, and the subsidiary agreements—military, financial, etc.—were at length put before the Council for their acceptance. The military agreement gave concrete effect to the decision for the early withdrawal of British support by a programme of expansion of the Arab army, then (middle of 1923) at a strength of some 5000, so as to arrive at a total of 15,000 at the end of four or five years. This entailed heavy expenditure, and financial questions began to assume a serious aspect. Hitherto the financial situation of Iraq, though difficult, had presented no insuperable problems. There was no public debt other than the share in the old Ottoman Public Debt to be assigned to Iraq under the treaty with Turkey, with retrospective effect indeed, but of an amount not yet settled. The machinery for the collection of revenue and control of expenditure which had been set up in the previous administration continued to function with such gradual modifications as the changed circumstances rendered necessary. The revenues remained steady; if the expenditure had increased largely in some direction—*e.g*, in the Civil list, the salaries of Ministers and of other high Iraqi officials superimposed on the existing structure—there had been savings elsewhere on activities prominent in the A T. Wilson *régime*, but since abandoned. From early 1921 military expenditure, no doubt, hung like a cloud over every budget; but after much wrangling the principle had been accepted in 1922 by the Secretary of State that military expenditure was to be limited by financial capacity. Now, with the shortening of the treaty period, this salutary principle had to be discarded. Those who had been most strenuous in resisting expenditure on the army were now the first to recognise that the new conditions called for new programmes, and that money must be found for the immediate and rapid expansion of the Iraq army at whatever cost to the remaining public services. Fortunately for the custodians of the Iraq Treasury, a very effective, though involuntary, brake on army expenditure began to operate in the form of a shortage of men. The Iraq Government had not yet made up their minds to face conscription.

Further financial burdens were imposed by the financial agreement. In addition to the share of the Ottoman Debt, Iraq was required by this agreement to pay to the British Government an annual sum representing interest and amortisation on the value of various public works which had been constructed during the war and were now taken over by the Iraq Government. One of them was the port of Basrah; for the liquidation of that debt satisfactory arrangements were made, limiting the liability to the

revenues and assets of the port itself. The remaining charges, though amounting to a small aggregate sum (some 10 lakhs, or, say, 70,000*l.* a year), were a fixed and prior charge on the public revenues. Seeing that these were already overburdened with charges arising out of British policy—*e.g.*, the share of the Ottoman Debt imposed by the treaty negotiated by the Allied Powers (including Great Britain) with Turkey, the cost of the rapid expansion of the Iraq army necessitated by the revision of the Iraq treaty period, and so on—it must be admitted that it was hardly reasonable to lay on Iraq additional burdens which could not be carried without impairing her capacity in other more vital directions.

It has been a favourite cry in the Press at home that Iraq should be made to pay the cost of the Mesopotamian campaign. Taken literally, this proposition does not call for serious criticism. If, on the other hand, it is really the impression of a pious hope that in due time Iraq may become a source of material wealth which will flow in the course of trade into British pockets, thereby helping the British taxpayer of the future to bear the burden to which the war in Mesopotamia contributed, such a sentiment will indeed find an echo in many reasonable British minds; but common-sense would suggest that that desirable result is more likely to be attained if the young State is given a fair start and not handicapped by claims which constitute a heavy burden on her, while their satisfaction would provide only infinitesimal relief to the British taxpayer.

It is to be regretted that during most of the period from the beginning of 1922 to the end of 1924 the affairs of Iraq appear to have been left in the hands of the subordinates of the Middle East Department. On any other assumption it is difficult to account for the petulant, arbitrary, doctrinaire, and vacillating way in which the long-drawn-out negotiations about the treaty and agreements, as well as various other matters, were handled during that period—in striking contrast to the almost embarrassing ardour with which the new Secretary of State, Mr. Amery, has recently espoused the cause of Iraq in the Mosul boundary dispute.

In financial matters, particularly, the Middle East Department, during the period referred to, seems to have adopted an ostrich-like attitude, shutting its eyes to the most patent truths and gradually driving the Iraq Government into a complete *impasse*.

It was during this period of mutual distrust that the new treaty and agreements were placed before the Constituent Assembly. The chances of acceptance were not regarded as very bright even by the most enthusiastic. The composition of the Assembly was various and uncertain, and the Cabinet of the day was too weak to give a definite lead in the direction of ratification. An ominous feature of the situation was that there was no

unanimity even among the British officials. Many of the advisers attached to the Iraq Government were known to be opposed to the treaty and agreements, not, it need hardly be said, from any excess of nationalist sentiment on their part, but from a conviction that British policy was wronging itself in putting forward such unreasonable proposals. A curious decision of the Middle East Department, based, it is believed, on a misreading of precedents in Egypt, had entirely separated the Iraq Government's British advisers from the High Commissioner. They were expected to speak and think from the Iraq point of view, which, it was often held, was opposed to the British point of view—though, in fact, the opposition was almost entirely superficial. It was officially known that the British adviser in the Ministry of Finance held views unfavourable to the financial agreement; in his evidence before the committee of the Constituent Assembly, however, he advised its acceptance as a mark of co-operation. The opposition to the treaty and agreements was, nevertheless, very strong. Counter-efforts were made in the local British Press, but the articles which appeared, though perhaps inspired, were so full of inaccuracies and false arguments that they did little to promote the good cause. The High Commissioner had, however, in his armoury arguments as effective with the Constituent Assembly as they had been with the King; and, after many hot words and noisy demonstrations, much cajolery and vituperation, the stern and silent pressure exerted by the British representatives resulted in the acceptance of the treaty and subsidiary documents in the small hours of a night in June 1924.

Such are the broad outlines of the development of that singular experiment conceived in 1921. Its history during 1925 has been mainly the history of the Mosul boundary negotiations, which, largely owing to Mr. Amery's vigorous if somewhat truculent championship, have recently been decided in favour of Iraq. In the course of these negotiations the British Government has been almost imperceptibly led into a reversal of its timid policy of 1923, and a new treaty has now to be presented for the acceptance of the Iraq Government and the British Parliament.

Looking back over the past, only the most captious criticism can deny that a remarkable feat has been achieved. All the paraphernalia of a constitutional monarchy, resting on popular election and supported by representative institutions, has been installed in a country which ten years ago was a lawless, degenerate outlying province of an Oriental empire which had scarcely emerged from a state of despotism. That such a result could never have been obtained without the support of the British Air Force does not detract from the ingenuity and dexterity with which the transformation has been effected. The part played by

the High Commissioners in achieving these results has already been referred to; but no account of the establishment of Faisal's kingdom in Iraq would be complete without mention of the inextinguishable enthusiasm and astonishing versatility with which Miss Gertrude Bell, the brilliant Oriental secretary to the High Commissioner, has at every stage inspired and stimulated the national movement.

Our inquiry must, however, go deeper. What are the foundations on which this remarkable edifice has been erected? Does it rest on a permanent basis?

Two methods suggest themselves as providing (preferably in combination, but otherwise as alternatives) a lasting foundation for such a State as our policy professed to create in Iraq. The one is a strong administration based on material prosperity; the other, a natural harmony between Government and governed. It must be confessed that neither of these essential foundation-stones has been laid in Iraq.

Mr. Amery (if he has not been incorrectly reported) has said that no finer work was done in Egypt by Cromer than has been done by British officers in Iraq. Historical parallels are dangerous things. In truth, there is no real comparison between the work of Cromer and the work done in Iraq. Cromer did not play at constitution-making. He found a form of government, not a very good one, perhaps, but one that had grown up in the country. He left it alone, and bent his energies to the task of restoring economic order. On his first arrival he found Egypt in a condition of bankruptcy and threatened with dismemberment. His *rôle* at that stage was simply that of a business administrator, trying to make the best possible arrangements in the interest of the creditors. When he returned later in a different capacity it was still primarily to the economic and administrative improvement of the country that he addressed himself. The diplomatic skill with which he managed, by good fortune, to convert our temporary military intervention in Egyptian affairs into a permanent instrument for maintaining the order of which he was laying the foundation was subsidiary to his main purpose.

The country which we now call Iraq, on the other hand, was, when we began our experiment in 1921, not in the least bankrupt. On the contrary, it had just been enjoying a period of exceptional prosperity. The form of administration which the army of occupation found was simple and inexpensive. The country was, in fact, nothing more than an outlying province of a large empire, to whose Treasury it sent annually a considerable sum after meeting the cost of local expenditure. It was badly administered, no doubt, but its principal defect was a weakness on the part of Government which prevented its agents from executing its decrees

in any but the more civilised tracts. If this defect is not sc conspicuous under the present national Government, that is due to the presence of British troops. The Iraq forces are no more capable of coercing the tribes than the Turkish divisions were.

Our main preoccupation in Iraq has been to set up a new form of government. How that has been achieved the foregoing pages have attempted to describe. But what has been done to strengthen and purify the administration and to build up a groundwork of economic prosperity?

It must be stated at the outset that almost every measure, since 1920, initiated by the British Government has had the effect of adding to the financial burden of the country. Perhaps political circumstances demanded this. If so, all the more necessary was it to hasten the growth of material prosperity so as to provide new sources of revenue.

The economic basis of Iraq is agriculture. The main necessities, therefore (apart from the maintenance of law and order), for her economic development are irrigation, communications, a settled rural population, and improved methods of cultivation The only irrigation improvements we have introduced in Iraq were made during the war; and it is to be feared that the work was not very well done. It was inevitably hasty. The designs were imperfect, and drainage was not sufficiently considered. The small net increases in cultivated area which ensued on these works are now in imminent danger of relapsing into saline desert unless extensive and costly schemes are carried out without delay. The Iraq Government have spent more than 1,000,000*l.* sterling on irrigation in the period to which these pages relate. The greater part of this has been spent on repairs and maintenance. No new work has been done. Progress in such matters is no doubt often slow. But in Iraq we look in vain for any promise of improvement. The first step must be to provide irrigation experts. No serious attempt was made by the mandatory Power in this direction during this period.

Much the same must be said of road communications, on which something like another 1,000,000*l.* sterling has been spent by Iraq. During that period no new road or important work of communication has been constructed.

On agriculture the State has spent some 40,000*l.* a year (out of a gross revenue of 3,500,000*l.*). This represents mainly experimental research work, of which the results can hardly yet be judged. The discovery of Iraq's suitability for cotton cultivation was made before the present period. In the Department of Agriculture, as in nearly all the others, there has been a lack of settled policy, the tendency being sometimes in the direction of purely scientific research, and at other times in that of practical

demonstration and advice to cultivators. The Department is now under an Iraqi director.

In 1924 a British company obtained a concession for building irrigation works and cultivating cotton on the Diala river and the upper Euphrates. The aggregate ultimate cost of the entire projects covered by this concession may amount to nearly 20,000,000*l.* sterling. The actual outlay is, however, not likely for several years to exceed 300,000*l.* or 400,000*l.* There are difficulties connected with lack of population and uncertainty as to water rights which will no doubt give the shareholders an opportunity of exercising the gift of patience.

The medical services, which are mainly under British control, have perhaps made the most solid contribution to the material betterment of the country. The funds provided for this Department are, however, like those of most of the utility services, constantly trespassed upon by the more clamant demands of military expenditure.

The Ministry of Education, which surely ought to concern itself with providing for the training of Iraqis to take their place in the technical departments, has fallen gradually more and more into the hands of Iraqis. This is probably inevitable, and possibly right; but if so, it would seem better to withdraw from this Ministry the solitary remaining British representative, an austere Oxford don, who at present is said to wander disconsolately amid the mazes of bigotry and intrigue.

One of the most vital needs is a land settlement. The land revenue, which constitutes about half of the revenue proper and is derived from the most stable asset which the country possesses, is at present subject to frequent fluctuations, caused mainly by price variations. It is also affected by the ebb and flow of the central Government's authority. No steady expansion in this main branch of revenue can be expected until the basis of the assessment is transferred from the produce of the land to the land itself and the cultivators all over the country are given security of tenure. The capital importance of land reform was not overlooked by the British advisers with the Iraq Government. But they did not succeed in securing the co-operation of the High Commissioners, whose assistance is indispensable to the introduction of a reform which cannot be effected without the importation of more experienced British officers.

In the organisation of the forces of defence and of law and order much activity has been shown. The police force, which was created by the previous British administration, has now a strength of some 6000 (costing about 500,000*l.* annually), and has attained a high standard of efficiency. Already, however, the British hold over this force is manifestly weakening, and the executive control

is now almost entirely in Iraqi hands. This branch of the administration suffers especially from a lack of unity. Security against external aggression and internal commotion is at present provided by the following forces—viz., the air force (entirely British and in general control of all military operations in the country), the Iraq levies (drawn mainly from the Assyrian population and entirely under British control, financial and administrative), the Iraq army, and the Iraq Police (the internal administration of the two last being entirely under the Iraq Government, aided by British advice and inspection). The British Government spends about 4,000,000*l.* a year on the air force and the levies in Iraq. The Iraq Government spends about 750,000*l.* on its army and 500,000*l.* on its police. A rapid increase in the Iraq army is postulated by the existing policy, and its ultimate cost cannot be less than 1,500,000*l.* a year. Mr. Amery is confident that the full strength can be attained, and its cost met from Iraq revenues, probably by 1928. There is no foundation for this optimism. The finances of Iraq cannot for many years support a greater expenditure than the present. And, even if the financial difficulty did not exist, no one seriously believes that a country like Iraq, internally turbulent and externally subject to aggression along an immense open frontier, can ever provide for its own defence with local forces drawn from a total population of 3,000,000, of which the tribal part (at least two-thirds) is not amenable to recruitment.

Some providence must, it seems, be invoked to guard and guide this helpless State. Can salvation be found in that other source of political stability—a strong national will engendered by harmony and co-operation between the Government and the governed?

There are no signs that Faisal's government has yet struck root in the soil of Iraq. The constitution has had no organic growth. It was thrust ready made on an inarticulate country. It has been neither strong nor beneficent. If the inhabitants of Iraq enjoy an unusual tranquillity, they owe it to the foreign Power which protects them by its forces. Not all the wizardry—or should we say witchery?—of Miss Gertrude Bell can prevail over the plain fact of the insufficiency of the Faisal kingdom. She has hypnotised the minds of many. She has practised Couéism on King Faisal himself with such assiduity as to make that susceptible monarch actually begin to believe in himself. But the star of the Hedjaz dynasty is not in the ascendant. The balance of power in Arabia has recently changed against the Sherifian line. In defending our new *protégé* we may soon find ourselves fighting our old friends. There is little doubt that, if we adhere to our present policy, Iraq will remain for many years an anxious charge and financial burden on future British Governments.

S. H. SLATER.

ALBANIA

Of all the countries in Europe, we can safely say that the sovereign State of Albania is the least known. This is the more curious as she is no mushroom product of the Treaty of Versailles, but dates from the now dimly-distant pre-war period of 1912, when she threw off her allegiance to Turkey and was recognised by the Powers. Since then she has passed through a turbulent and fretful period of revolution, foreign occupation, and again still more revolution.

Now that a more settled form of government appears to be established and the political future seems brighter, it may be well seriously to examine her present status in the Balkans and to inquire in what direction she may develop and to what degree she may in the future become a factor of importance in the politics of the Near East.

To enable the position to be understood a short summary of her history and some account of her people must first be given. Briefly, then, the Albanians as a race claim to be the ancient Illyrians, who inhabited the Balkan peninsula prior to the advent of the people whom we know as the ancient Greeks. If this is so, they may be considered, together with the people of the Basque country, as the only survivors in pure descent of the earliest inhabitants of Europe. The first Peloponnesian war originated over a quarrel about the flourishing Greek colony of Epidamnus, or Dyrrhachium—the present Durazzo. Under the Roman Empire Albania seems to have been a well-populated and prosperous country, and the great Roman university, where many of the Cæsars were educated, was at Appolonya, not far from the present port of Valona. On this site a French archæological society is now busy excavating, largely in the hope of unearthing early manuscripts. After the break-up of the Roman Empire, Albania was held for some centuries by minor feudal lords and chieftains of the mountain clans until united in the fifteenth century under the national hero Skanderbeg, who for a lifetime held at bay the hitherto all-conquering Othman Turk. At his death his kingdom was bequeathed to the Venetian Republic, but eleven years later was overrun by the Turks, under whose domina-

tion the country has lain for the past 400 years. During the period of Turkish rule the bulk of the inhabitants found it expedient to renounce Christianity, and it was only in the mountain regions, which the Turks were never really able to administer, that Christianity endured. As a result of this, and partly also as a result of an early racial cleavage, the Albanians of to-day are divided into five groups. Racially the Albanian is either a Gheg of the north and east or a Tosk of the south, and between the two there runs always an undercurrent of distrust and dislike. In religion he is either a Catholic of the north, a Moslem of the centre, or, in the south, a member of the Greek Orthodox Church; and here, again, each is mutually distrustful of the other.

During the clash of interests consequent on the rise of the Young Turk Party the Albanians seized the occasion to proclaim their independence, and the national flag was hoisted in Valona on November 28, 1912. This action created a storm in diplomatic circles, since neither Austria nor Italy could afford to see the Albanian coast line and ports fall under the political influence of the one or the other. On the proposal of Sir Edward Grey a Conference of Ambassadors was called in London, and on December 17, 1912, Albania was recognised as an independent sovereign State to be ruled by a European prince elected by the six Great Powers. The choice fell on Prince Wilhelm of Wied, who landed at Durazzo in March 1914 to the thunder of salutes from the warships representing the Great Powers. Six months later he withdrew from a task all too difficult for so inexperienced a man, and Albania again split up into a series of small local Governments.

During the Great War and since, she has been occupied in turn by the Austrians in the north, by the Serbs in the east, and by the Greeks, the French, and the Italians in the south. Towards the close of the war the Austrians loosed their hold and retired northwards, spoiling the country and destroying bridges as they went, while the Italians settled themselves yet more firmly around the great harbour of Valona, with its rich hinterland.

In spite of the bondage of their country and the seemingly hopeless political outlook, the Albanian spirit was not dead, and in January 1920, at a congress held at a small village of Central Albania, a group of patriots drew up a constitution for a united Albania, and formed a provisional Government giving parliamentary representation and—unique experiment—transferring the powers of their departed prince to a body of four regents. This number was chosen to meet the susceptibilities of the rival religious elements, and so one Catholic, one Greek Orthodox, and two Moslem regents were nominated.

The next event of importance was the determined onslaught

of a few courageous bands on the Italian troops, whose outlying posts were quickly wiped out, and in a very short time the Italian garrison, hemmed in in Valona, capitulated and withdrew to Brindisi, retaining in their possession only the small fortified island of Sassena, which blocks the entrance to Valona Harbour. In justice to the Italians, it should be stated that this reverse occurred at a time when the troops were demoralised by the wave of Communism which was then sweeping over Italy.

In 1920 the State of Albania was formally admitted as a member of the League of Nations, and the Conference of Ambassadors appointed an Inter-Allied Commission to delimit its frontiers. During the delimitation, as perhaps was inevitable, the interests of the newly-formed State were often sacrificed to those of her more powerful neighbours.

The history of the following years up to the end of 1924 has been nothing but a series of plot and counter-plot, revolution and counter-revolution. The supply of great administrators and soldiers with whom Albania had so consistently fed the Turkish Empire seemed to have dried up, and no man, save one, was found to put the interests of his country before his own. In May 1924 the weakness of the Government opened the way to a successful revolution headed by Monsignor Fan Noli, a bishop of the Orthodox Church, who became Prime Minister. The revolutionary Government carried out none of its promises to the people, and showed itself to be tainted with Bolshevist tendencies—if, indeed, its chief was not definitely in receipt of Soviet aid. This Government was short lived, and on Christmas Day 1924 the one man, Ahmed Zogu, returned to power with a great following of the mountain clans. Such was the discipline of his forces that, although over 9000 wild mountaineers were quartered in Tirana, the capital, no case was recorded of looting or thieving, drunkenness or outrage.

In January a republic was proclaimed, with Ahmed Bey as the first President. The new constitution was expressly framed to give very wide powers to the President, popular representation was provided for in the Chamber of Deputies, and a Second Chamber, or Senate, was set up.

Having thus briefly sketched an outline of the history of this interesting people, let us turn to the personality of the new ruler.

Ahmed Bey Zogu is a young man of about thirty years of age and chief of the important Mati clan of Central Albania. A Moslem of moderate views and liberal tendencies, he rapidly rose to political prominence, and, after the revolution of 1922, became Minister of the Interior and Prime Minister. His firm—or, as some would say, stern—handling of the situation on several occasions has caused him to be wholesomely feared by the political oppor-

tunists, so much so that the clemency he showed to his opponents on his late return to power caused some surprise. The new President is a patriot whose aim it is to weld into a political whole the men of divergent race and creed now within the geographical boundaries of Albania, and to bring his country up to the level of the other States of Europe both as regards prosperity and culture. How difficult this task is can perhaps be gauged by what has been said above, and particularly when it is realised that Albania to-day is quite 200 years behind the rest of Europe. In thought, outlook, and development the gulf is tremendous and almost unbelievable. In every direction the deadening influence of 400 years of Turkish dominance hinders and obstructs the self-development of the people.

Coming down the Dalmatian coast the onlooker is immediately struck by the sudden change from the arid and rocky mountain scenery of Southern Serbia and Montenegro to the smiling green plains and forest-clad hills of Albania, but, although the soil is so fertile, the art of husbandry has not changed since the thirteenth century. The surface of the land is but scratched, the same crops sown, the same seed used. The standard of living is so low, and the wants of the people so small, that there is no incentive from within to better things, and the system of Turkish land tenure is also to some degree responsible for this inertia. The resources of Albania are manifold. The mountains are rich in minerals. Coal (mostly lignite), iron, copper, chrome and bauxite are known to exist, but, since there are no roads, the mining of them is not yet a business proposition; for the same reason the timber in the great forests cannot be utilised.

As has been mentioned above, the agricultural development of the country is much neglected, and only sufficient land is brought under cultivation to meet the immediate needs of the people. The olive-clad hills of the south are farmed in a manner which would be considered primitive even by the Arab of Palestine. The great coastal plain lying between Durazzo and Valona, which is annually flooded by the three great rivers which pour through it, is well fitted for cotton growing on a large scale. The draining of a few marshes and the curbing of these rivers would convert a malaria-ridden region into 400 square miles of first-class cotton land, bringing health, work, and prosperity to many thousands of peasants.

It may be interesting to see now in what manner the new President is facing the problems and difficulties which beset his country.

The taxation of the people is inadequate and partial, but is probably as heavy as their poverty will bear. The annual revenue being in the neighbourhood of 800,000*l.* sterling, the young State

obviously cannot embark on schemes of reform which would be considered imperative in a more civilised race. Further, there is always the danger of reaction when age-long customs are too suddenly abolished. Take, for example, the blood feud or vendetta, which is still common throughout the greater part of Albania. Happily this custom is dying out, but, being such an intimate factor in the every-day life of the people, it is impossible to stamp it out quickly.

To meet his main difficulties the President has settled, or compromised over, all outstanding disputes with neighbouring States. This has gained him a certain degree of unpopularity with the too common type of man who lives to brood over past wrongs rather than work towards future betterment. He has established a national bank with the aid of Italian and Serbian banking interests, and a national currency is to be introduced. Being, so far, free from the incubus of a national debt, a loan from Italian sources is now being contracted, which is to be devoted solely to the improvement of communications and the building of roads, bridges, ports, railways, etc. He has granted oil-boring concessions to some five important foreign companies. The principal concession goes to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and minor areas to the Italian State Railways, the Standard Oil Company, a French company, and another English company. Indications of oil are good, and, should it be found in commercially paying quantities, it is evident that the importance of Albania, relative to the other Balkan countries, will be materially altered. Further, should oil be found, the royalties accruing from the production would so augment the budget of the State that she would no longer have to fear the economic dominance of Italy, and would be in a position to undertake public works of great importance which to-day cannot be thought of. The President has brought an Englishman as adviser to the Ministry of the Interior, a German engineer and a well-known Hungarian expert as advisers to the Ministry of Public Works and Agricultural Department respectively. In addition to these, foreign technical experts are now employed in the posts and telegraphs, wireless, and many branches of the Ministry of Public Works. To the adviser of the Ministry of the Interior has been entrusted the task of reorganising the gendarmerie, and as inspector-general of that force he has brought out some nine British officers of experience to act as inspectors. It should be made clear that none of these officers is now on the active list, and that the British Government has lent no official support to the Albanian Government in the matter.

The President has largely reduced the army, which in times past had always been a focus for political intrigue, and he hopes by the establishment of a well-disciplined gendarmerie (between

4000 and 5000 strong) to ensure interior peace, without which all his plans for the future development of his country are useless.

It may seem strange that Englishmen should have been selected for these important posts, but deep down in the heart of nearly every Albanian is the unshakable belief that England is the only real and disinterested friend of Albania. This legend has been growing up through a number of years, and is due to the strong personalities of a number of English men and women who have interested themselves in this small country, beginning perhaps with Lord Byron, and so on through Miss Durham, Admiral Burney, General Phillips, Aubrey Herbert, Lord Cecil, Mr. Eden, the Dowager Countess of Carnarvon, and last, but not least, the retiring British Minister, Sir Harry Eyres.

The President is fully alive to the dangers of Soviet propaganda in the Balkans, and considerable care is taken to prevent the propagation of Soviet doctrines, though, in truth, such doctrines would receive scant hearing except amongst the breed of discontented politicians—common, I suppose, to every country.

To the tourist Albania is a land of great interest and beauty but considerable discomfort. Some of the main towns are linked up by indifferent roads, where the Ford car reigns supreme. To get, however, to the heart of the people one must enter the mountains and ride pack-ponies along the national roads. Some of these roads would make an uninstructed or civilised goat dizzy. I have ridden over so-called main roads not 9 inches wide with a sheer wall of rock on one side and 2000 feet drop on the other. However, the joy of getting away amongst a courteous, unsophisticated, self-reliant and self-respecting people well repays any petty discomforts. The people are unique in many ways. I suppose it is the only country in the world where to nod one's head means 'No' and to shake one's head means 'Yes'; where a girl may under certain conditions elect to become a man in the eyes of the law, and, under the mountain code, have all the legal status of a man; where a man is not shot at if accompanied by a woman, even if he passes through the country of a tribe with which he may be in deadly blood feud; where gold of all nations is the common and only currency, the most usual coins being napoleons, British sovereigns and Turkish pounds; but Austrian and Russian, Venezuelan and American (five-dollar) gold pieces are constantly used, and even sometimes the older French louis. The mental arithmetic required to convert these varied coins into the silver kronens mainly in use constitutes a very real strain on the traveller.

To dogmatise as to the future of Albania would be foolish.

At present she is actually, if not geographically, a buffer State between Italy and Yugo-Slavia, and is useful as such. It

is pretty certain that if Yugo-Slavia pushed south, and occupied Scutari and Northern Albania, Italy would respond by the immediate occupation of Valona, if only to deny such a wonderful potential naval base to the Serbs. A first move of this nature on the part of Italy is unlikely, unless it were part of a greater scheme to which reference will be made later. An Italian occupation of Albania would be a costly undertaking, with no compensating material profit attached, and it would be a severe drain on her military resources.

No; if the gods are kind and oil is found, Albania may look forward to a period of increasing prosperity—the influx of foreign capital, the development of her untouched resources, and (and this is of the greatest importance) the payment of the interest on her newly-incurred debt to Italy.

If oil is not found. . . . I have said that Italy would be unlikely to occupy Albania unless her hand was forced by Serbia. This is true except for one possibility; and here we must turn to the larger canvas of the Balkans. Looking at the southern Balkan States, we see the triune kingdom of the Croats, Slovenes and Serbs, cemented together since the war and termed Yugo-Slavia. Will the cement hold? We see the kingdom of Bulgaria in financial straits; we see the region known as Macedonia, leading right up to Constantinople, in a chronic state of unrest; we see the State of Greece undergoing a series of kaleidoscopic changes and each change increasing the number of malcontents; we see Albania always prone to revolution. Supposing that the Slav races of the Balkans were weakened by even temporary disunion, and supposing that simultaneously some unknown hand put a match to all this highly inflammable material, what more likely than that Italy should offer to step in on behalf of Europe and pacify this region of never-ending unrest?

She might thus form a southern Balkan *bloc* of the non-Slav peoples lying south of a line drawn roughly from Scutari to Constantinople, and to this end a military occupation of Albania might well be the first stage.

Is there nothing in the dream of the linking up of the Roman and Byzantine Empires?

W. F. STIRLING.

BRITISH INDUSTRIES AND THE INDIAN MARKET

A Rejoinder

In the March number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* Mr. George Pilcher replies to my article on the same subject in the January number. I welcome Mr. Pilcher's article as the friendly criticism of one who, while acknowledging the reality of the danger to this country of losing her commanding position in this valuable market and the consequent desirability of remedial action, fears that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of the scheme that I had put forward.

My proposition was that, in return for a substantial preference for her goods, the United Kingdom should agree to bear a share of the cost of the defence of India, and I suggested that about half the expense of the British troops in India (calculated to cost the British taxpayer approximately 10,000,000*l.* sterling per annum) would be a very fair bargain for both countries.

I have had experience enough to know that a new proposal involving a departure from existing practice, if noticed at all, arouses all those faculties of destructive criticism with which the human mind regards all novel proposals.

In many quarters comment contents itself with describing the proposal as 'not practical politics' without being at the trouble to explain the reasons for this pronouncement. Mr. Pilcher has, however, explained his reasons for regarding my scheme to be impracticable, and I gladly take the opportunity kindly accorded to me by the editor of this Review to examine his objections and, as I hope, to show that they are not nearly so formidable as they appear to him.

Briefly put, his objections are:

(1) That the high prices of British goods and the poverty of India are the real cause of the decline of imports from the United Kingdom, and that the import duties have such a small share in the decline that their reduction would be of little value.

(2) That a preference to the United Kingdom would require the denunciation of the Indo-Japanese Convention of 1905, and

lead to difficulties with other foreign countries (possibly retaliation), and also with other parts of the Empire.

(3) That even if a British Chancellor of the Exchequer could provide so large an extra sum as 10,000,000*l.* a year from an over-taxed nation, the reduction in the Indian Customs revenue involved by the preference would be equal to the subvention received, and could not be acceptable to the Indian Government in the interests of the Indian consumer and the Indian handloom weaver.

(4) That a bargain of this kind would weaken the reluctantly-won admission on the part of Indian politicians that the British element in the Indian Army was not excessive to the real needs of India.

I will deal with these four objections *seriatim*.

As regards the first, let it be admitted at once that the Indian masses are not wealthy, and that the high cost of British goods, especially British piece-goods, has been a severe deterrent to their purchase on the pre-war scale. But if economic conditions in England have raised a high wall, and Customs duties in India have added a rail on the top of the wall, this is not to say that no good will result from lowering that rail. A man may just be able to clear a wall five feet high, but will be completely defeated by the addition of another five inches If, with the aid of a small reduction in duty, even a small increase in production is rendered possible, British manufacturers should be able to reduce prices by a sensible figure, and with an *ad valorem* tariff every reduction in price is accompanied by a reduced amount in duty. Thus, if a parcel of piece goods cost 100 rupees before the war, and duty was 3½ rupees, the Indian purchaser would pay 103½ rupees for these goods. Now, if the same parcel cost 270 rupees, the duty of 11 per cent. adds no less than 30 rupees more to the price, making it a total of 300 rupees, or almost treble the pre-war cost. If the British producers can manage to reduce the cost by even 10 per cent, the price would drop to 243 rupees, and a reduced duty of 5½ per cent. would add only 13 rupees more to be paid by the Indian consumer—a reduction in the total charge to him of 44 rupees off 300, or nearly 15 per cent.

While, however, the prime importance of bringing down the prices cannot be over-estimated, neither is it wise to be too pessimistic about India's purchasing power. The Indian cultivator will always tell you that it takes three good years to make up the losses of one really bad year. Following the war came the influenza scourge, two very serious crop failures, acute political unrest, and phenomenally high prices of all commodities. Is it to be wondered at if it is taking a long time for the former position to be restored ? Empty grain stores have to be refilled, live stock

replaced, ornaments to be redeemed from pawn or new ones purchased, debts to be repaid, and hence economy in expensive raiment has naturally followed. But, so long as no permanent damage has been done to his land, the Indian cultivator's power of recuperation is most remarkable. Again and again I have seen it. There are, as Mr. Pilcher says, 200,000,000 acres of cultivated land in India, and the limit of area has not yet been reached, while there is abundant scope for increase in the yield. An addition of even 3 rupees per acre to the yield or to its value means 45,000,000*l.* addition to the purchasing power, and, unless wide-spread seasonal calamities should occur, a strong tendency upward will continue. As the expansion of cultivation becomes less its intensity will increase. In England taxation has overtaken production and has for the moment strangled it; in India taxation has fortunately always lagged behind production. Although the industrial population is relatively very small, yet in actual numbers it amounts to several million men; and the demand for imports from the industrial population is by no means insignificant.

There is thus no reason at all to despair about India's future expansion as a market. The concern is lest England should lose her position in satisfying it.

The second objection would be a formidable one if it were really correct that a preference to British goods would necessitate the denunciation of British treaties with foreign countries. A 'most-favoured-nation' clause can clearly only apply to foreign nations, and the Treaty with Japan, which Mr. Pilcher has termed the Indo-Japanese Convention, promised Japanese goods as favourable terms as were conceded to 'goods of other foreign countries.' His Britannic Majesty, acting as Emperor of India, can scarcely have contemplated that the United Kingdom should, for the purposes of that Treaty, be included in the category of a 'foreign country.' Moreover, the whole idea of Imperial Preference would vanish in smoke if domestic concessions within the Empire were required under treaty to be extended to a number of foreign nations. There has been no such trouble about existing preferences within the Empire, nor would France tolerate any such theory in respect to Algeria or French Indo-China, or America in respect to the Philippines. This objection, therefore, has no force. Indeed, the scheme that I have suggested might partly meet, by another method, the desire of those who press for the total exclusion of Japanese cotton goods from India on the ground that, owing to the absence of strict factory legislation, they are produced by sweated labour.

The suggestion that Japan might retaliate against India's pig-iron, thereby injuring India's iron industry, has naturally to be considered; but if Japan has been obliged to buy Indian pig-

iron in order to sustain her own manufactures, she is scarcely likely to do injury to herself in order to benefit her much less direct interests in Manchuria.

The validity of the third objection could only be decided after the whole proposal has been subjected to serious and patient examination. It cannot possibly be pronounced offhand what the net effect would be either on British or Indian revenues. My proposal is conditional on its satisfying the test of being advantageous to both countries, and it is just as unreasonable for my critic to declare it impracticable on *à priori* grounds as it would be for me to assert its feasibility without such examination.

Primâ facie a preference would be extremely valuable to British industry. *Primâ facie* a relief so substantial in the Army Estimates would be extremely valuable to the Indian Government, but as no British Chancellor of the Exchequer would undertake to assume the extra burden without feeling sure that by the stimulation of trade and industry, and the reduction of unemployment, the burden would be made good, so no Indian finance member would accept the gift offered unless he was satisfied that the *quid pro quo* asked for in return would result in a net advantage to Indian interests. The fact that the Indian import duties are, with some special exceptions, a Customs tariff, and not deliberately protective, alters neither the case for British preference nor the protective effect of the duties in respect of commodities also produced in India. The duties on tea and tobacco in England are purely Customs duties, but this has not prevented the preference being given to Empire produce. But, whatever be the result of such examination, it is illogical to argue in one and the same breath that the scheme will press hardly on the Indian consumer and will also lose the Indian Government one-third of its Customs revenue. It obviously cannot do both at the same time. The import duties have been largely increased during and since the war, and it is possible that the Indian finance member would be willing to use a good part of the extra 10,000,000*l*. received in reducing the burden of the Indian taxpayer; or it may be that, with a large increase in the volume of imports from the United Kingdom, part of the revenue lost by the preference may be recovered from the greater bulk of the British goods imported. Again, it has never been suggested that such prohibitive or vindictive tariffs should be imposed as to drive foreign goods entirely out of the Indian market. All that is aimed at is to stem the current by which British goods—in some cases slowly, in others more rapidly—are being supplanted by imports from foreign countries.

The trade returns of 1924–25 show clearly that the process has not been arrested since the time to which my previous article

referred. Indeed, they show a further decline in the imports of British goods, and disclose that another formidable competitor has arisen in the shape of Italy. If some of the present duties, *e.g.*, on steel and cotton goods, are raised as against foreign countries, the higher revenue on such reduced amounts as were still imported from those countries would help to compensate for losses due to preference on British goods.

The fourth and last objection is one that it is difficult to follow. To what is the Indian politicians' objection about the British Army due? Mainly to its high cost and partly to the suspicion that the British authorities are shifting on to Indian shoulders the cost of an excessive number of white troops because it is convenient to have extra British forces in reserve in India without cost to the British taxpayer. If the British Exchequer should now undertake to bear half that cost, it must surely go a long way to remove that suspicion, since, unless it were absolutely essential to maintain a force of that strength in India for India's own protection, it would pay England much better to reduce its numbers and keep the troops at home. There is no admission implicit in my proposals that the British garrison in India is excessive, or that it either can or will be reduced under my scheme. If one thing is certain, it is that that force has been reduced already down to, if not actually below, the margin of safety.

People are apt to reject a scheme of this kind unexamined because there is no precedent for a subvention in return for a preference Absence of precedent is no good reason for the rejection of any proposal unless there is something so inherently wrong in the proposal that it will itself become a vicious precedent. But the whole relations of India and England are themselves so unprecedented that such an objection must in any case be weak. And, although it is necessary to investigate the financial effect of the scheme in both countries, the principle at stake is not really one of a cash bargain, but of a preference granted in consideration of the protection afforded. The defence of the Indian frontiers and the preservation of profound internal peace in India is of prime importance to India, but so long as India is a part of the Empire it is also of prime importance to Great Britain. If she shares to a larger extent than formerly in the burden of this defence, and in return her goods are given a preference in the Indian market, there is nothing sordid about the transaction. It is a free arrangement beneficial to both sides, and the objection that there is no exact precedent becomes merely pedantic.

I have dealt with the main points of Mr. Pilcher's destructive criticism. I will add a few words only on the constructive side of his article. He suggests that the danger to British industries could better be countered by increased railway construction in

India and by much stimulation of the demand for iron ploughs, pumping plant, and other agricultural machinery. I have all my service been a staunch supporter of railway extension and the development of more profitable agriculture, and have on all occasions furthered the utilisation of agricultural implements and simple machines suited to the condition of the country, but action in this direction is no alternative to my proposals. If successful, it adds to the benefits to be expected from a preference to British goods, but without such a preference there is no guarantee that the increased market for imported commodities resulting from greater agricultural prosperity will not be captured by foreign countries. The advances contemplated by Mr. Pilcher are also the advances to which I look for increasing Indian prosperity, but the object of all this writing is that the share of the United Kingdom in an improving market should be made more secure.

I can only repeat in conclusion that my request is not the absurd one that my proposals should be adopted without thorough investigation, but the wholly reasonable one that they should be approached with an open mind, and subjected to fair and patient examination in both countries instead of being rejected offhand on theoretical grounds. If investigation shows that a better method can be found for securing the object in view, I am quite content.

REGINALD CRADDOCK.

BRITAIN AND THE SUBMARINE

THREE submarine disasters occurring in rapid succession last year, each involving the loss of boat and crew,[1] impelled the late chairman of Lloyd's to launch an impassioned appeal for the abolition of 'an ingenious contrivance by which nations seek mutual destruction in time of war, but which deals out death in time of peace.' From the international discussion thus initiated three essential facts have emerged: (1) The elimination of the submarine is desired by Great Britain as much on the grounds of humanitarianism as of national policy; (2) this desire is not shared by any other maritime Power; and (3) submarines predominate in the naval shipbuilding programmes introduced since the war. The plain inference to be drawn from these facts is that Great Britain need expect no support in whatever diplomatic efforts she may make to procure the banishment of the submarine. So much might have been gathered from the proceedings of the Washington Conference in 1921-22, when the same proposal was put forward by the British delegation, and, in spite of the forceful pleading of Lord Balfour and Lord Lee of Fareham, was rejected by the other parties to the Conference. Nothing has happened since then to warrant the hope that foreign opinion on this question may in the interval have undergone some modification. Judging from their actions, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy are one and all satisfied that the submarine is an indispensable component of their respective naval forces. Whether in face of this unanimous opposition it would be wise to press the issue I do not presume to judge. It seems to me, however, that the discussion, so far as it has proceeded, has been somewhat one-sided, and that certain important aspects of the submarine problem have not received the attention they deserve. Foreign commentators, almost without exception, take it for granted that the submarine is a menace to British interests alone, and, conversely, that its value either for defensive or aggressive purposes is confined to foreign Powers. This singular view appears to be shared by the majority of British

[1] There were two survivors from the United States submarine *S.51*, but the British *M.1* and the Italian boat *Veniero* foundered with all hands.

publicists. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the renewed proposal to abolish the submarine in the name of humanity should be hailed abroad as a fresh example of British hypocrisy. The moment seems opportune, therefore, for presenting certain facts which are difficult to reconcile with the widespread notion that this country will be the only loser if the submarine is retained as an approved weapon of war.

A brief historical retrospect is necessary to make the position clear. Though the actual date is in dispute, the opening years of the present century were those which saw the advent of the submarine as a serious implement of naval warfare. More than a decade earlier there had been diving boats for which a great deal was claimed by their inventors, but it was not until 1900, or thereabouts, that sea-going submarines of a fairly reliable type came into existence. By that year France had completed five boats which behaved satisfactorily on their trials; the American Government had just purchased a boat designed by Mr. Holland —an Irishman who had made his home in the United States; and various other Powers had acquired one or more boats of an experimental character. Great Britain alone had none. In France, where the imagination of the public had been captured by the possibilities of the new arm, a group of naval officers, vigorously supported by the Press, was demanding the construction of a vast fleet of submarines in lieu of ironclads. Many new boats were laid down, for France at that time was unquestionably leading the other nations in submarine development. As far back as 1886 Admiral Aube, founder of the '*Jeune Ecole*,' or progressive school of naval thought, had urged the peculiar merits of the submarine, and he it was who encouraged Goubet and Gustave Zédé to persevere with their endeavours to design a trustworthy submersible. Writing fourteen years afterwards, M. Saissy, who had done much to spread the doctrines preached by Aube, said: 'Had we but followed his ideas, had we but carried out his plans, not only would our coasts and our colonies be assured against attack, but France would be at this hour the greatest naval Power in the world.' Other French journalists took a rosier view of the situation. 'By reason of her submarine division,' wrote one of them in 1901, 'the navy of France is the most dread and the most powerful in the world.' 'Jamais nous n'aurions trop de sousmarins,' declared another. All naval discussions in France at this period were dominated by the submarine and its wonderful powers. The professional view was interpreted by Admiral Jurien de la Gravière. 'Everything which threatens *les colosses* and tends to emancipate *les moucherons* should be warmly welcomed by the French Navy,' he wrote; 'for by such means we can double in a few years our forces and our power.'

Echoes of this clamant agitation sounded loudly across the Channel. Turning to the newspaper files of 1899 and later years, we find many warnings of the submarine threat to Britain's naval supremacy. Yet the Admiralty remained calm, or, as its critics complained, sleepily indifferent. Knowing what we do now, it is tolerably certain that the passive policy of Whitehall at this juncture was dictated by sound judgment. There was, indeed, a wide gulf between the promise of the early submarine and its actual performance, as to which latter the British authorities were well informed. But the pressure of public opinion could not be ignored, and by this time the nation was growing restive. In the House of Commons on April 6, 1900, the late Mr. Arnold-Forster chid the Admiralty for its conservatism with regard to the submarine, holding that it was unwise to stand by and allow others to solve the problem without making some attempt to solve it for ourselves. He hoped that one of these days we should not follow the lead of other nations just a little too late. In the December following a question in the Commons brought an assurance that 'the attention of the Admiralty had been called to the additional provision for submarine boats in the French naval programme, and,' it was added, 'a statement will be made when the Estimates are laid before the House.' This was duly forthcoming in March 1901, when the memorandum on the new Estimates announced that 'five submarine vessels of the type invented by Mr. Holland have been ordered, the first of which should be delivered next autumn. What the future value of these boats may be in naval warfare can only be a matter of conjecture. The experiments with these boats will assist the Admiralty in assessing their true value. The question of their employment must be studied, and all developments in their mechanism carefully watched by this country.'

So much we know concerning the introduction of the submarine into the British Navy. Less common is the knowledge that this step was taken as a matter of deliberate policy, for the purpose, not of developing the power of the submarine, but of studying methods by which it should be rendered innocuous. These earliest boats were intended to furnish the material for practical anti-submarine research. Gunfire, nets, spar torpedoes, and a primitive form of depth charge were among the devices tested. The late Admiral of the Fleet Sir A. K. Wilson attached the utmost importance to counter-submarine tactics, and had his voice prevailed it is more than probable that the British Navy would have possessed, even before the outbreak of war, an extensive and highly efficient organisation for hunting down submarines. But this sound and far-sighted policy was thwarted by the enthusiasm which the submarine itself speedily engendered in British naval

circles. Imperfect as they were, the five 'Hollands' yet functioned so well that naval men began to perceive the offensive possibilities of the new weapon, and to realise how valuable an adjunct it might be to the British Fleet. Very soon, therefore, the best brains in the service were pondering the submarine problem from an entirely new angle. Instead of thinking out measures for defeating the submarine, they were devising means for rendering it more potent. Barely a month after the first 'Hollands' had gone through their trials the Admiralty placed an order for four additional boats of larger and improved design—known as the 'A' class. These were followed by other types, showing a progressive increase in dimensions, until in no long time the British Navy had outstripped France and all other rivals in the number and efficiency of its submarines. Nor has the lead thus gained ever been lost. German U-boat exploits have been so well advertised that the world at large is still under the impression that Germany was the pioneer in all that pertains to submarine navigation. Nothing could be further from the truth. Germany stood apart until other Powers, at great cost of life and treasure, had brought the undersea boat to a remarkable standard of efficiency. Even then her naval authorities, and notably Admiral von Tirpitz, were sceptical as to its value, maintaining this attitude until the war had been in progress for several weeks.[2] Germany's only important contribution to the technical evolution of the submarine was the development of the heavy-oil internal combustion engine as a substitute for the dangerous petrol motor. This improvement not only minimised the risk of fire and explosion, but increased very considerably both the reliability and the radius of action of the submarine. From the engineering point of view the latest German boats of the pre-war period were probably the best afloat at that time; but in form and construction they were merely adaptations of the basic plan which M. d'Equivilley, a French naval architect, had disposed of to Messrs. Krupp some ten years earlier. If only in the interests of historical truth, it deserves to be recorded that British genius has been responsible for almost every marked advance in submarine design during the past twenty years.

Previous to the war the submarine was regarded universally as a short-range weapon, which would never be required to operate more than a few hundred miles from its base. Why this should have been so is not very clear; but the reason is doubtless to be found in a universal misconception of the nature of the submarine itself. This in turn is due in part to a misnomer. A 'submarine' proper would be a vessel that travelled *normally under the sea.*

[2] Conclusive evidence on this head is contained in Admiral Galster's book, *England, deutsche Flotte und Weltkrieg* (Scheible, Kiel, 1925).

But the submarine, as we know it, travels normally on the surface of the sea. It submerges only when circumstances require it to do so, and though it can lie motionless on the bed of the sea for thirty-six hours or more, its radius of travel in a submerged condition is less than 2 per cent. of its radius of travel on the surface. In other words, a modern submarine may have a cruising endurance of 8000 to 10,000 miles above water, but its maximum endurance when cruising under water is 150 miles. Strictly speaking, therefore, the submarine is a torpedo-boat endowed with the faculty of submerging and of cruising under water for short distances. This character it will retain so long as the existing system of dual propulsion persists. Surface propulsion is effected by oil engines, which are so economical in fuel consumption, at moderate speeds, that a boat of 1000 tons may stow sufficient oil for a voyage of 10,000 miles. When, however, the boat is about to dive the oil engines have to be shut off, since they require for purposes of combustion a volume of air with which there is no known method of supplying them when the vessel is below water. Recourse must thus be had to the electric motors, drawing current from storage batteries; but the capacity of the latter is very limited, and a run of 100 miles or so would exhaust them. True, the batteries can be recharged from a dynamo driven off the main engines or by an auxiliary, but to do this it is necessary for the boat to come to the surface and remain there while the recharging is in progress. Apart from the inferior power and speed of the electric drive, the inordinate weight of the storage batteries is a serious drawback. Together with the electric motors they may represent as much as one-fifth of the total displacement. When the boat is running on the surface with its Diesel engines the electric plant is, of course, idle; consequently, it is so much dead weight to be carried. On the other hand, the Diesels are just as useless when the boat is cruising submerged. If a single system of propulsion were ever evolved, developing power equal to that of the Diesel engine and capable of functioning when the vessel was under water, the efficiency of the submarine would be advanced to an incalculable degree. Submerged speed, now limited, save in rare cases, to 10 or 12 knots, might be doubled, and the submerged cruising radius would be circumscribed only by the endurance of the personnel. Again, the elimination of heavy storage batteries would enable propelling engines of greater weight and power to be installed, with a corresponding gain in speed above and below water. The strategic utility of the submarine would be increased beyond measure if it could travel submerged for a distance of 1000 miles at an average speed of 20 knots, while the tactical advantage of being able to make an invisible approach to torpedo range at high speed is self-evident.

Submarines of this type would indeed prove a deadly menace to the battleship. There is little doubt that their advent would cause a revolution in naval tactics and strategy. It remains to be seen how long the problem of developing an efficient unit system of propulsion for submarines will continue to baffle solution.

On the outbreak of war Great Britain had sixty-four effective submarines ready and nineteen under construction; for Germany the figures were twenty-eight and twenty-four respectively. These totals refute the prevalent idea that the submarine is, and has always been, a weapon alien to the British temperament, and one which circumstances forced the Navy to adopt belatedly and with reluctance. In addition to the eighty-three boats completed and being built, fourteen older craft ('Holland' and 'A' types) had been constructed, so that up to August 1914 this country had produced nearly one hundred submarines. At a very early stage of the conflict it became obvious that the powers of these craft had been grievously underrated. Boats hitherto looked upon as mere coast-defence auxiliaries proved capable of cruising independently for weeks at a time and of making continuous voyages of several thousand miles. A few hours after the declaration of war British submarines were heading for the German Bight, where they were destined to keep watch and ward for four and a half years. Their wonderful work as naval scouts has yet to be revealed in full, but both the British and German official histories shed some light on the subject. They alone made possible the brilliant action off Heligoland on August 28, 1914.

> Since the first days of the war the submarines of the Eighth, or 'Oversea' Flotilla, had been keeping a constant watch off the ports in the Bight. It was a risky and exciting service, in which there were continual encounters with the vigilant and well-handled destroyers of the enemy and several hairbreadth escapes Still, with such boldness and persistence was the reconnaissance maintained that the German patrol ships were in continual danger. . . . Very full information had been obtained as to the routine of the German guard.[8]

As time went on the value of submarine reconnaissance became so pronounced that British boats detailed for this duty were forbidden to attack enemy ships coming out of port. Their orders were to observe the strength and movements of the hostile force emerging, and to transmit by wireless this intelligence to headquarters. Only when hostile vessels were sighted returning to port were the submarines free to attack them. In the other theatres of war British submarines repeatedly performed useful work which no other type of craft could have done. In the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora they played havoc with the

[8] *Naval Operations: Official History of the War*, vol. i., p. 99.

enemy's communications and spread terror in Constantinople itself. In the Baltic they held up for long periods the traffic between Scandinavian ports and Germany, and sank a number of German warships. Had more submarines been despatched to the Baltic and allowed to operate independently instead of being placed under the orders of the Russian high command, Germany would have found herself gravely embarrassed in that important region.

Detractors of the submarine never omit to emphasise the complete failure of German U-boats to make any impression on the Grand Fleet, arguing therefrom that submarines can never seriously threaten a well-guarded battle fleet. It should, however, be remembered that Germany, almost from the first, selected mercantile shipping as the main object of U-boat attack, and at no time made a great concerted effort to attack the Grand Fleet. That the few occasions on which this was attempted brought no result is more a tribute to the efficacy of the Grand Fleet's counter-tactics than a proof of the submarine's limitations. British boats, on the contrary, frequently attacked the German Fleet with success. Among the 'Dreadnoughts' torpedoed by them were the *Westfalen*, *Moltke*, and two battleships of the 'Koenig' class. No one had envisaged the possibility that submarines might be used effectively against hostile submarines, yet British boats did, in fact, have a large share in the ultimate defeat of the U-boat menace No less than twenty German U-boats were destroyed by them, and German war historians bear witness to the dread which the ever-present danger of British submarine attack inspired in the minds of U-boat commanders. Even the barest summary of the work that British submarines accomplished during the war would occupy too much space. It must suffice to say that besides carrying out reconnaissance, patrol, minelaying, and fleet duties, they destroyed fifty-four enemy warships and 274 other vessels. In his Armistice message to the submarine branch under his command, Commodore (now Rear-Admiral) S. S. Hall said:

> Submarines were the first at sea on the outbreak of war, they have been continuously in action while it lasted, they will be the last to return to harbour You have established a magnificent record of strenuous and gallant service, of clean fighting and devotion to duty that must always be a source of keen satisfaction to you for the rest of your lives, as it will be a great tradition to hand down to those who follow you.

We have seen that Great Britain, in the decade before the war, had applied herself with remarkable energy to developing the submarine, and had built close upon a hundred boats. During the war period, when priority in naval construction was naturally given to vessels of which the value had been most conclusively demonstrated, no fewer than 157 new submarines were ordered.[4]

[4] Thirty-six unfinished boats were cancelled after the Armistice.

These facts surely furnish a complete answer to the suggestion, so often put forward nowadays, that the British Navy has no real use for the submarine and would welcome its abolition, not only on humane grounds, but because of its inherent defects as an implement of warfare. If that were so, the action of the naval authorities in proposing to build twenty-four submarines under the new construction programme would be inexplicable. Were a *plébiscite* to be taken in the Navy, it would no doubt result in a majority for the suppression of the submarine. To honest fighting men there must always be something repulsive in a weapon which can only be used by stealth, and in such a manner as to suggest an assassin-like stab in the back. For this reason the Navy would welcome a return to the older and more straightforward methods of combat if this were possible. Moreover, with the passing of the submarine a grave threat to floating trade would disappear, for it is only too probable that the success which this weapon achieved as a commerce destroyer in the last war will encourage its employment in the same *rôle* in future struggles for the mastery of the sea. Since Great Britain, besides being the premier ship-owning Power of the world, is entirely dependent on seaborne supplies, her merchant marine is the Achilles-tendon at which her enemies will always do their utmost to strike. But that she could ever be defeated by commerce-raiding tactics alone, however ruthlessly they were conducted, whether by submarines or cruisers or both together, appears to be exceedingly doubtful in the light of recent experience. Irrespective of other means of defence, the convoy system has proved itself a fairly dependable counter to the submarine threat. Severe loss and great inconvenience would inevitably be suffered were submarine commerce raiding to be revived in a future war; but so far as human calculation goes, Great Britain will never be vanquished by a *guerre de course* unattended by decisive blows at her main combatant forces.

All proposals for abolishing the submarine have up to now been resisted by foreign opinion. We shall therefore do well to assume that this type of vessel is permanently established in the fleets of the world. It remains, then, to consider its value to the British Navy, this being an aspect of the broad question as to which little has been heard in recent debates. There has been too ready an acceptance of the view, assiduously fostered abroad, that submarines are useless to Great Britain and valuable only to her rivals. The writer holds this to be an utter fallacy. It is disproved by the policy of the Admiralty during the past twenty-five years, and even more convincingly by the actual test of war. If the submarine is to survive, it will add very considerably to British naval power. A favourite argument of Continental writers is that the submarine guarantees immunity from close blockade,

and is therefore indispensable to States which cannot afford to maintain a strong battle fleet. That the development of under-water warfare renders close blockade too hazardous to be tried may be true; but the fact is that this particular operation was falling into discredit before the submarine came on the scene. At the beginning of the century most naval students were agreed as to the impossibility of blockading by inshore patrols an enemy port that sheltered torpedo craft. The most that could be done was to keep the hostile coast under observation by light craft, while the main force lay at some fairly distant base, ready to pounce if the enemy made a sortie. Such, in effect, was the principle of the long-range blockade as put into operation against the Central Powers, and it proved to be a form of blockade which submarines were utterly powerless to prevent. Although German U-boats frequently attacked the Tenth Cruiser Squadron, which held the northern line of approach to the North Sea, and although several units of the squadron were torpedoed, the line was never broken, nor was the severity of the blockade mitigated in the slightest degree. After this conclusive demonstration it is futile to argue that submarines are a deterrent to blockade.

What they have done is to put into Britain's hands a means whereby she may employ the weapon of blockade against future enemies. Surface vessels dare not remain in close proximity to a hostile coast, but from this disability submarines are free. If a balance were struck, it would be found that Britain has gained more than she has lost by the introduction of the submarine—so far, that is, as blockading operations are concerned. Scarcely less fallacious is the further argument that a weak Power, amply provided with submarines, could safeguard its maritime communications by making these routes unsafe for enemy battleships. It does not seem to have occurred to the proponents of this theory that the submarine itself would furnish the stronger enemy with the very weapon for harrying a line of communications which his surface ships were unable to reach—a lesson, by the way, that the Central Powers learned to their cost in the Baltic and the Sea of Marmora. An impartial survey of the facts justifies the conclusion that if the defensive qualities of the submarine are such as to render it specially useful to the weak, its unique properties of aggression make it even more valuable to the strong. To the British Navy, charged as it is with the protection of a vast and scattered ocean Empire, the submarine is of quite exceptional importance. Boats of large cruising capacity are admirably adapted to the requirements of Dominion defence, as the Australian Government has always realised. It is probable that submarines will form the bulk of future naval construction on behalf of the Dominions. In the Royal Navy the building of

X.1 shows that the utility of large submersible cruisers is well understood. Motives of economy have delayed the construction of further vessels of this magnified type, but the standard 'O' class boats, of which one is in hand and twenty-four are projected, typify a design clearly inspired by the needs of oceanic warfare.

The strategical outlook, as modified by the war, is such as to demand a revision of the principles under which the Navy was organised previous to 1914, when the Narrow Seas were rightly regarded as the main theatre of operations. The Navy must now be prepared to mass the greater part of its strength in areas remote from home waters, where friendly bases may be far to seek. Cruising endurance has therefore become of vital importance. This is a quality in which the submarine excels. Boats of, say, 1500 tons may carry sufficient fuel for a voyage of 12.000 miles, and with roomy and well-ventilated living quarters, together with deck space for taking exercise, the officers and men would doubtless retain their fitness during a very long cruise. Foreign boats of much smaller tonnage have remained at sea for fifty days. In 1924 the British vessel *K*.26 made a voyage to Singapore, chiefly for the purpose of studying the effect of climatic conditions on the health of submarine personnel, and it is understood that useful information was obtained. For some years past a flotilla of submarines has been attached to the China Station, without apparent detriment to the efficiency of personnel or materiel. Other flotillas are serving with the Mediterranean Fleet. Submarines are thus already concentrated at two of the most important strategic points on the Empire's main line of communication. As further boats of the latest design become available the overseas flotillas will, presumably, be reinforced. Were it needed, more evidence of the practical interest which the Admiralty is taking in every branch of submarine development—technical, tactical, and strategic—might be adduced. All this activity suggests, first, that the naval authorities do not anticipate the abolition or even the restriction of submarines by international covenant; secondly, that they dissent profoundly from the view that submarines are of negligible value to the British Navy.

It may be of interest to sketch very briefly the outstanding achievements of British genius in the realm of submarine design. The 'E' class patrol boats, introduced in 1912-13, were in their day admittedly the most efficient vessels in any service. The 'K' boats, begun in 1916, were designed for cruising with the Grand Fleet, for which purpose they had a speed greatly in excess of anything attempted before. On the surface they were driven by steam turbines at 24 knots, which gave them a margin of at least 7 knots over the swiftest German U-boats. Further, the 'K' boats, with a displacement of 1880 tons, dwarfed all the

earlier submarines. The construction of such novel craft raised many difficult problems of ship design and engineering, all of which were satisfactorily overcome at short notice. The 'J' boats, begun in 1915-16, were noteworthy as being the fastest Diesel-engined submarines of the war period, a speed of 19 knots being attained. German boats, in spite of engines which generated more power per cylinder than the British type, never reached this velocity. A still bolder stride was taken in designing the 'M' type of submarine monitor, of 1600 tons, which carried a 12-inch gun. The total weight of gun and mounting was well above 100 tons. No submarine built hitherto had carried more than a fraction of this burden on deck. German under-sea cruisers of equivalent tonnage, but with a much lighter deck load, proved dangerously wanting in stability. Yet the 'M' boats turned out to be stable and thoroughly safe vessels. Their success was a notable triumph for British constructors. Towards the end of the war two further types were evolved—the 'L' boats, which have gained international recognition as the finest patrol submarines of the present day, and the 'R' class, constructed expressly for the duty of stalking German U-boats The 'R' boats, which displace only 420 tons, differ from all other submarines in being faster below the surface than above it. Thanks to a very powerful electric plant, they can travel under water for short periods at a speed of 15 knots. The idea governing their design was that, having sighted an enemy U-boat, they should dive to attack at a speed that would quickly bring them within torpedo range of the target. Post-war development is represented by the *X*.1, a submersible with the dimensions of a light cruiser. This extraordinary craft is 350 feet in length, with a breadth of 30 feet. Her surface displacement is 2780 tons, increasing to 3600 tons when she is in diving trim. Her speed is about 22 knots, the radius of action being very wide. She is armed with four powerful guns in twin revolving turrets, and numerous torpedo tubes. It will be seen that the marked lead in submarine design which Britain held before and during the war is being well maintained.

Naval men do not concur in the view that service in submarines is unduly hazardous. In proportion to the number of boats built since 1902 fatal accidents have been very few, despite the frequency with which diving practice has been carried out in all conditions of weather. The official attitude is expressed in a Fleet order issued on November 22, 1924.

The Admiralty [it read] have decided that the development of the submarine has now reached such a stage that it is no longer practicable to adhere to the system of restricting service in them to volunteers. Although volunteers will be called for as hitherto, and be given preference in selection, officers will be appointed and ratings drafted for service in submarines as requirements may demand.

The foregoing *résumé* of British submarine policy during the past twenty years may tend to correct certain misconceptions which appear to be widely entertained. In view of this sustained record of progress in the development of under-water craft there are clearly no grounds for the belief that the British Navy has an invincible aversion from submarine warfare. Mankind would doubtless benefit by the abolition of the submarine, just as it would if poison gas and high explosives were banned. But foreign opinion errs in assuming that Britain has a purely selfish motive in desiring the suppression of an arm that she has herself brought to a high state of perfection, and which, as all the world has seen, she is able to wield with terrible effect.

HECTOR C BYWATER.

RIVAL LAND POLICIES

THE conception of an 'Agreed Agricultural Policy' has long represented an ideal to sincere well-wishers of agriculture. About eighteen months ago there appeared to be signs that the attainment of this ideal was not altogether hopeless. So far had there been a trend of opinion in this direction, that Mr. Baldwin in his General Election manifesto promised, if the Conservative Party were returned to power, to summon a representative conference 'in the hope of arriving at an agreed policy.' The party was returned to power, and the Government immediately redeemed their promise. On November 27, 1924, a statement was issued by the Minister of Agriculture which, premising that 'hitherto it has not been possible to obtain agreement either in the industry itself or by the country as a whole as to the main principles of a national and stable agricultural policy,' announced that the Government had decided, 'as an initial step, to summon a conference of representatives of the three principal agricultural interests—viz., landowners, farmers, and workers—in the hope that by concerted discussion and inquiry such a conference will arrive at agreed conclusions as to the main features of a national agricultural policy, which would give confidence and stability to the industry and would be likely to be acceptable to the country as a whole.'

The conference in due course was 'summoned.' Like Glendower, the Government could call, but they forgot Hotspur's warning. Some of those who were summoned made excuse and declined to come. The Minister of Agriculture had surrendered his control of the situation by making the convention of the conference dependent on the consent of certain organisations, with the result that the refusal of one of them was sufficient to upset the Government plan. On March 2, 1925, the Minister announced in the House of Commons that 'in view of the refusal of both the labour unions to take part in the proposed conference of agricultural interests, the Government have come to the conclusion that it is impossible to establish a conference on the lines originally suggested.'

There were no doubt reasons which led Mr. Wood (now Lord

Irwin) to abandon the idea of a conference, although, on the face of it, it would appear that it might have been possible to arrange one on other lines. The announcement made by Mr. Baldwin left it uncertain whether the conference he then had in mind was one of agricultural interests or of political parties. Having chosen the one course and failed, it was probably inadvisable, and perhaps then impracticable, to fall back on the other. But it might have been possible for the Government to have convened a representative conference by inviting individual agriculturists of each of the three classes, in the same way as Royal Commissions are appointed. After all, the weight given by public opinion to the conclusions of a conference depends on the collective authority of its constituent members.

The conference project being abandoned, Mr. Wood stated that the Government would, on their own responsibility, 'frame such proposals for the assistance of agriculture as are consistent with the necessity of protecting the industry from the danger of sharp reversals of national policy.' He added that before doing so he would invite considered suggestions from the representatives of the different sections of the industry.

A few days later a letter was addressed to various agricultural organisations inviting them to send considered suggestions, or alternatively to appoint two or three representatives to confer with the Minister. The associations invited were the Central Landowners' Association, the Land Union, the Land Agents' Society, the Surveyors' Institution, the Royal Agricultural Society, the Central Chamber of Agriculture, the Workers' Union, the National Union of Agricultural Workers, and the National Farmers' Union.

The adoption of this procedure necessitated awaiting the deliberations of the various organisations and the consideration of the suggestions submitted by them. It was not until February 2 last, after an interval of eleven months, that the proposals of the Government were presented to Parliament in a White Paper (Cmd. 2581).

From this brief history of the course of events it would appear that the vision of an agreed policy has receded. The collection of separate suggestions from a number of organisations tends to discordance. So many associations, so many policies. Some of them have published the statements which they submitted, each of which, no doubt, represents deliberation and compromise.

Other bodies not included in the above list offered their advice, notably the Council of Agriculture, which appointed a Committee including representatives of the three agricultural classes, in equal numbers, to draw up a report. The report was in two parts. The first part recommended a subsidy of 2*l.* per acre

on the fallow land or fallow crop in every farming rotation, not more than one-fourth of the arable land on a holding to count for subsidy in any one year. It was explained by the chairman of the Committee (Lord Clinton) that the main objects of the subsidy, and the result it was expected to secure, were to maintain the land in good condition full of fertility capable of being turned to the nation's use at short notice, and to maintain on the land the full complement of men, horses, implements and machinery.

Many suggestions for subsidising agriculture, and particularly arable land, have been made from time to time during the past forty years, and it might be thought that the possibilities were exhausted The proposal of the Council of Agriculture, however, had the merit of novelty. Its other merits were more easily explicable to agriculturists than to the general public. The arguments by which the taxpayer would be convinced of the advantage to be gained by an annual expenditure of about 7,000,000*l.* were rather too subtle for practical politics. Even the Council of Agriculture was not unanimous, this proposal being carried by 49 votes to 14.

Another body which claims to include all classes of agriculturists—the Central Chamber of Agriculture—suggested an agricultural policy the main feature of which was that the Government should pay farmers a bounty on wheat held by them in stack for a certain period, with the object of maintaining a reserve. It was suggested also, somewhat tentatively, that the 'organised purchase' of wheat in the world's markets would be advantageous.

The 'Arable' Sub-committee of the Agricultural Committee of the House of Commons put forward a policy of which Major Ruggles-Brise in the Year-book of the Essex County Farmers' Union gives an outline. It was described as an 'arable policy,' and its main headings were:

1. *Barley.*—The imposition of a duty on foreign barley imported and used for malting or distilling purposes.

2. *Wheat.*—The granting of facilities to farmers to set up a wheat insurance scheme, operated through the insurance companies, and designed to assure to farmers a price for wheat approximating to cost of production plus margin of profit, making good the difference between 'market price received' and 'cost plus profit' when the market price falls below that level.

3. *Proceeds of Barley and Hop Duties.*—The proceeds of these two duties to be definitely earmarked and allocated to the industry of agriculture and applied to forming (together with the premiums paid by farmers) the nucleus of the fund under the wheat insurance scheme.

4. *Potatoes.*—The regulation of the importation of potatoes under licence, the licence to be operated so as to ensure an even supply of potatoes at a price reasonably remunerative to the grower and fair to the consumer.

The National Farmers' Union, in response to the invitation of

the Minister, submitted a memorandum drawn up with the care and caution which characterise the official pronouncements of that alert organisation. At the recent annual meeting the president stated that the Union had never wavered from the views expressed in 1919 on the subject of national policy. This admirable consistency has been possible by adopting a pose of indifference. In substance the Union has said to successive Governments: ' Farmers are capable if left alone of adjusting their business to any conditions, but if the State requires them to take any particular course it must be made worth their while.' The leaders of the Union have repeatedly declared that all farmers demand is ' fair play ' and a ' square deal,' and they have specified various matters in regard to which they allege that agriculture is handicapped. In such statements much may be implied, and from them inferences may be drawn, but the Union has not definitely committed itself to any constructive policy

It appears from these samples that the multitude of counsellors to whom the Minister of Agriculture appealed gave divergent counsel. But it is necessary to make a distinction, which is frequently overlooked The distinction was clearly made in the Report of the Council of Agriculture. The first part proposed the adoption by the State of a new policy involving direct intervention. This was controversial, and in fact was at once objected to. The second part dealt with a series of subjects, such as agricultural education and research, small holdings, rural housing, agricultural credit, marketing and transport, burdens on land and drainage. This part of the Report was adopted unanimously by the Council, and would probably in general terms meet with approval among agriculturists of all classes.

The familiar assertion that this country has no agricultural policy is unfounded. There was a short period after the repeal of the Corn Laws during which it was true. The *laissez faire* theory of politics was rigidly applied to agriculture for about thirty years. The first break in the wall of State aloofness was made by the disastrous outbreak of cattle-plague in the 'sixties, when a small veterinary department was formed at the office of the Privy Council. About the same time the collection of agricultural statistics was begun by the Board of Trade. From these small beginnings sprang a separate Department of State for Agriculture, but it took over twenty years to reach that stage of development. In the meantime Parliament in 1883 took what was then regarded as an almost revolutionary step by giving tenant farmers certain statutory rights against their landlords and thus restricting freedom of contract. Since then, and especially after the establishment in 1889 of the Board, now the Ministry, of Agriculture, the State has continually interested itself in agricultural affairs, and

the records of Parliament show that some fifty or sixty Acts have been passed—many of them amending and extending previous Acts—which collectively embody the national land policy up to the present date.

Through the development of this policy over a period of some fifty years one increasing purpose runs. Legislation dealing with tenant right, diseases of farm animals, small holdings, allotments, fertilisers, feeding-stuffs, education and research, drainage, ground game, tithes, rates, etc, has nearly all been progressive in the direction of increased supervision by the State or by local authorities and of the regulation and limitation of private interests. Successive Acts were passed by Liberal and Conservative Governments, but consciously or unconsciously, readily or reluctantly, all have tended in the same direction. In the main Liberal legislation has been characterised by greater willingness to extend the powers and duties of the State and to override private interests, while Conservative legislation has been more careful of encroaching upon the rights of property and more inclined to rely on inducement than on coercion.

The thread of the development of agricultural policy was broken by the war. For a time the submarines scared the whole nation into an appreciation of the vital importance of its resources in the agricultural land in this country. For the first time since we became predominantly an industrial nation there was a possibility that the people might be persuaded to make a substantial sacrifice for the purpose of securing greater independence of oversea supplies of food. It may be doubted whether this mood would have endured when the memory of the food shortage began to fade. However that may be, it did not survive the Agriculture Act, which was not only a monument of miscalculation, but contained no effective guarantee that the liability it placed on the taxpayers would make their food supplies more secure. Another impulse of a more altruistic kind animated the nation after the war. This was the general desire to give the men who had fought a bit of the land they had saved. The whole story is too long to tell, but it may be shortly said that the result fell far short of the nation's hopes.

The legislative experiments, administrative adventures, and lavish expenditure of the war period have had their chance. The position of agriculture has been probed and analysed by an Agricultural Policy Committee of competent and representative agriculturists, by a Royal Commission on which farmers and agricultural labourers were equally represented and equally antagonistic, and by a trio of eminent and disinterested economists. We are now emerging from the psychological fog of war-time experience, and we have, in cold blood and a clearer

air, to face the old problem of the dealing of the State with the land.

The problem is as old as history, but to every nation and to successive generations it presents itself in a different guise. In solving it pre-war experience may help, but post-war conditions must decide. It is, of course, a political problem, perhaps the most fundamental of all political problems. The political confusion of the past decade is gradually disappearing, and with a Government firmly entrenched behind an overwhelming majority the question can be approached with some measure of detachment from urgent party exigencies.

Much of the war-time legislation was experimental, but nevertheless measures closely affecting agriculture were placed on the Statute-book and will have far-reaching effects. The Law of Property Act may be said to have completed the long process of converting the feudal system, with all the complications and accretions which the ingenuity of lawyers had woven around it, into a comparatively simple and intelligible land system suited to modern conditions. It dealt somewhat ruthlessly with picturesque survivals of mediævalism, and amongst other things abolished that form of conditional or limited freehold tenure which for nearly a thousand years has been known as copyhold.

Another Act which marked a change of even greater significance is the Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act. The principle of fixing a compulsory minimum wage for farm workers was adopted by Parliament in the Corn Production Act, which, being merged in the first part of the Agriculture Act, shared the swift fate of that measure. An attempt to perpetuate the principle on a voluntary basis broke down, and in 1924 it was restored with a slight but significant change in the administrative machinery. As first devised Parliament placed the responsibility of fixing minimum wages and of the administration of the Act on the industry itself, acting through bodies equally representative of farmers and labourers. The Act of 1924 transferred the duty of administration from the industry to the Government, acting through the Ministry of Agriculture. This being done by a Labour Government was in accord with their political principles, but it was curious that farmers supported the substitution of State control for self-control in this matter.

The wages legislation has been on the whole accepted by farmers generally with a good grace—a fact largely attributable to the wise leadership of the National Farmers' Union ; but to many of the older farmers the intervention of the State between them and their men is repugnant. They ignore the fact—or they fail to see its relevance—that legislation has long interfered, in their interests, with freedom of contract between landlords and tenants.

They believe that State interference with farm workers' wages is revolutionary, whereas it might as truly be described as reactionary, reviving as it does a kind of legislation embodied in many old statutes.

Allusion has been made to the truism that policy is a matter of politics. The consideration of a land policy is now facilitated by the fact that two of the three parties in the State have, after prolonged deliberation, produced proposals embodying their respective views. The Labour Party does not appear to have committed itself to any concrete proposals except in so far as they are comprised in its general policy of the nationalisation of all the means of production and distribution.

The White Paper embodying the policy of the Government, and consequently of the Conservative Party, is a document of great—it may, indeed, be said of historic—importance. It clears the issue and, in a large measure, dissipates the post-war fog. In the first place it rules out definitely 'the imposition of protective duties on imported corn, which would be contrary to the pledges of the Government and to the policy of the other political parties.' It is a political platitude that only the Conservative Party is likely to adopt a Protectionist policy, and if that party deliberately repudiates it at the time of its greatest strength the most sanguine of its advocates must abandon hope. The Government are equally explicit in repudiating subsidies. After considering various proposals submitted to them 'they have come to the definite conclusion that they cannot support or advocate any of them.'

These two decisions are sufficient to give a new orientation to all discussions on agricultural policy, but there is a third which is perhaps even more pregnant. The Government 'have come to the conclusion that no case has been made out on defence grounds which would justify the expenditure necessary to induce farmers in time of peace to produce more than economic considerations dictate.' When it is remembered that the war insurance argument has been much the most powerful weapon used by advocates of direct State aid to agriculture, the far-reaching effect of this declaration is apparent.

After these negative pronouncements the White Paper proceeds to set out the constructive proposals of the Government, and it may be of interest to compare them shortly with the land policy proposals—so far as they relate to rural land—adopted at the Conference held by the National Liberal Federation on February 17–19 last and published by the Liberal Publication Department. At the outset there is agreement. The Liberals state curtly 'Protection and subsidies are both impossible.' The objects of a 'national agricultural policy' are defined by the Government as follows:

(1) That the land should yield its highest economic possibilities in the way of food for the nation ; and

(2) That it should furnish a basis of life and a reasonable livelihood to the greatest number of people.

Allowing for difference in the form of expression, the Liberal statement of the objects of an agricultural policy is not dissimilar :

> Large and drastic reforms are needed, specially for the giving of opportunities to the landless labourer, the increase of security for the farmer and the greater production of home-grown food. The basis of such reforms should be the principle that the right to own and hold land should be conditional on its proper use in the interests of the whole community.

There is, further, a substantial amount of agreement in the detailed proposals of the two documents. In each case they are, of course, stated in general terms, and it is probable that superficial similarity might disappear in the clauses of the Bill. How far agreement goes may be seen by setting some of the Government proposals side by side with the Liberal proposals on the same points :

Government White Paper.	Liberal Proposals.
Credit.—A scheme on a sound commercial basis for short time credit for improvements and credit for land purchase, bringing the general credit machinery more into line with the existing economic needs of the industry	(*a*) Commencing credit for land workers and others entering upon the tenancy of a holding, (*b*) Long-term credit for permanent improvements and for the purchase of their farms by sitting tenants and repayment of mortgages charged on farms already purchased ; and (*c*) Short-term credit for the turnover of crops or stock.
Small Holdings.—Development of small holdings on sound lines County councils to extend provision of small holdings both for owner-occupiers and tenants Assistance to farm workers to acquire a cottage and small area of land.	Demand of qualified applicants for small holdings and family farms to be met. Land-workers to have right to obtain half an acre of land at fair rent. Allotments to be available wherever there is a demand.
Farm Wages. — Agricultural Wages Regulation Act to be maintained.	A living wage to be fixed by Wages Committee, with direct reference to the cost of living of a family.
Co-operation. — Government to 'consider sympathetically' applications for assistance to sound schemes of co-operative organisation.	To promote co-operation among cultivators and the more efficient marketing of produce.
Rural Industries.—To foster and support movement for the revival of rural industries and the social improvement of village life.	To encourage the development of village industries and to foster the amenities of village life.

GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER.	LIBERAL PROPOSALS.
Research and Education.—To continue and develop a comprehensive scheme of agricultural research and education, an advisory service in technical agriculture, economics and costing, and promote live stock improvement.	County agricultural authorities to promote and conduct agricultural research and education.
Rural Housing.—Further provision of new houses under the Act of 1924 and the improvement and reconditioning of existing rural cottages.	A Rural Housing Board charged with the duty of assisting every kind of housing enterprise and of adapting any national housing policy to rural requirements.
Burdens on Land.—Policy of grants for improvement of rural roads to be continued and extended as funds permit.	Methods of rating agricultural land to be reformed so as to stop penalising improvements.

So far it will be seen that these outlines of policy run on parallel, if not identical, lines. Three subjects included in the Government policy are not mentioned in the Liberal proposals, although they are dealt with in the comprehensive Report of the Liberal Land Committee (' The Land and the Nation '), on which the proposals are based. These are the development of forestry, the carrying out of schemes of land drainage, to which the Government propose to make a grant of 1,000,000*l*. spread over five years, and the provision of ' adequate protection from the inroads of disease, whether of animals or plants.'

On a review of the position up to this point it might reasonably be contended that there is an approach to an ' agreed agricultural policy.' But the Liberal proposals go further. The proposal to set up a representative agricultural authority in each county entrusted with large powers and charged with many of the duties now falling mainly on the Ministry of Agriculture might commend itself to Conservative as much as to Liberal opinion. Both parties have from time to time favoured decentralisation, and both have assisted in the development of local autonomy. The real divergence of opinion comes, as it has often done before, in the application of compulsion to individuals in the interests of the community. The Government announce that their object is to secure ' the highest economic possibilities ' from agricultural land. Can it fairly be said that their proposals raise expectation that this result will be achieved ?

In this lies the crux of the situation with which the nation is confronted. No policy which relies only on admonition by the Government and unrestricted freedom to the individual ' to do what he likes with his own ' can secure the ' highest economic possibilities from agricultural land.' The reason is obvious. There is an unceasing and increasing demand in this

country for agricultural land not intended primarily for economic use. Enlightened self-interest may be a sufficient incentive to individuals who depend on the use of the land for their livelihood. The peculiarity of this country is that its limited and diminishing area of productive land—amounting to less than three-quarters of an acre per head of the population—is largely occupied by those who are comparatively indifferent to its economic possibilities. The question which the Liberal proposals face and the Government proposals evade is whether the nation can afford to leave the economic use of its agricultural land to chance or caprice.

The principle that the occupation of agricultural land should be conditional on its being put to proper use has been adopted as the basis of the Liberal policy, but it is not a party invention. It was first formulated by the Agricultural Policy Committee, which comprised men of all parties, and of none It was embodied in the Corn Production Act passed by a Coalition Government. Yet it now appears to mark a sharp division of parties. Political rancour has fixed upon it and has dubbed it Socialistic.

But a discussion of the land policy of the country ought to be raised above party recrimination. The Government have gone far towards finding common ground. Sincerity and good-will might discover further points of contact between all parties which, even now, might lead to the realisation of the hopes of those who believe that the interests of the nation, as well as of those who live by the land, would best be served by an Agreed Agricultural Policy.

HENRY REW.

THE PLIGHT OF RURAL SCHOOLS

It appears from the latest returns of the Board of Education that there were in England and Wales, in the year 1922–23, 20,821 elementary schools containing 31,593 departments. In this year no analysis of the size of these departments was given, but in the previous year we find:

Average attendance.	Number of departments.
Under 30	1,756
30 and not over 40	1,869
Over 40 and not over 100	9,016
Over 100	19,385
Total 1921–22	32,026

By a rough interpolation, and assuming that departments of 80 or less represent one school, we may safely say that half of the 20,821 elementary schools in England have 80 or less children in average attendance. It is with the plight of these schools, situated almost exclusively in the country, that this paper deals, the illustrations being taken from the county of Rutland.

Rutland is a purely agricultural district, containing an area of 97,272 acres and a population of 18,400. The only two towns of any size are Oakham (3300) and Uppingham (2450). For the rest, the population is collected into villages, which are spaced at distances of two miles apart with surprising regularity. Seldom do we find cottages clustered round outlying farms, as is common in Norfolk, for instance. By the generosity of the landowners these villages were in nearly every case supplied at an early date with schools, only two 'provided' schools existing in the county.

No account has been taken in the foregoing description of an interesting and successful development which has been in operation since 1920. In that year three central schools were opened by the county Education Committee for the 'older or more intelligent children.' They do, in fact, form the higher classes of the elementary schools. They are all placed in grounds of several acres, so that ample playing-fields and gardens are provided.

Attached are the usual manual instruction and domestic science rooms. But in no sense are these schools inferior secondary schools. All foreign languages are rigidly excluded, as are also formal algebra and geometry. Representing as they do the highest classes of the elementary schools, their business is to co-ordinate and extend knowledge already acquired, and in particular to quicken the intelligence of the children by that clash of wits which is only possible where they can be grouped in fairly uniform classes. The teachers in these central schools are for the most part graduates, and it may be said at once that they have been uniformly successful in developing a strong corporate life amongst their pupils. These schools are only mentioned here in their bearing on the contributory schools, which alone form the subject of this paper.

The following table shows the average attendance at the schools in the area for the year ending April 1, 1925 :

Group.	Number of children in each school.	(1) Number of schools.	(2) Accommodation in group.	(3) Number of children in groups.	(4) (3) as a percentage of (2).
A	Over 70	5 (8 depts.)	1,314	930	71
B	50 to 70	6	633	356	56
C	30 to 50	12	1,037	461	45
D	Under 30	12	753	265	35

Now it was not the custom in old days to build the schools too big, and the accommodation is of course reckoned on a larger floor space for each child than formerly, yet these figures show a deplorable slump in the child population of the countryside. Nowhere in the district are the cottages empty, except of children. In the case of the twelve smallest schools it is found that where 471 children attended in 1906 there are but 265 to-day ; yet in the former year the decline was marked. Nor is this the worst : the numbers at the lower ages are still less than those at the higher. The decline continues. It may be thought that the creation of central schools may account for this decrease, but it must be remembered that the leaving age has been made effective. The creation of the central schools has been but a very small contributory factor in the decline.

Why, if the adult population remains stationary, is there such a marked decrease in the child population of the country villages, and especially of those which are more remote—a decline out of all proportion to the drop in the birth-rate ? The most obvious

answer is that the younger married people prefer the amenities of town life, and amongst these amenities must be counted the better opportunities for the education of their children. Labour, and especially agricultural labour, is more mobile than of old; and it is a common experience of the country employer that one of the first questions he is asked when he engages a new hand is with regard to the village school. There was before the war a cry of 'Back to the land!' To-day there is rather an anxiety to preserve and develop that which is most valuable in our country life. But, while village halls, women's institutes, and rural libraries may do something, the provision of better elementary schools would do far more both to equip the children for their working life and to satisfy the legitimate desires of intelligent parents.

The evidence of school medical officers seems to prove conclusively that the country material is still the best as far as physique is concerned. To one who has spent his life in schools it is abundantly clear that such material as is seen in the central schools, where the children of eleven to fourteen and over are collected, is a national asset of the highest value. The pity is that the output is declining so rapidly. In the opinion of the writer, it is due to the failure of bureaucracy to develop more than one kind of school and one kind of teacher. Of this failure the bureaucrats are themselves only too painfully conscious. Again and again in those circulars and reports which issue from Whitehall do we read the blessed words 'rural bias,' and yet, knowing the good stuff that is bred of country life and country air (sending their own children, it may be, to seek health in country schools), they adopt a policy which is helping to dry up the stream of country-bred children—a stream which has for centuries fertilised the life of the towns.

Now if instead of this cry of 'rural bias' the theorists would adopt the slogan 'Country teachers for country children!' much valuable time would be saved in Whitehall, and the national printing bill would be smaller.

Certificated teachers are now generally drawn from the cleverer boys and girls who win council scholarships, who gain their school certificates by sixteen and their higher certificates by eighteen, and who, helped by their education authority, pass on to the training colleges and obtain a certificate with or without a university degree. They become qualified to teach at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Their education has cost their parents little or nothing as far as fees are concerned, but indirectly their maintenance over this long period may have entailed much self-sacrifice. These young teachers provide first-rate material. No one can visit a large town elementary school without being impressed with the efficiency and self-devotion of

the staff. He sees large classes skilfully handled and signs that the work of the teacher does not cease when the school hours are over. The teachers, too, provide an excellent choice of men and women qualified to undertake the organisation and management of the larger elementary schools. The salaries, in comparison with those to be earned in other professions, are not high. There is a general feeling of efficiency that should satisfy the most exacting ratepayer that the country is getting value for money.

But below this class there is another and larger class representing boys and girls who have qualified for a free education at a secondary school, but whose prospects are not so bright. They may reach the standard of the school certificate examination at the age of seventeen or eighteen perhaps, but their chances of distinguishing themselves in the higher certificate examination, or of passing with certainty through a training college, are doubtful. In the case of girls especially—the length of whose teaching life is always uncertain, for they are likely to relinquish their profession on matrimony—parents are not prepared to face a longer education with uncertain prospects, and are content to see their daughters pass the teachers' preliminary examination and accept a post as uncertificated teacher at the age of eighteen.

No one who has the interest of education at heart can be content to allow a system to continue under which teachers with no training are qualified to teach; yet there is the manifest need of teachers whose business in life will be to take small classes. It is suggested that these uncertificated teachers who are now doing valuable work should be further trained to undertake work in rural schools. But before developing this idea it is necessary to consider the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Training of Teachers for Public Elementary Schools issued last year. The Committee sat for two years and examined the following witnesses representing various bodies:

Bodies represented.	Number of witnesses.
The Board of Education	15
The Ministry of Agriculture	2
Four associations representing local education authorities	11
Two local education authorities	2
Fourteen universities and university colleges .	20
Seventeen education bodies and associations .	57
Distinguished individual witnesses drawn from the same bodies	8
Total . .	115

An impressive list indeed ! Yet the onlooker may well ask if 'all the king's horses and all the king's men' will ever revive the village schools without the help and advice of those who understand village life—the parents of the children and the managers of the schools. Amongst all these witnesses it is difficult to find one really conversant with the difficulties of a scale 1 area.

The Balfour Act of 1902 aimed at decentralisation, and it was said that it would lead to a stiff fight between the bureaucrats of Whitehall and those of the provinces. In the event it has led to the formation of associations of local authorities, directors, and teachers, often with bureaux in London, from which deputations representing the average wants of each body proceed to Whitehall. During the last few years we have been suffering from government by deputations. The time has come when the President of the Board of Education with his Chief Secretary, like the caliph and grand vizier of old, will have to visit, disguised, the towns and villages of the country and learn first-hand the very simple needs of the people. Or if this is impossible, then he must rely more on His Majesty's inspectors. For in the Report based on the testimony of these witnesses there is little to show in the 160 pages that the needs of rural areas are understood. In one place there is allotted slightly over one page to the problem, and there are a few references, but it is obvious that the members of the Committee are thinking in terms of the large town schools.

The recommendations of the Report are really simple. Student teachers, pupil teachers, supplementary teachers, should disappear at once, and uncertificated teachers as soon as possible. There is to be but one type of education, and the certificated teacher is to be its prophet. Expense is brushed aside in a footnote :

> The average salary of a certificated teacher in 1923 being 294*l*., and the average salary of an uncertificated teacher 151*l*., replacing 33,000 uncertificated teachers by the same number of certificated teachers would mean ultimately, on this basis, a salary expenditure of 970,000*l* against 498,300*l*., a difference of 471,900*l*.

It is characteristic of a Report drawn up with such scant regard for the requirements of the country that the only estimate it contains is ludicrously wrong. The data require that the last three figures should be ten times as big, and in particular that the cost should be 4,719,000*l*. This charge would be borne almost exclusively by the country districts. On the same basis, and supposing the average salary of a supplementary teacher to be 94*l*., the cost to the country of replacing the 10,700 supplementary teachers by certificated teachers would be 2,140,000*l*. per annum, again a charge exclusively on the country districts. It may, however, be noted that in each case the estimate is somewhat too

high, because the average salary of the country certificated teacher must be considerably less than the figure taken. In these days, when the need of economy is so urgent and when the statutory obligations imposed on education authorities cannot be fulfilled for want of funds, it can hardly be that a burden of 5,000,000*l*. or 6,000,000*l*. a year will be placed on districts little able to bear it. In these circumstances it is permissible to examine the problem from the point of view of those who live in the country, and to consider a solution which will offend only the trade unionist of the teaching profession.

In the country we have two great difficulties in staffing our schools. The lesser of the two, which has been accentuated by the Burnham decisions, is that highly qualified certificated teachers will not apply for the headships of rural schools. They are accustomed to handle big classes, they take an intellectual pleasure in presenting their subject with sympathy and skill, and they cannot face the prospect of a school where their attention is divided between several classes. They like the intellectual life of a town and dread the isolation of the country. Nor is there any inducement to go to an area where their salary will be on the lowest scale and from which the chances of promotion are small. In proof of this backwardness I may say that the cost in advertisements alone for filling the posts of six head teachers in Rutland during 1924–25 was 56*l*.

The second difficulty is inherent in small schools. A certificated teacher is trained to take large classes of 50. It is said that at present towns cannot afford to reduce the size of classes to 40. Yet in the country it is suggested that schools of 20, 30, 40, and 50 children shall be staffed with teachers trained to teach homogeneous classes of 50 and paid accordingly. A country school of 30 children demands two teachers, and one of 50 children three. To try to staff these schools with trained certificated teachers is like setting out to pay your weekly household bills with five-pound notes. It may do in Bond Street, but in the country we require coins of less denomination. Uncertificated teachers, supplementary teachers, and even monitresses, meet a real need in country schools. They should not be abolished, but improved.

Our town dictators hold up their hands in horror at the idea of four or five children of the age of four or five being looked after by a monitress acting under an experienced teacher. But it is just such girls that they would like to employ in their own nurseries to help look after their children of that age.

I would replace the supplementary teachers and uncertificated teachers by apprentice teachers and teachers holding a B certificate entitling them to teach in country schools and to hold headships of schools of 50 children or less. The rate of pay would be approxi-

mately that given to the corresponding classes of teachers. The teachers would be chosen from girls who had gained the school certificate or a certificate that they had passed in English subjects and elementary mathematics, and who could show that at school they had learned drawing and the elements of music. At eighteen they would enter on their apprenticeship, generally after one year's experience as student teachers. During the next five years they would be trained in rural schools, taking charge of not more than 15 children. There would be a 'mistress of method' appointed for the area, whose sole duty would be to superintend the training of apprentice teachers and to inspect schools under the charge of head teachers holding the B certificate. She would arrange for Saturday classes at suitable centres, either taking them herself or engaging a teacher of special experience in a particular subject. A feature of the scheme would be that special attention would be given to local history, local traditions and country life. Her work would serve to abolish the isolation from which rural teachers suffer so much. After serving for five years, an apprentice teacher would receive a year's free education at a college specially constituted to train rural teachers. The B certificate would be granted on her teaching record, and on the result of the year's work at the training college, but not on an examination. Further opportunity would be given to a few of these students to qualify for a full certificate.

The great advantage of this plan would be that a rural area would be in a position to train up for itself a body of teachers born and bred in the district whose qualifications would be well known. There would be generated an *esprit de corps*, which is now wanting in a body of teachers half drawn from other parts of the country and half lacking the status of trained teachers. The increased cost would not be great. From the theoretical point of view much can be said in favour of such small schools for younger children followed by the wider outlook of the larger central school. It is, in fact, the system favoured by the well-to-do classes.

Every schoolmaster is aware of a leaning to pedantry, if not in himself, yet in his colleagues, a tendency which educational reformers have not been slow to point out. There has always been a fight between those who, like Miss Edgeworth, Dr. Montessori, Huxley, Armstrong, stand for simple first-hand knowledge, and their successors, who, finding this process too slow, elaborate a system of short cuts which may lead the learner to avoid all difficulties and leave him ignorant of the very rudiments of his subjects. All systems of education are, in fact, a compromise between these two extremes. The countryman is the product of the first. He goes through life slow, reliable, and efficient up to a certain standard. The town-bred man is more

alert and imaginative, but he has less staying power. We have now a unique opportunity of using each system to the best advantage in country districts for developing the country child. Under the right teacher, up to the age of eleven or twelve he may learn slowly and absorb country lore, and then for two or three years in the central school he may club his experience with that of children from other parishes and have his intelligence vastly improved by the give and take of class work. For it is surprising, and not a little humiliating, to an observant teacher, to find how the experience of one child in a class is absorbed and remembered while the facts which he has marshalled and presented with such care are forgotten.

It is not too much to say that the Fisher Act, by founding the central schools system, may prove to be the charter of the country children's university, and that, properly used, it may strengthen that love of country life which is their inheritance.

If such a scheme as that just described were ever considered at headquarters, it would be found that it contravened assurances which had at some time been given to some deputation which had waited on some former President of the Board of Education. From time to time, when a system breaks dawn, it becomes necessary to review the whole problem without fear or affection, favour or ill-will. The education of children in our country schools appears to demand such unbiassed consideration.

W. L. Sargant.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS UNDER THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

There has been a revolution in China, and though that revolution has been far more fertile in altering the names of institutions and things than in changing the things themselves, it has been a great revolution. And it is part of a more gradual but far more potent revolution That greater, slower movement has released, and is daily releasing, forces of quite incalculable potency.

The great hope of improvement lies . . in the spread of education on modern lines But this, to be thorough and sound, must be gradual. Education is undoubtedly making rapid strides, and is bound to advance in the future.

THUS wrote Mr. W. J. Clennell in July 1924 in the course of an illuminating and somewhat pessimistic account of modern conditions in Fukien,[1] and the events of the past year have given an added significance to his words. Revolutionary forces 'of incalculable potency' have undoubtedly been released in China, the ultimate effect of which nobody can foretell. At the same time, every intelligent and sympathetic observer of Chinese affairs is agreed that the great hope of the country lies, as Mr. Clennell says, in 'the spread of education on modern lines.' What, then, we may ask, is the present position of education in China, and how far is Mr. Clennell justified in claiming that it is making rapid strides in spite of political confusion, civil war, and national insolvency?

I

From time immemorial the Chinese people have venerated scholarship, and it is necessary to dig down very far into China's historic past to discover the source of this regard. As Mr. Alfred Sze said in London a few years ago:

China's philosophers were writing on religion and ethics at the same period as Plato and Aristotle in Athens; her historians were recording the story of her past before Cæsar described his conquest of Gaul and invasion of Britain; her poets wrote melodious poetry, which is read with pleasure to-day, when Alfred reigned in England and William the Conqueror invaded it; and her scholars were writing, through a thousand years, commentaries

[1] *Papers respecting Labour Conditions in China*, 1925, pp. 52, 66.

n her classics which have moulded the thought of the Chinese during more han twenty centuries.

This veneration for learning invested the scholar with peculiar uthority and influence, and procured for him the paramount ılace in Chinese society. It freed him from various vexatious onditions to which the non-scholarly class was subjected; it ›pened up to him a path of official appointment leading to the ighest posts in the land; and it gave to him and to his *confrères* power of moulding public opinion which has persisted to this resent day.

At the same time, it must be remembered that up to very ecent years the education obtainable in China was almost entirely iterary and classical in character, and was wholly dependent upon rivate enterprise Dotted all over the country were the various cademies (*shu-yuan*), where famous teachers gathered together roups of eager students for courses of instruction which were lways more tutorial than institutional. For several hours a day, nd for many months in the year, they would browse together in he rich fields of China's classical lore, memorising the text, liscussing the commentaries, and learning to take part in those evere but delightful contests of literary skill which verse-making nd scroll-matching afforded. Natural science, Western history nd geography, and foreign languages found little or no place in uch a course of study, for to the Chinese scholar, secure in his elief in China's cultural supremacy, there was no object in vasting precious time in the pursuit of such subordinate subjects. The history, the philosophy, and the literature of ancient China rovided inexhaustible mines of intellectual wealth demanding he study of a lifetime. Little wonder that in the early days of ontact with the Western world the Chinese intelligentsia came o regard all foreigners as utter barbarians. For generations hey had been taught that the hall-mark of culture was the bility to converse in literary allusion and innuendo. To call a pade a spade was the obvious resort of the unlettered boor; to he literary mind it was but necessary to allude to the implement of Wang-han-ming, or some such legendary figure.

Thus education, whilst truly democratic in so far as it was open to the humblest peasant in the land, became more and more confined to the leisured classes—on the one hand, to men waiting to obtain official rank; on the other hand, to those who by birth or natural inclination were able to appreciate the literary heritage of the race. The Government, as such, did nothing to promote education beyond holding the examinations which admitted to official rank. It was left to individual Chinese scholars, and to groups of public-spirited men, to keep alight the torch of scholarship in the land.

Such, then, was the position of education up to the end of the nineteenth century, the only exception—and it is a significant one—being the schools and colleges which had been opened in various parts of the country under missionary auspices, and which were already exerting a marked influence in certain circles. We have but to contrast that position with the educational situation as it exists in China to-day, and to realise that there are now approximately 200,000 Government and private schools of all grades, teaching some seven million scholars, staffed to a large extent by teachers trained along essentially modern lines, and offering modern courses of instruction, to appreciate the truth of the assertion that a profound revolution has indeed taken place and that education has made extraordinary strides.

II

The forces which have brought about so rapid and drastic a change in China's age-long educational system have been diverse, but three may be singled out as of primary importance.

First in order of time, if not of potency, has been the permeating influence of the modern schools and colleges which grew up in China in connexion with the missionary movement, particularly during the latter part of last century. It is these institutions which may claim to have introduced modern education to China, and it is remarkable to notice how many of China's outstanding educators to-day owe their early training to this source.

Secondly, there has been the growing influence of men and women who have completed their education abroad. Ever since Yung Wing broke through the traditional isolation of his native land, and succeeded, after fifteen years of patient effort, in obtaining facilities for other Chinese students to follow his early example, there has been a widening current of student emigration to Western lands and Japan.

Thirdly, there has been the profound effect produced on Chinese minds by the meteor-like advance of her neighbour Japan —a success obviously attributable to her assimilation of Western education and science.

These factors, together with others of lesser importance, gradually convinced the Chinese Government of the urgent necessity of organising a completely new system of education throughout the country. Apart, however, from the 'hundred days' reforms' of the luckless Emperor Kuang-Hsu in the year 1898, all of which were speedily submerged in the tide of reaction which followed, no change of any kind was made until after the failure of the tragic Boxer uprising. With the signing of the Peace Protocol in 1901 and the restoration of the chastened and dis-

illusioned Court changes came thick and fast. In 1902 a decree went forth abolishing the old *shu-yuan* throughout the country and calling for the establishment of a college or university in every provincial capital, a middle school in every prefecture, a higher primary school in every county, and lower primary schools throughout the rural districts. The following year a modernised curriculum was framed for the elementary schools and a special commission appointed to draw up a complete educational system for the whole country. On September 5, 1905, the historic official examinations were abolished, and two years later a decree of equal significance and importance placed female education, for the first time, on an official footing.

In spite of these epoch-making decrees, progress for the first few years was necessarily slow. Buildings were easily obtained, largely by the use of temples; funds were procured from national or provincial exchequers; pupils were to be found everywhere; but the supply of teachers was hopelessly inadequate. Graduates of former mission colleges and old-time Chinese pedagogues were hastily pressed into the service, whilst steps were immediately taken for the establishment of modern teacher-training colleges all over the country.

Meanwhile a temporary halt was occasioned by the outbreak of the revolution and the overthrow of the Manchu Government. No sooner had the new republic been established, however, than it set to work with renewed vigour to tackle the educational problem, and one of the first acts of the republican Government was the reorganisation of the school system. A scheme was drawn up by the Ministry of Education in 1912, and adopted throughout the country, dividing the course of national education into the following stages.—Lower primary school stage, four years; higher primary school stage, three years; middle or normal school, four years; university or professional college, four, five or six years.

During the ensuing ten years education went forward by leaps and bounds. This can be seen at a glance by the following statistics:—

	1910–11. (Year before Republic)	1922–23
Schools	57,267	178,972
Students	1,626,529	6,819,486

Note—The figures for 1922-23 include 7382 schools and 214,264 students under missionary auspices.

It is often stated by those who criticise China's educational progress without full knowledge of the facts that this phenomenal advance has been top-heavy, and that far too much attention has been given to higher education. That this is not the case can be seen by the following analysis of the last available figures (those for 1922–23):—Elementary school students, 6,601,802; secondary

school students, 182,804; college and university students, 34,880—total, 6,819,486.

Nor was it merely along quantitative lines that these twelve years produced so rich a harvest. Each year saw a large addition to the ranks of China's educational leaders, drawn from the best educational institutions of Japan, America, and Europe, together with an increasing number of men and women who had graduated from modern universities in China itself. The influence of these keen minds soon made itself felt. Associations for the reform of education sprang up all over the country, resulting in the formation, in 1922, of one of the most influential and representative organisations at present existing in China, the National Association for the Advancement of Education. At the same time the provincial educational associations were strengthened by the presence of these same recruits; invitations were extended to noted Western educators—particularly to Professor Paul Monroe, Head of the Teachers' Training College of Columbia University, and to his associates—to visit China for the purpose of educational surveys; and as a result of the advice proffered by these experts the national educational system once again came under review. This culminated in the adoption, in 1922, of the so-called '6–6–4' system, consisting of six years of primary education (the first four of which it is hoped to make compulsory as soon as conditions allow), six years of secondary education (three years of junior middle school work, followed by three years of senior middle school education, normal training or vocational instruction), and four or more years of higher education, to be spent either in a university, a teachers' college, or a professional school.

This system is now in vogue in the greater part of China, for it is a remarkable fact, and one from which great encouragement can be derived, that, in spite of the tragic divisions which at present split up the country into numberless political and military camps, education remains the chief unifying force in China. Delegates from every province attend the great educational conferences which are held annually, and the decisions arrived at in the course of the very up-to-date discussions which take place there quickly affect the educational policy of every province.

III

Whilst these far-reaching changes were taking place in what may be called the technique of education, developments no less significant and profound were occurring in the realm of thought. China's 'golden age' of original and constructive thinking had been followed by many centuries of mere scholasticism, during which rigid lines and stereotyped opinions were laid down which

circumscribed the Chinese mental outlook. Throughout this period, as Dr. Hu Shih has recently reminded us,[1] the scientific method of critical investigation had never been entirely absent, but apart from the production of novels there was but little of a creative nature. The chief cause of this literary sterility was due to the fact that the literary medium—Wenli—was in reality nothing more than a dead language, as far removed from the current thought of the day as Latin was from the Italian of Dante's time. It was the realisation of this fact, coupled with the conviction that 'no dead language can produce a living literature,' which gave birth to the great literary revolution which has been raging in China for the past ten years, and which owes its inception to the work of Hu Shih and Chen Tu-shiu. Commencing with a series of articles in *La Jeunesse* (a paper issued in connexion with the Peking National University), Hu Shih and his associates inaugurated a campaign for the use of a modernised form of colloquial mandarin—'Pei Hua,' as it has come to be termed—for literary purposes. A storm of protest broke upon their heads from the ranks of the old Chinese scholars, but, quite undismayed, they pursued their crusade, and within two years it became obvious that they were the heralds of a veritable renaissance. Throughout the country associations for the propagation of 'Pei Hua' began to appear; newspapers, journals and reviews, issued in 'Pei Hua' or some modification of it, appeared by the hundred; novels, poems and essays, written in vigorous colloquial, and replete with modern phrases and concepts, began to crowd the pages of these magazines; a new and virile language had come to the birth.

Associated with this literary revolution, and to a large extent the product of it, came a profound change of mental outlook amongst educated classes. The passivity of past generations gave place to a state of mind that was frankly iconoclastic and rebellious, impatient of imposed authority, critical of formerly accepted dogmas, responsive to every form of radical theory, and pragmatic in its philosophical concept. This changed outlook naturally reacted upon the educational programme, with results well summarised by the late Dr. K. S. Liu, dean of the College of Arts and Science of the South-Eastern University, in an admirable monograph published two years ago. In this he described the tendencies of modern education in China as consisting of the following:—

(*a*) Social emphasis—education being regarded primarily from the point of social efficiency, with a view to the development of a stronger sense of nationality.

[1] See article on 'The Chinese Renaissance' by Dr. Hu Shih in *Bulletins on Chinese Education*, 1923.

(*b*) The sense of freedom—not merely an escape from the former classical bondage, but also liberty for educational experiment, such as is offered by Project Methods, the Dalton Plan, etc., etc.

(*c*) Vocational preparation—with a view to the fitting of the student to become a better and more efficient citizen in whatever walk of life he elects to follow.

(*d*) Scientific improvement—including not merely the teaching of all forms of natural science by approved methods, but also the encouragement of the scientific habit of mind (criticism, exact observation, experimentation) throughout the educational course

(*e*) Character building—with a view to emphasising the moral factor in education, the place of physical training and athletics, the responsibility for social service, and the like

IV

It now remains to inquire how far the ideals expressed in the previous section have been actually attained in practice, and to attempt to sum up the more important achievements in educational progress since the establishment of the republic.

It must be admitted at the outset that throughout a large portion of the country—particularly those provinces which are far removed from the more progressive centres of thought—but little real change has yet occurred. The framework of the new educational system has for the most part been set up, but the materials for erecting the edifice are still wanting. On the other hand, it must never be forgotten that it is only a few brief years since these changes were inaugurated; that those years have been marked by widespread disorder and confusion; and that the rapacious maws of the militarists have again and again engulfed the civil funds intended for educational purposes. In such circumstances the marvel is not that so much remains to be accomplished, but rather that so large a measure of achievement has already been reached. The statistics given on an earlier page afford some indication of the reality of that achievement. The nature of it will now be briefly considered under three main heads.

1. *Teacher Training*.—It was a very sure educational instinct which led the republican Government, in the early days of its inception, to place its first stress upon the establishment of normal schools. The provision of well-trained teachers is of course essential to any educational scheme, and China has been peculiarly fortunate in the men who have undertaken this work for her. Commencing in 1903 with the first men's normal schools, followed four years later by the first normal schools for girls, the number and quality of these institutions have steadily increased, until now there are 275 in all in the country, of which 67 are for girls. The students attending them have similarly increased, now totalling 31,553 men and 6724 women, in addition to many others who are taking educational courses in universities.

From the first a relatively high standard has been set, and at the present time a student desiring to qualify as an elementary school teacher is required to take three years of junior middle school training followed by three years of special normal instruction, including practice teaching. For a teachership in a secondary school a four years' course in a university or teachers' college is required, the curriculum of which includes not only an extensive knowledge of Chinese and of the ordinary 'content' subjects, but also special courses in child psychology, a foreign language (usually English), educational measurements, theory of education, school administration, teaching methods, etc. An enormous quantity of modern literature on educational problems and methods has been produced within recent years by the College of Education of the South-Eastern University, where extensive experiments in intelligence tests and other modern methods have been conducted.

An excellent opportunity was afforded to me about two years ago of testing the results of this training. During the course of an extensive educational tour in the interior I visited a large number of Chinese cities, and wherever I went I made a practice of paying a surprise visit to the Government schools and of sitting down in one or other of the classes. I thus had a unique opportunity of hearing subjects such as mathematics, chemistry, and English being taught by some of the graduates of these newer normal schools, and I was deeply impressed by the character of their work and the up-to-date methods which they were employing. Later in the same year the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation established a Post-Graduate Science Summer School in Peking for teachers of science in Government or private schools, at the conclusion of which the instructors (amongst whom was a member of my own staff) bore strong testimony to the excellent work that had been done, and to the keenness and ability of these school teachers.

The enthusiasm of these modern teachers is in marked contrast to the apathy displayed by many sections of Chinese society. This enthusiasm is seen not only in the zest with which they continually formulate new plans for educational improvement, but also in the devotion with which they stick to their profession in face of the most disheartening financial conditions. Of the many Government teachers with whom I am personally acquainted I hardly know of a single man who is not many months in arrear in salary, but it is the rarest thing to find a teacher willing to throw up his work and seek other forms of employment.

2. *Female Education.*—Until the year 1897 the only schools or colleges for girls in China were those conducted by missionaries. In that year the first girls' school financed and staffed by the

Chinese was opened in Shanghai. It was not, however, until the memorable decree of March 8, 1907, that the educational emancipation of women really took place, when the first girls' normal schools were authorised and provision was made for the opening of elementary schools for girls. Since that date progress has been extraordinarily rapid, as the following figures will show :

	1906.	1912	1922.
Girls in Government or private schools	306	141,130	418,170

All forms of education are now open to girls and women. Thus, in addition to the 67 normal schools already referred to, there are 25 general secondary schools, 158 vocational schools (for teaching sericulture, handicrafts, etc.), and one Government college of university rank. From these figures it would appear as if but meagre accommodation was so far provided for the higher education of China's women. Whilst admittedly quite inadequate —as, indeed, is every type of female education at present—it must be remembered that since the year 1920, when the Peking National University and the Nanking Teachers' College first opened their doors to women, practically all the higher educational institutions have become co-educational. This opportunity together with the excellent facilities afforded by the various Christian colleges and universities make ample provision at present for those qualified and willing to pursue a college education. Their number is, however, rapidly increasing, and it is quite certain that the present meagre total of girl students in all stages of education in China will be enormously expanded in the near future.

3. *Popular Education.*—One of the most encouraging signs in China to-day is the interest that is taken by the educated classes, and particularly by the student body, in the combating of illiteracy and in the spread of popular education. This was a prominent feature in the first educational programme of the republic, with the result that lecture-halls were opened in all the chief towns (totalling 2139 by the year 1919), public libraries and reading-rooms were established in many centres, and a number of schemes were set on foot for the purpose of giving partial education to those unable to attend an ordinary school. Amongst these may be instanced the open-air schools, the 'language-made-easy' schools (of which there were nearly 5000 by the year 1915), half-day schools, and night schools. In most of these efforts the work of instruction has been carried on by the voluntary services of students. A large number of colleges and secondary schools in China now maintain free night schools for the poor children of the district, the teaching being done voluntarily by the students, who in many cases also make themselves responsible for the

expenditure involved. The Daily Vacation Bible School Movement (which provides elementary education for poor children, together with some simple Bible instruction, during six weeks of the summer vacation) also recruits a large number of voluntary workers, more than 500 such schools being conducted in one province (Shantung) last summer.

During the last two or three years a new method of attacking the illiteracy problem has been carried on with considerable success by Mr. James Yen and Mr. Daniel Fu, of the Chinese Y.M.C.A., who first employed it amongst the Chinese labourers serving in France. This scheme consists in the gathering out from the Chinese language of one thousand of the most commonly used words and the organising of classes for the purpose of teaching illiterates to recognise each of these thousand characters. Classes are held every night of the week for four months, at the end of which time it is claimed that the most ignorant peasant ought to be able to read the simple books which have now been prepared in this limited vocabulary. Great enthusiasm has been aroused by this scheme, and over two million of these text-books have been issued.

By methods such as these, together with the rapid spread of the public Press, the growing use of lectures and cinemas, open-air demonstrations and the like, knowledge is being disseminated in China at a far more rapid rate than has ever before been known, with the result that a national public opinion can now be created and mobilised. It is true that political conditions are at present seriously hampering educational advance, and that indiscipline is rife in many schools, but it is nevertheless in the spread of education—modern and scientific, but adapted to the developing life of China, and, above all, based on a sound moral and religious foundation—that the hope of China's future lies, and nobody can survey the history of her progress during the past ten years without finding good cause for satisfaction and hopefulness.

HAROLD BALME.

TSINAN,
N. CHINA.

THE 'KINGS' OF LATVIA

Since the shock of the Great World War crumpled up the map of Central and Eastern Europe the number of kings in our continent has been reduced to barely a dozen, and practically all of these are but crowned heads of constitutional countries, who wield less political power than many a president of a republic. It is, however, well known that the name of Latvia is not to be found among those few kingdoms still left, although it has taken years for the more important fact to penetrate throughout the cultured States of Western Europe and America that Latvia has for nearly seven years been quite independent of Russia. Letters addressed 'Latvia, Russia,' somewhat to the surprise and disgust of patriotic Latvians, still arrive occasionally, and some of these are from French, English, or American firms eager to extend their trade, but evidently too economical or not enterprising enough to spend the necessary shilling on a modern map of Europe. Even the methodical Germans are sometimes to be caught napping, for in the generally well-informed *Berliner Tageblatt* (No. 354 of last year) we were astounded to read, under the heading 'Kovno,' of 'the struggle of the minorities in Latvia and of stormy debates in the Latvian Parliament,' in the course of which 'the Memel Convention was discussed.' Now every schoolboy knows, or at least ought to know, that Kovno is the capital, not of Latvia, but of the sister republic of Lithuania.

Who, then, are these 'kings' of Latvia if they are not, as we have seen, the political rulers of any of the Baltic States? The Latvian kings, or more correctly the Curonian (or Courland) kings, are the descendants of a privileged class of ancient freemen or knights, who were recognised as such centuries ago, when Courland was ruled by the Teutonic knights. These *kings* were of Latvian, not Teutonic, blood, and as knights they had the right to bear arms and also to hunt in their woods 'for all time to come.' But whether they were Latvian chiefs who declared themselves vassals of the Order of the Teutonic Knights on condition of being acknowledged as knights and of receiving certain other privileges, holding their lands in fee from the conquerors, or whether, on the other hand, in reward for some special services, probably in war,

these honours of knighthood with hunting rights were conferred upon them, history does not say quite definitely.

While the former theory would seem to be the more probable, it is, on the other hand, somewhat strange that the treaties between the Teutonic knights and the inhabitants of Courland (or rather Kurzeme—the original designation of the province 700 years ago and its official title to-day again), which go back almost to the time when Magna Carta was wrung from King John, contain no mention of any such rights. The oldest existing document testifying to these feudal privileges was not written, in fact, till 100 years later. This does not, of course, preclude the possibility that such documentary evidence may have existed contemporaneously with the original treaties, although it has not withstood the ravages of time.

The arms of these 'kings' generally represent a knight on horseback, armed with a sword and carrying what looks like a flag, but may be meant for a pennoned lance. I have seen, however, an old copy of the arms of one of the Curonian 'kings,' whose coat of arms consisted merely of an anvil and two hammers, probably indicating the occupation of the original founder of that branch of the 'kings.' But are there not instances of the humble origin of many of the proudest nobles in most countries? If the legend is to be believed, it is to a sturdy, patriotic blacksmith of the Middle Ages that the first nobleman in Scotland can trace back his genealogy.

A seal of the 'kings' is still in existence with the figure of the knight surrounded by the words in German: '*Kurisch. Koeningen Wappen*' ('Arms of the Curonian Kings'). A monument made of oak, dedicated to Andrew Peniks, one of these 'kings,' and bearing the date 1461, still stands near the road between Aizpute (formerly Hasenpoth) and Kuldiga (or Goldingen) in Kurzeme. A huge drinking-vessel or loving-cup of the 'kings' is another of the few existing relics of this interesting people Made of wood, and primitively ornamented, it can hold no less than a gallon.

When at the end of the eighteenth century Courland passed from the sway of its dukes to the crown of Russia, the Empress Catherine II., by a special ukase of 1795, confirmed all the privileges of the different ranks of the people in Courland. Although probably centuries before that date the knights had gradually come to find their occupation gone, and had naturally sunk to the level of ordinary tillers of the soil, their descendants still stuck firmly to their old titles and privileges. But in the middle of the nineteenth century the Russian crown, considering them to be neither noblemen nor State officials (the only privileged persons that could claim to be exempt from taxation), promptly proceeded to impose taxes upon them, whether in money or in kind. This the 'kings' naturally resented, and in the law-suits

brought by the public prosecutor against them in the higher as well as in the lower courts they always gained their case, and in 1884 the Russian Senate confirmed these decisions and left the 'kings' in full possession of all their rights and privileges, such as they are.

It is a strange fact, for which no Latvian has ever given me a satisfactory reason, that throughout almost the whole of the Latvian State, the area of which is about five-sixths of that of Scotland, there is not such a thing as a village except in very few districts, and this notwithstanding that among both the Germans and the Russians, under the thrall of whom the Latvians remained for 700 years, the village was a feature of the country. Whatever the explanation may be, the Curonian 'kings' of to-day live in seven villages in the neighbourhood of Kuldiga, formerly called Goldingen, which lies about eighty miles due west of Riga, and about twenty-five miles inland from the western shore of Kurzeme. The old government of Russian Courland, over 7000 square miles in extent, included all that part of modern Latvia that lies south and west of the river Dvina, or Daugava as the Latvians call it, and was divided into Courland (or Kurzeme) proper on the west and Zemgale on the east, and the Latvians have retained the old division of this, the southern, portion of their country. About twenty-five miles north-east of Liepaya, formerly called Libau, lies Aizpute, and between the latter town and Kuldiga, which is twenty miles still farther north-east, are situated the seven villages inhabited by those Latvian peasants that bear the proud title of 'Curonian kings.'

What the modern 'kings' can tell of their past history is but little, and that little is hardly in accordance with historical facts. But, like other kings, they rigorously refuse to marry any in whose veins royal blood, or at least 'kingly' blood, does not flow. In selecting their brides, therefore, the Curonian 'kings' are thus limited in their choice to the marriageable women of these seven villages, and the result of this restrictive intermarrying is that the 'kings' in at least one or two of the villages have come to acquire a clearly distinctive type of features, differentiating them from the surrounding peasants.

It is, however, not merely in their appearance, but also in their manners and customs, that these people show proof of their gentle birth. They are particularly courteous in their behaviour, especially to a guest, whom they always accompany to the garden gate or to the boundary of their property at his departure, and at their wedding ceremonies a guard of honour, armed with drawn swords, is in attendance to conduct the newly-married couple to their home.

Livzeme (or Livland), that part of Latvia that lies north of the river Daugava, also had its 'kings' in past centuries, although the last of them died out nearly 200 years ago. That it was

believed by many that these 'kings' were really the direct descendants of former actual kings of Livzeme and Kurzeme is clear from different records of past centuries.

Thus the Burgomaster of Riga in Shakespeare's time, Franz Nyenstede, relates in his *Chronicle*, which he wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century, about the well-known 'Kurischen Koenigen' and about their descent from the race of old Curonian kings, and continues: 'In the district of Kirchholm' (which is near Uexkuell and not far from Riga, but in Livzeme, north of the Daugava, and not in Kurzeme) 'there is a king, who is so-called, and who from time immemorial has possessed 7 hacken of land, from Emperor and Pope, and is provided with documents duly attested and sealed.' The hacke or hake of land, I may remark, varied at different times and places from about 300 to 60 acres or so.

Another chronicler of the same age writes as follows: 'This people had once kings, of whom one was called King of Livland, the other King of Courland. The one that reigned over Livland and Lettland had his residence between Kirchholm and Uexkuell, not far from Riga, where some descendants of his family are still in existence, who have the surname "Koning" (or King)'

In the archives of the Riga Municipal Council a copy of a document is preserved, dating from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, on which the Secretary of the Council, Andreas Koye, wrote about 1630 the following: 'Privilegium Koningorum aliàs Totzendorff de ao. 1335.' In this document the master of the Order of the Teutonic Knights, Hermann von Brueggeney, testifies on August 2, 1535, that he has renewed and confirmed the document belonging to Marx (King), a freeman of the order, of the district of Kirchholm, which his ancestors had received on December 6, 1335, from John Ungnade of Duenamuende, the then commander of the order. The original document, which is copied word for word in that of 1535, relates that 'the commander of the order, Ungnade, had settled a dispute between the Order of Teutonic Knights on the one hand and the brothers Tote and Aula' (King) 'on the other, with regard to the possession of pieces of land on the banks of the Dvina, and decreed that, while certain portions of the land in dispute were the property of the order, other portions were to belong to the two brothers for all time to come.'

The family of 'kings' in this Livonian or northern part of Latvia existed for centuries; but adversity gradually overtook them, their land got smaller and smaller, as the records mention, and the last of the direct descendants of the main branch, David King by name, died in 1745. A collateral descendant of the 'kings,' Jahn Koenig, died in 1749, and now the surname 'King' disappears from the local registers, and the property is mentioned as belonging firstly to Koning-Ragge and soon afterwards to

Ragge alone, and this last entry marks the end of the 'kings' of Livzeme who had existed for so many centuries.

Latvia suffered more than any other land, except Belgium and Northern France, from the horrors of the Great War, and the bare stone walls of dozens of Baltic baronial castles, with the ashes of thousands of humbler dwellings, testify to the unutterable ruin worked by Russian, German, or Bolshevik. The bulk of the movable wealth of the country, the money belonging to banks and other institutions, commercial, social or religious (among these, be it mentioned, the capital of the English Church in Riga), the library, and the scientific instruments of the Polytechnic or High School of Engineering of Riga (which now forms part of the great Latvian University of Riga, with its eleven different faculties and its 6000 students), the fittings of factories, foundries and workshops, with the bronze of church bells and statues—all this was evacuated in the early years of the war to the interior of Russia, except the statues of Peter the Great and of that doughty general of Scottish descent, Prince Barclay de Tolly—*i.e.*, of Towie, in Aberdeenshire—both of which lie buried in the sand at the bottom of the Baltic Sea.

How much of this has been returned? A few cases of silver that had been deposited in various banks, several cartloads of the smaller church bells, and a miscellaneous and very incomplete collection of books from the library of the Polytechnic—that represents almost everything that the all-devouring maw of the Eastern neighbour has so far disgorged. By the time the Germans entered Riga there was little left in the town to loot except furniture, but of that many trainloads were dispatched to Germany, Baltic German households in Latvia being naturally left unplundered; and while the Bolsheviks during their short stay could destroy much, they were of course unable to remove much valuable property.

The Latvians, highly capable, very intelligent and industrious, are rapidly restoring the external appearance of their country to something resembling its pre-war aspect, while their sound finance and enterprise are bringing back material prosperity to the State. The losses of personal effects destroyed in the war will in a few years be made up and in due time forgotten; but besides the intrinsic value of these articles, some of them had an interest for the antiquarian or the historian, as helping to shed some light on obscure points of the history of past ages in the Baltic States. Most of the relics connected with the former history of the Curonian 'kings' have also been swallowed up in the convulsion that swept over all Europe, and only one or two of these objects have been rescued and preserved in the Ethnographic Museum of the capital.

WM. SHARPE WILSON.

A READING CLERGY

It is the way of bishops from time to time to deplore the deficiencies of their clergy in the matter of reading. The present Archbishop of Canterbury in his sermon to the Church Congress at Eastbourne followed in the line of that Bishop of Durham of the fourteenth century who wrote the *Philobiblon*. In the chapter called ' The Complaint of Books ' is the typical reproof :

> In the first place we are expelled by force and arms from the homes of the clergy, which are ours by hereditary right, who were used to have cells of quietness in the inner chamber, but alas in these unhappy times we are altogether exiled, suffering poverty without the gates. For our places are seized now by dogs, now by hawks, now by that biped whose cohabitation with the clergy was forbidden of old, from which we have taught our nurslings to flee more than from the asp or the cockatrice, wherefore she always jealous of the love of us, and never to be appeased, at length seeing us in some corner protected by the web of a dead spider, with a frown abuses and reviles us with bitter words, declaring us alone of all the furniture of the house to be unnecessary, and advises that we should be speedily converted into rich caps, sendal and silk and twice-dyed purple, robes and fur, wool and linen

Such was the precursor nearly six centuries ago of the Archbishop's Congress sermon.

But it is unusual for bishops to foul their own stately nests, unless there is a probability that the laity will consider their recriminations timely. In this matter it is certainly the case ; there is a general impression in the minds of thinking people who have no hostility to religion that the intellectual equipment of the clergy is inadequate, so that to pass, say, from the columns of *The Times* or *The Spectator* to a Sunday sermon is to drop to a lower level in an inferior mental atmosphere. This undoubted impression, it is said, is one of the reasons for the deficiency in both the quantity and the quality of candidates for the ministry of the Church : men with brains, accustomed to accurate thinking, will not enter a profession where, though the opportunities of social service are great, the standard of thinking is lower than that of other professions, and minds exist in a backwater apart from the main stream of changing thought.

Now it is through books, and almost entirely through books,

that the majority of the clergy can come into touch with this ever-moving river; it is seldom, for instance, that the old discussions of intimate college days can be revived in busy vicarages, or scattered country rectories. The difficulty of attending lectures, when they are to be had, is for most people considerable; books and reviews are therefore the chief avenue into the thinking world. If men are to keep pace with movements of thought at home and abroad they must read; if 'conference' cannot make them 'ready men,' or 'writing' exact men, at least 'reading' will make them 'full men,' and without it they will indeed 'have need of much cunning to seem to know that they do not.' In short, the clergy cannot be expected to preach the intellectual sermons recently recommended by the Archbishop out of the unaided resources of their mother wit. They cannot even become acquainted with the direction in which opinion is moving without books, and though such opinion does not to any large extent affect their Sunday hearers directly, yet indirectly there is ever going on through newspapers, novels, and the stage an unconscious leavening of the spirit of the pews. The atmosphere changes slowly, but certainly changes, and the problem of the preacher is to change with it without compromising the doctrines he is ordained to teach.

There is a class of mind which professes not to feel the force of such obvious truisms as these. It may be said by some that 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' drawn from an inspired book and attested by an inspired Church, needs simply to be stated categorically, that such preaching stands up clear and distinct like an immovable rock amid the winds and waves of human opinion and changing conviction. Let the world go on speculating, but let the Church go on affirming the old truths in the old words; in them is the power of salvation from all the uncertainties which modern thought engenders. Such an attitude is no doubt impressive, and it has an appearance of dignity; but it is the attitude of the backwater and very far away from the spirit in which the Church has won her victories, for from the doctrine of the *Logos* to the doctrine of evolution the Church has learned to express her truths in the formulas of the age. It is such obscurantism that tends to withdraw official religion more and more from the real life of men; it may at present impress the uneducated, but one fears a day of Nemesis, when the gulf between faith and knowledge will become too wide to escape the notice of the humblest mental capacity. Take the advance of Psychology: it is at least as important as Darwinism fifty years ago; to many it seems like a current undermining the foundations of religion in the name of science or fact. The Christian teacher should know its real attainments and exact direction, and how

best, like the old enemies, we may look for it to be changed from foe to friend. There is real fact, and fact in harmony with Christian truth, behind the distorted analysis of mental processes, which teaches that God is but a subjective figment, religion itself a development of sexual desire, and morals but a form of behaviour based on instinctive automatic reactions. Of such false interpretations of fact, which are leavening the popular mind if only to a small extent, account must be taken ; there will be a lamentable lack of *rapport* between preacher and congregation unless newly-ascertained facts that bear on the problems of religion are seen in their right relation to the old presentation of Christian truth.

Or take Comparative Religion : here is a science whose splendid growth is of yesterday, whose facts and theories must affect the presentment of any great religious doctrine, and the history of the development of the Jewish and Christian religions. The humblest thinkers, under the urge of this great sweep of changing knowledge, are asking wherein Christianity differs essentially from other religions. A licensed exponent of Christianity will not much avail in the long run by simply asserting that Christianity is ' different,' and he will miss his opportunity as an apologist if he has no inkling that new knowledge acquired by the anthropologists actually supports the religion he is paid to defend.

Similar things may be said, of course, of the whole range of modern science and general culture. There is a unity in all truth, and the truths of religion too often in Church teaching appear dwarfed, stunted, foreign, out of relation to the world in which men's actual lives are lived. It is well to recall to the clerical mind that there was once a time when theology was the unifying centre of all human knowledge, when it magnetically drew all new truth into its orbit.

We may suppose that the Archbishop on that autumn day at Eastbourne had some such thoughts as these in his mind. But it was perhaps a pity that he spoke of ' intellectual sermons.' Such audiences as normally attend church will hardly welcome them. Indeed, the adjective has an ominous sound. It is to be feared that the remedy would be worse than the disease. For the time is far distant when a congregation will be able to follow a sustained argument, or when the average preacher will be able to deal satisfactorily, say, with such a problem as ' The modern view of the doctrine of a personal God.' He may in deference to archiepiscopal suggestion attempt to get up such a subject and try to boil it down for the edification of his hearers. But to be sound on such an adventure requires metaphysical training, and to be simple many rare qualities besides. Like the cathedral verger, his audience may still retain their faith, but not because

of his arguments. The Archbishop must be well aware that, with the exception of a few select audiences, the church public do not appreciate 'intellectual' sermons. But we must not credit so shrewd a man with ignorance of a fact so patent. Intellectual sermons are not necessarily a parade of knowledge, or an exhibition of academic gymnastics. The term may very properly describe the preaching of a thoroughly well-educated man. Such a preacher will show his awareness of the complexity and difficulty of the interrelations of modern speculation, criticism, philosophy, and science with the Bible and orthodox habits of thought, just as a well-educated man does in expressing his views in other places than the pulpit. But he cannot do this unless he is well educated, and he cannot be well educated unless he is always continuing his education, that is to say, keeping up his acquaintance with the movements of thought. And this must be done through books. Given such a preacher, a normal congregation, which would be intensely bored with cold intellectualism or psychological theories, might be really helped if they felt that a mind that had been deeply immersed in difficulties of which they were only vaguely aware was delivering a message that took such difficulties into account without placing them in the forefront of the discussion.

To acquire the requisite balance, tact, and knowledge for such treatment of theology and ethics is, you will say, far harder than to 'get up' a subject and present it in direct form. Of course that is quite true, and we can hardly hope for a great number to attain such an exalted standard. Yet the ideal of the Archbishop can hardly mean a standard less exacting. And it is obvious that it can only be reached through reading. Real culture, broad and deep, can alone place each aspect of truth in its right relation to the rest, and see life steadily and see it whole. The pathway thereto is literary: 'for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a progeny of life in them to be as active as that soul was, whose progeny they are; nay they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them.'

From a mind disciplined by reading can alone flow the 'intellectual' sermon that will inform without boring, guard truth without embittering the few hearers who are themselves acquainted with the trend of contemporary speculation, and establish renewed confidence in traditional heirlooms of faith without either minimising or exaggerating the importance of the march of fresh ideas. It is the path that all professional men who inherit a tradition have to tread. The doctor, the lawyer, the military and naval strategist, know well that the true ideal of professional duty includes awareness to new light, and effort to

accommodate the new to the old for the benefit of those who are the subjects of their special professional responsibility.

The Press, ever ready to welcome criticism, gave the strictures already alluded to plenty of space and wide headlines. It was good copy and popular news that the venerable Primate considered his young men not up to date. But the advice to read was greeted with something of a howl from the highways and hedges of the ecclesiastical world. Several country clergy asserted in print that study was not for them ; their domestic cares and lack of money to buy books made it impossible. But in reality there is no reason why the country clergy should not be the best educated men in England. There is no reason why the days of Stubbs, Hort, and Creighton should be days of the past. It is true that under new conditions, as one writer to the *Guardian* said, many have to share in domestic duties and do some gardening or farming. But it is mere sophistry to assert that in parishes of, say, 600 souls there is not much spare time, when all that is necessary has been done for the church, the school, the people, and the home. Two clear hours in the best part of the day and many hours of serious study in the winter evenings would cover much ground, and we know how hours are frittered away on golf-links, at the meet, at distant dances, and in many harmless hobbies. On the other hand, the purchase of books is a serious problem, but it is one that is being met. There are societies of clergy who share books, there are Bray libraries and ruridecanal associations ; a good deal of quite solid recent literature can be obtained second-hand, and probably sold again at a slight loss. There is no doubt that men who really want to read will find a way to obtain the right books, expensive as they are ; and they will do so more and more as they realise the importance of keeping in touch with the thought that sooner or later is bound to affect, if only in an indirect way, the outlook of even humble people. Busy town clergy are sorely tempted amid the many duties imposed upon them to let reading go. It is hard, too, to approach books with a fresh brain after much detailed parish work. But their difficulties are somewhat counterbalanced by their being nearer to libraries, lectures, and men interested in similar studies Many men in heavy work seem to acquire in self-defence a habit of dividing the day into quarters of an hour, each apportioned to its particular duty ; such a habit has no doubt helped many an agile mind to focus its light daily on some new subject sufficiently to enable it to acquire some insight into its bearing on the evolving treasure that really constitutes the mind. The people can hardly expect a keen parish priest to be an encyclopædic student. But they do expect something, and they consider the boast of certain men in leading positions in important parishes that 'they never

open a book' as grossly impudent. They know that no physician can afford to disdain the results of new discovery, that the lawyer is even now absorbed in the study of the reform of the law of inheritance; they do not understand why the clergyman should lack either the ability or the desire to remove his ignorance of new movements that bear directly on the very essentials of his teaching.

If an attempt were made to define further the kind of ideal a moderately-occupied man might be expected by his flock to aim at, would it not be something of this nature?—

First, he would be expected to know considerably more than his hearers do of the general development of contemporary thought. It is impossible to exaggerate the influence that aliveness to the general aspect of the thinking world of science, art, history, archæology, fiction and poetry exerts on the tone of the mind, and how it enables one to take a sane and clear estimate of the value of theology and ethics. You cannot study St. Paul without feeling that he had such a background in both the Jewish and Greek worlds of his own age. From his culture as an educated man of his own period, well acquainted with what men ordinarily thought, how much of the theology of the Christian Church has been derived! If we analyse the sermon on Mars Hill we find a mind well versed in typical stoicism. St. Paul was no pedant, nor does he parade his knowledge, but he has assimilated the Hellenism of his time.

Secondly, as Bacon says, 'studies perfect Nature and are perfected by experience.' This means that a responsibility is laid on everyone to strengthen his strong points. The most fruitful study for the clergyman, as for other people, is often the one that is most congenial and in which he makes the easiest progress. It is a temptation to neglect such subjects, because we may feel we can easily pass muster in them; this is no reason to neglect them—where the path is pleasant we should endeavour to go as far as possible. So the parable of the talents would teach us. Astronomy, music, archæology, poetry, minute study of historical documents, or psychology are typical things that we either like very much or not at all. If we have an inclination towards such a subject, it is a good thing to try and know all that is to be known about it.

Thirdly come the professional studies, which the laity certainly expect the preacher to be pursuing. Every year new books are published that the clergyman *qua* clergyman ought not to neglect: such, for instance, as treat the doctrines of Christianity, the Gospel story, or early Church history from a modern point of view; that point of view is likely soon to be that of the average man, and the preacher ought to be before the average man. It is, of course, a question of time how much of such ground a busy

person can cover—not very much, perhaps, in scientific study; but there are generally some books, like those of Schweitzer or Otto in their day, which it is perilous to neglect. Such books, of course, receive due attention in reviews, and good reviews will perhaps give enough of their gist for practical purposes, but they ought to be read and discussed by clerical societies, in order that a proportioned knowledge of their value may be provided for the laity.

Under such professional study would come that of every kind of book that tends to give life and reality to the historical basis of Christianity and the evolution of its dogmas. There are, for instance, the Jewish books that were produced in the period B.C. 100—100 A.D., the picturesque works of the excavators and wandering scholars, contemporary classical literature in the Loeb translations, and even such classical novels as help to make us realise facts as realities and doctrines as experience

Lastly, there is the consideration of the relations of Christianity as a religion of light and salvation to the many ethical and economic problems that are ever arising in new forms in the bosom of social life. One may mention with admiration the publications of the Student Christian Movement as the kind of literature which must not be neglected. America is far more fertile in the study of applied Christianity than our own country, and her divinity professors are for ever working in this fascinating field. If it is a moot point how far and in what way the clergy are called to give guidance in economic questions, yet one thing is certain— without knowledge they can neither guide nor know when to abstain from interfering with the conditions around them. Ill-considered and emotional sermons on social questions are rightly regarded by practical men as unwarrantable intrusions into a sphere of which the hearers probably know more than the speaker, and can only bring discredit on the Church. Whereas the result of a real effort to get at the roots of these troublesome problems under good guides may be helpful even to those who know something of the subject under discussion, whether it be a strike or some problem of morals.

Such are the main lines of necessary study. It can hardly be said in these days of mental unrest and social change and of real enlightenment on the origin of our religion that the ideal is pitched too high. In these days, too, when new ideas are not for long the perquisite of a few but begin at once to leaven the minds of the many, often appearing in distorted and exaggerated forms, who can escape seeing the necessity that those who teach should receive them fresh from the fountain whence they sprang? Through books, and books alone, can we do that, and the clergyman is perhaps the only man pledged at the opening of his career to a

vow of reading. To those acquainted with the great aspects of thought and life under criticism and discussion to-day, connected as they are with the most important spiritual issues, it must seem a solemn and inviolable vow that a man makes when he answers 'I will endeavour myself so to do' to the question 'Will you be diligent in reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same?'

W. J. Ferrar.

TOBACCO

THE cult of taking substances of the nature of drugs with a view to stimulating or depressing the mental faculties has come to us through the rituals of uncivilised nations, who for the most part employed such drugs in their religious ceremonies; this is the case for tobacco, coca, Indian hemp, and others. The West Indian natives used tobacco from time immemorial, and Jean Nicot, the French Ambassador in Lisbon, obtained samples of tobacco from America in 1559 which he sent to Catherine of Medici, thus introducing tobacco into France and gaining for himself immortality by the name given to the specific alkaloid. From the time when Walter Raleigh was first initiated into the mysteries of smoking, in 1586, the amount of tobacco smoked has steadily increased, and the practice has assumed such proportions that it is difficult for people of this generation to conceive of life without this solace for gloom and fatigue.

The habit of smoking progressed very slowly till the nineteenth century. The Stuarts were violently opposed to it, whilst to the Puritans of the seventeenth century swearing, drinking, and smoking were signs of the Beast and loyalty to the King. During the Regency and mid-Victorian days smoking was regarded as a vice to be concealed and spoken of with bated breath, and at this time the easily hidden cigarette appeared. Smoking amongst women was rare almost till the recent war, but in the aftermath the large majority acquired the habit, and few lines now sound quainter than those of Cowper:

> Pernicious weed! whose scent the fair annoys,
> Unfriendly to society's chief joys,
> Thy worst effect is banishing for hours
> The sex whose presence civilizes ours.

The smoke of almost any smouldering vegetable matter contains amongst its products ammonia and pyridine. The pyridine derivatives are irritating, and some of the objectionable effects of tobacco smoke must be ascribed to them, as, for example, tobacco throats and conjunctivitis. Before the war a 'tobacco' suitable for boys and pronounced to be without injurious effects could be purchased. This consisted of the dried leaves of common

coltsfoot; the smoke from this herb when drawn through a small pipe contained more pyridine derivatives than are present in ordinary tobacco smoke, though, of course, nicotine was absent.

Another substance which occurs in the gases liberated from almost any dried vegetable matter is carbon monoxide, which is the poisonous agent in ordinary coal gas and in the exhaust gas of motors. Carbon monoxide is not directly poisonous, but displaces oxygen from the hæmoglobin of the blood, for hæmoglobin has more than 200 times the affinity for this gas than for oxygen. Tobacco smoke diluted with air as it reaches the mouth may have anything up to 25 parts of carbon monoxide in 10,000 parts of air, a concentration which is capable of causing serious symptoms if inhaled for more than an hour. Smokers, however, always dilute their smoke with air, and the most resolute cigarette inhaler always takes some breaths of fresh air between the puffs. It is estimated that if a person smoked continuously for one hour, inhaling the smoke five times a minute, the saturation of the hæmoglobin by carbon monoxide might reach 20 or more per cent. —that is to say, this amount of blood would be put out of play. Such a concentration is sufficient to produce headache and oxygen shortage, but is undoubtedly far above what smokers actually accomplish. Perhaps 10 per cent. is more nearly the maximum reached in smoking.

But the amount of this noxious gas varies considerably with the conditions of smoking; the more rapid the smoking the greater its production. The smoke from the cigarette may be made to give even up to 1 per cent. of this gas, pipe smoke even more, whilst the smoke from cigars is said to reach even 6 per cent. One fact, however, comes out quite clearly in all the analyses which have been made, that the make and quality of the tobacco have little effect on the amount of its products of combustion. Tobacco is cultivated for its flavour, and no attention is paid to these products, though it is probable that by selective cultivation a tobacco could be grown relatively poor in nicotine. Some idea of the amount of carbonic oxide which may be present in cigar smoke can be gauged from the figures of Professor H. E. Armstrong, which show that the proportion in South Metropolitan gas is about equal to that present in average cigar smoke. Nevertheless, the fact that cigar and pipe smokers rarely take the smoke into their lungs whilst cigarette smokers commonly do explains why the cigarette smoker so much more frequently exhibits the characteristic symptoms of poisoning.

The only other substance present in tobacco smoke in sufficient amount to cause an action of moment on the body is the volatile alkaloid nicotine. To indicate the significance of this substance two common forms of smoking may be compared with regard to

their nicotine. Virginian cigarette tobacco contains nearly twice as much nicotine as cigar tobacco. Nevertheless, when these two are burnt in ordinary smoking, the smoke from the cigar contains more than twice the amount of nicotine than that from the cigarette. During the slow combustion of a cigar, immediately behind the lit end is an area in which the water and other volatile substances in the tobacco condense. In the act of smoking about half of the nicotine at the seat of combustion is destroyed, and that which finds its way into the mouth of the smoker is derived from the hot gases passing through this hot, moist area in which the rest of the nicotine has condensed. The smaller the moist area behind the point of combustion the less likely is the smoke to contain nicotine. A thin cigar or cigarette will yield less nicotine than a thick cigar, for the thin cigar or cigarette obviously permits a relatively greater cooling, and every smoker can testify that a thick cigar has much more effect than a long, slender cigar of similar tobacco.

The amount of nicotine in tobacco is therefore no criterion as to the amount in its smoke. To take the two extreme limits in pipe tobacco, mild Honeydew contains only 1·6 per cent., whilst Cavendish may have 3·8 per cent., and smoked under identical conditions the Cavendish naturally produces a considerably larger amount of nicotine in the smoke; but the Cavendish smoked in a cool pipe or one provided with a filter will affect the smoker less than the Honeydew smoked in a hot pipe. In the 'churchwarden' pipe the opportunity for the nicotine to condense is such that the smoke is almost freed from the alkaloid. It is for reasons such as these that the nicotine from the smoke of one cigar is found to correspond with the nicotine from that of twelve to eighteen cigarettes. In practice it seems as if even less nicotine than this reaches the circulation unless the cigarette is smoked to the very end. Other methods which have been employed to remove the nicotine consist of placing a porous substance in the stem of the pipe, reducing the denser parts of the smoke by filtration, condensing the nicotine vapour by cooling surfaces, or by using in the bowl of the pipe some substance which facilitates oxidation, as in the so-called catalytic pipes. Tobacco treated with solvents for nicotine has also been employed, but it loses much of its aroma and flavour, and perhaps, what is more important, its action on the body: denicotinised tobacco is no more popular than decaffeinised coffee.

Nicotine increases the activity of the central nervous system—it produces a feeling of well-being and exhilaration, it facilitates thought and the flow of ideas; but these effects last only whilst the smoking of the pipe or cigar is in progress. It is followed by a soothing effect, by a feeling of content, and it may be by some

blunting of the higher faculties of mind. This mild depression may begin in about thirty minutes after the smoking has been in progress, and become more pronounced the longer the smoking continues, or, as in the case of seasoned smokers, it may be much delayed. These features are just those which experience has taught are requisite in a drug of addiction; but tobacco cannot be classed amongst the drugs of addiction, because it is impossible to absorb sufficient nicotine in the process of smoking to form a habit with the characteristic craving; were the nicotine administered by the needle, the tale might be otherwise.

This stimulant effect of nicotine can be shown in many ways, and for convenience by its action on blood pressure. A series of experiments were made upon men whose habit varied from that of the novice to that of the seasoned smoker; the habitual smokers were required to observe abstinence from smoking for six hours before the experiment. The results showed that in the novice the initial rise in pressure (stimulation) lasts about half an hour, and is associated with a decided feeling of exhilaration; but suddenly a fall in pressure occurs, so rapid and so pronounced as to simulate the condition known as shock or collapse, and from which the smoker takes one or more hours to recover. When the subject is not quite new to tobacco the stimulation stage is prolonged to an hour or even more, and subsequent depression is much less marked, and is often shown only by a desire to sleep. The more seasoned the smoker the less is the effect on the nervous system—or, in other words, the greater the amount of tobacco which must be smoked to produce an effect; indeed, the inveterate smoker is so tolerant to the stimulant action of tobacco that he must smoke continuously, not because it gives him any great satisfaction, but to avoid depression, since he is uncomfortable, sometimes even unhappy, when he is not doing so. These nervous effects are entirely due to the nicotine, since they are almost absent when smoking herbs other than tobacco, or cigars from which the nicotine has been extracted.

A certain degree of tolerance can therefore be obtained to nicotine which is brought about by the more rapid destruction of the alkaloid in the seasoned smoker; this destruction is always very slow, and can never be accelerated to such a degree that an injection of a poisonous dose of nicotine into the circulation will lose any large amount of its effect. But if the nicotine reaches the circulation in the minute quantities which we may assume obtain during tobacco smoking it may be dealt with by the tissues. The condition is somewhat analogous in the case of alcohol; and the tolerance of the addict to morphine is due to the fact that the tissues can be trained by long usage to destroy morphine in the same way that they are normally able to deal with sugar or alcohol.

Some tolerance can also be obtained against carbon monoxide by those who indulge immoderately in cigarettes. This has an entirely different explanation, and is due to an increase in the amount of hæmoglobin in the blood, which is produced in excess to counterbalance that which the gas keeps out of action.

The pleasure that people derive from smoking is not easy to analyse. Some only obtain satisfaction from the cigar—that is, from the absorption of nicotine; others must have a pipe to toy with, whilst many men, and almost all women, favour the cigarette.

Leaving aside for the time the drug effect of tobacco, there are other factors of equal or greater importance which give satisfaction. The sight of the smoke is not without its effect; smokers who become blind nearly always cease to take interest in tobacco. Rhythm plays a yet more important part: the pleasures of dancing, singing, and chewing gum are partly phenomena of rhythm, and rhythm enters largely into smoking. Apart from the fact that the hands and mouth are occupied, in the pipe smoker the use of matches and even the filling of the bowl play their part; it is said by some that the purchase of tobacco plugs ready made for filling, thus dispensing with one of the rituals of the pipe, has certainly done nothing to popularise it. These occupation and rhythm effects are doubtless more important to the occasional smoker than to those who constantly indulge in the cigar and cigarette. The inveterate cigarette inhaler feels the need of carbon monoxide—he wakes in the morning to find himself supersensitive and irritable; no doubt he has exhaled the gas in the night, so that the blood contains more than the usual allowance of active hæmoglobin, and he hastens to replace the lost gas. The inveterate cigar smoker requires to be continually absorbing a small supply of nicotine with which to keep the nervous centres in their usual condition.

A substance to produce the condition known as addiction must affect the brain in such a way as to allow free play for the emotions. The desire of the drug addict, above all things, is to be freed from the cares and worries incidental to existence, and to effect this either the higher faculties of mind, such as self-control, may be depressed by such a substance as morphine, which leaves the emotional centres free from control and so renders the addict happy and removed from the serious considerations of real life; or the more primitive and emotional centres of the brain may be excited directly by a substance such as cocaine. Tobacco smoking does not fulfil either of these two conditions. It is remarkable that the direct use by man of plants as they occur in Nature rarely leads to serious addiction. Royal Commissions have not reported unfavourably of the effects of smoking opium and *Cannabis Indica*

in moderation, whilst medical authorities have asserted that the chewing of coca leaves by the Indians in the west of South America as a stimulant and narcotic is the same in principle and has much the same effect on the people concerned as the use of tea and coffee as a stimulant in mental and physical fatigue by Europeans. The effect of smoking opium in India and China is much exaggerated. The opium smoker is often a man of the highest character who is never fuddled; he takes his pipe like the European takes his tobacco, and both retain their faculties and attend to their business.

The factor which in the main is responsible for the evils of addiction has been the extraction and exploitation of active constituents—morphine from opium and cocaine from coca. In a sense the same principle may be true of fermented beverages, wines and beers, temperance beverages in their way, though not so harmless when the spirit distilled from them is partaken of. Fortunately we have not reached a stage when it is desired to substitute nicotine for tobacco. Tobacco smoking, then, does not lead to addiction. An addict to morphine or cocaine is held in bondage by the fear of withdrawal and the terrible craving which ensues. With tobacco this hardly exists; forgetfulness of one's smokes is an annoyance, but not a tragedy, and few, if any, cannot, when the necessity arises, entirely dispense with tobacco.

Habitual tobacco smoking has been credited with being the cause of many evils, but few of them are susceptible of proof. The cigarette inhaler may be the subject of a train of symptoms not at all uncommon to the excessive smoker and quite peculiar to this form of smoking—the more trifling effects are those due to keeping the cigarette alight in the mouth without removing it, so that smoke continually reaches the eyes and nose; irritation and inflammation of the eyelids and nasal catarrh not infrequently occur. Much more rarely a chronic inflammation of the throat ensues leading to hoarseness and excessive secretion from the mucous gland. These effects are not in any way specifically connected with tobacco; the products of dry distillation of almost any leaves act similarly. The chief source of trouble to the large consumer of cigarettes is the carbonic oxide which combines with the red colouring matter of the blood. The symptoms of chronic poisoning by carbonic oxide are stated to be rhythmical waves of giddiness, fine tremors, a feeling of sickness, anæmia, and loss of memory, especially for recent events; and it is just these symptoms which are the most characteristic of cigarette poisoning. Whilst considering the local irritant effects of tobacco, trifling enough in their way, mention must be made of the alleged action of tobacco in the production of cancer of the tongue and lips. It is well recognised that any form of chronic irritation applied

constantly to the same part may induce malignant disease in a susceptible person, and some substances, like coal-tar, are more likely to do this than others. The evidence that tobacco smoke is a cause of this condition is entirely lacking, though it is probable that in a predisposed person the continuous use of a short or hot pipe habitually placed in one position between the teeth may in time determine the local manifestation of this disease.

Perhaps the commonest of the well-recognised types of mischief due to smoking is that connected with the stomach. During hunger the stomach contracts; it is not unlikely that this is the cause of the sense of hunger—at any rate, smoking diminishes this hunger contraction, and smoking heavily before a meal certainly vitiates appetite. In heavy smokers more than this can occur: the stomach may lose not only much of its contractile power, but its tone also, and as a result dilatation with hyperacidity and flatulence occur. Excessive smoking of cigars certainly leads to hyperacidity; nicotine-free cigars, on the other hand, have no such effect on gastric secretion. In severe gastric cases it may be necessary to give up smoking at once and permanently; in milder cases it is sufficient to stop smoking for one or two days a week.

'Tobacco hearts,' with palpitation, missed-beats and irregularities, are common enough in young people who smoke freely before becoming thoroughly seasoned, but are the rarest of conditions in others.

Blindness is the most serious effect to which tobacco can give rise, and it is almost always the result of cigar smoking. Many poisons may produce blindness, temporary or permanent, in susceptible people; and it is only necessary to refer to the methyl alcohol, which as a diluent or impurity in synthetic and hastily prepared spirits leads to such an unfortunate casualty list of cases of death and blindness in Prohibition countries. Nicotine blindness is very rare; it begins with dimness of vision and often shortsightedness. A complete cure can generally be effected by abstaining from tobacco unless the case is far advanced.

The marvel is, then, that tobacco is responsible for so little harm. Excessive inhalation of cigarettes—and by this I mean on an average twenty-five a day—may induce a train of objectionable effects, whereas ten or twelve cigars a day may cause other and more serious complications. On the other hand, in the balance the good may overshadow the evil. Smoking has assuredly added to the agreeableness of life; if it is a mild narcotic and relieves irritability of temper and restlessness and removes worries, that is a feature which makes for good. It is sometimes said that civilisation is responsible for the craving for narcotic drugs, that men weary of the mental strain and anxiety involved in the fight for existence, and that anything that gives them relief from their

cares and anxieties is seized with avidity; and in support of this is the fact that those who are addicted to the use of narcotics in civilised communities are rarely the phlegmatic and the dull, but rather those possessed of quick perception, acute sensibility, and other higher attributes of mind which go to make up the qualities of high breeding and culture. It is just these people who lose their moderation with tobacco.

Tobacco, like tea and beer, has its traducers. The counterblast of James I. in 1604 has it that it is '. . . stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.' And agitation in one form or another has continued ever since. America has had several national congresses on the subject, one as lately as last year, with the object of enforcing the twentieth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, in a word, prohibits tobacco manufacture, sale or use. It is unlikely that it will be ratified, in spite of the no-nicotine alliance which is committed to getting it passed.

The food customs of mankind have entirely changed in the last few hundred years, and with this change we have turned from a drunken nation to the relatively sober nation of to-day, and the greatest change has occurred in the last half-century. It can hardly be doubted that tobacco has to some extent been substituted for alcohol and has much to do with our sobriety; both tobacco and alcohol act ultimately by soothing the irritable, tired, and too readily excitable nervous system.

Civilisation has certainly produced a plethora of neurotics, supersensitive people whose worries become tragedies. Mental occupations or a life at the desk without a sufficiency of physical and outdoor exercise are predisposing causes, and it is to these people especially that tobacco brings relief; to a few great intellects like Coleridge and De Quincey even such powerful drugs as opium or morphine may have been on the whole beneficial, but for the ordinary man, under the strained conditions imposed by residence in cities, the use of tobacco fulfils a necessary, beneficial, and harmless function.

W. E. DIXON.

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SOME ITALIAN DRAMATISTS OF TO-DAY

I see, as it were, a labyrinth wherein our soul wanders through countless, intricate, conflicting paths, without ever finding a way out In this labyrinth I see a two-faced Hermes which with one face laughs and with the other weeps; it laughs with one face at the others' weeping.—L. PIRANDELLO.

THESE words, which Pirandello sets as the motto of one of his works, may be taken as a symbol of his literary personality. In the inextricable maze of contemporary life his soul wanders restlessly, changing chameleon-like from weeping sadness to strident laughter. In the Italian dramatists of modern times there is but little of that spirit of humour which can rise above the world and look down humanly malign on struggling mortals. Many of them, like D'Annunzio, were poets and described the tragic conflict in our lives, but could not change their mournful countenances to the 'slim feasting smile' of high comedy. When they descended from the tragic to the comic stage they let their features relax into the broad laughter of farce, where the *gros sel* of the ancient *novella* is tempered by modern Latin subtlety of wit. The new drama in Italy of which Pirandello is the chief expression advances a stage further on, where the tragic sense is in continual antithesis to the comic sense and produces the spirit of humour. The drama of D'Annunzio and Bracco was psychological, following as it did the example of Ibsen. The drama of the Pirandellians is a prolongation of these psychological tendencies to their logical conclusion, and we might follow some critics who say that the true protagonist of the new theatre is King Thought, whom Edgar Allan Poe saw sitting in crowned state on a throne of suffering in an enchanted palace. And this new drama has given the final *coup de grâce* to the already dying romantic and sentimental bourgeois drama of the old type that had ruled Europe so long.

To understand the contemporary movement in Italian drama we must examine closely the ethics of the so-called Futurist movement which startled Italy just before the war under the leadership of Marinetti, but did not begin to produce any deep effects until the turmoil of war had battered the crumbling walls of society.

The Futurists who took as motto a phrase of D'Annunzio, '*Marciare non marcire,*' are men of the present and the future. 'We must advance,' they say, 'lest by standing still we wither up and die.' With their uncompromising theories they wish completely to condemn the past. All art and poetry must glorify the restless modern world of steel and stress with its electric-run civilisation. Marinetti once exclaimed to his excited followers in Venice: 'Burn the gondolas, these swings for fools, and erect up to the sky the rigid geometry of large metallic bridges and factories with waving train of smoke; abolish everywhere the languishing curve of the old architectures.' Many of the poems of Marinetti and his followers are exaggerated to the utmost limits, but the spirit underlying the movement has permeated the youth of Italy. We find it in the vigorous new Fascist movement, but tempered by the noble spirit of Mussolini, who never lets his countrymen forget the glorious past. Nay, the heroes of the Pantheon must be ever present in spirit beside these young supermen who gaze into the future. The new Italy is no longer a glittering mausoleum to be visited by myriads of foreigners; it is a modern country pulsating with vigorous life, and that life will draw sustenance from the traditions of which it is proud. As Domenico Flora, a contemporary Italian critic of much acumen, shows in his book,[1] Futurism is not a caprice or a formula; it is a spiritual atmosphere. 'Futurism,' he says, 'is in a certain degree the apex of all decadence, the final expression of romanticism gone to seed' But that is the negative side of its character. Whereas all the preceding period was in opposition to romanticism, as, for example, during the Naturalist movement, the moderns, on the other hand, wish to complete the disruption of the edifice of romanticism. From its ruins must arise a new will-to-live, a new scheme of things. The Futurists carry to a climax the tendency to look on life without any religious consciousness, and for this reason there is an absence of lyricism and true passion in their works.

The first vice which the young anarchists attacked in art was effeminacy. To them all the literature seemed to be dominated by sex, and this obsession was ruining the manhood of Europe. Disdain of women is one of their cardinal maxims, and they try to banish the adultery motive from the stage or novel. It is interesting to compare the plays of Bracco, who was until the war the undisputed master of the Italian stage, with those of Pirandello. In the plays of the former there is ever present a tendency towards feminism, as if the author felt it necessary to take up the cudgels on behalf of distressed damsels against the cruel callousness of society ruled by men. In Pirandello woman

[1] D. Flora. *Dal Romanticismo al Futurismo*: Milano, 1925.

rarely plays an elevated part; she is always represented as a weak creature dominated by her instincts, as in the case of Ersilia, the sad heroine of *Naked*, or else jealous, spiteful, viper-tongued, like the heroine of *Berretto a Sonagli* ('Cap and Bells'). How different these women are from the breezy, open-air Vivie Warren and Ann of Bernard Shaw. The Futurists also have started a campaign against anything that appeals to the senses—against melodious verse, sculptured prose, beautiful chords and harmonies in music. The style of Pirandello, Chiarelli, Cavacchioli, and the other writers for the modern Italian theatre gives to their dramatic dialogue a jerky, spasmodic manner, as if their one object was to produce mental shocks in their audience. The tendency to this jerkiness is European, for we find it in French dramatists, like Sarment, in Spanish novelists, like Pío Baroja. Above all, we find it in James Joyce, who in *Ulysses* has suppressed all punctuation marks so as to allow the sub-conscious mind of his hero freedom to dart hither and thither and scour all the field. Let us take the following example of a monologue from one of Pirandello's plays:

> Perhaps you do not know all the wealth of character she possesses, certain traits that you would swear were not hers, because you don't pay any attention to them; you only see her as she exists truly for you. To give an example: some mornings you would never believe it possible that she should hum so freely . . . in such a devil-may-care way . . . and yet she does hum, you know. I heard her some mornings from one room to another—yes—in a quavering voice like a child I tell you she was another person—when I say another person I mean it! And yet you do not know it. She is just a child who lives one moment and sings to herself when you are absent I'd like you to see her at other times—when she has a far-away look in her eyes, while unconsciously she strokes with two fingers the curls on the back of her neck. Could you tell me who she is when she acts thus? It is another personality of hers, and she cannot make it live because it is unknown to her and because no one has ever said to her, 'I want you to be so; you must be so'[1]

Compare that speech with one of the monologues of the old drama which was developed in lofty periods, the fruit of great mental elaboration and self-criticism on the part of the dramatist. The moderns write down any thoughts that come into their head when they are under the white-hot spell of their idea. They are unable to feel serenely, so restless are they in temperament, so eager for action and velocity which seem to be the watchwords of Futurism. One of the most striking characteristics of these new dramatists is their notion that modern life only begins to-day. They are as men who have suddenly come to birth armed like Athene from the brain of Zeus, and since they have had no cradle or childhood recollections which might have softened their

[1] *Cf. Il Giuoco delle Parti*, act i., sc. 2.

asperities by the sweet balm of recollection, they wish to destroy the old world and create another immediately. And such is their impatience that they will not wait for builders and masons to lay the foundations: they wish, like Aladdin, to touch the lamp and call up the genii who in a night will erect a wonderful palace of fantasy and leave just one alcove unfinished. This alcove they will finish themselves and claim credit for the whole edifice.

Now that we have considered the ethics of Futurism, let us examine the new theatre in its dramatists. The initiation of the 'Teatro Grottesco,' as it is called, is attributed by most critics to Luigi Chiarelli, a young dramatist who in 1916 produced amid great enthusiasm *La Maschera e il Volto* ('The Mask and the Face'), which he had written in 1914. Chiarelli, instead of calling his play a comedy, called it a '*grottesco*,' and this name has been applied indiscriminately to the works of the new movement. The word '*grottesco*,' which is derived from *grotta*, originally signified a capriciously designed ornament to fit places where a serious picture would be unsuitable. Vasari says that grotesques were licentious and ridiculous pictures painted by the ancients as an ornament for panels where nothing else was suitable. They made no attempt in these pictures to keep to any rules of art and gave free rein to their imagination. Horses were represented with legs made of leaves, dwarfs with storks' legs. Innumerable monsters leered monstrously like the mediæval gargoyles, and by their ugliness set off the beauty of the artist's central creation. No title could be better adapted to the strange productions that have crowded the Italian stage since Chiarelli's play: visions, apologies, fantasies, parables, coloured adventures—all types of drama with the exception of the old set comedy or tragedy. The word 'grotesque' not only applies to the titles and the form of these plays, but also to their spirit, their humour. The humour is always exasperated and arises from antithesis. As Pirandello says in his *Essay on Humour*, it is a little demon which pulls the works of the heart to bits to see how it is made. The humour consists also in making our world stand on its head, and not without a certain show of reason do many critics point out the debt which the writers owe to Bernard Shaw. But it is only the outer mask of Shaw that has inspired the Italians; his inner spirit—that of the Puritan moralist—is almost entirely lacking. The writers of the grotesques have one common characteristic: they are all convinced that everything in life is vain and empty, that men are but puppets worked by the hands of Destiny, and in their sufferings, their joys, they are but phantoms moving about in a world of shadows. They recall the masked guests of Duke Lorenzo of Spadaro in *The Black Maskers* of Andreev—'living fragments of darkness' who wield their spells over the

soul of man. This pessimistic attitude towards life existed in the literature of 1914, and increased owing to the World War and its tragic consequences. The world in the past ten years has profoundly changed, and man has watched with dismay all his former ideals die away. The pillars of his society have crumbled to ruins, bringing down about his ears the costly fabric of his civilisation ; he must construct new values or else piece together again the shattered edifice. In the literature of a people we see reflected as in a mirror its soul, and in the *Teatro dello Specchio* of Pirandello the author attempts to search the depths of personality for motive, and make his characters interpret themselves for us.

Pirandello, though he only appeared as dramatist in recent years, had won fame as a novelist as far back as 1903, when *Fu Mattia Pascal* appeared. In that novel we can see the germ of all the later dramatic works of the grotesque school. It describes the attempt made by a man to enjoy life in all its full liberty outside the forms and masks constructed by society. Mattia Pascal disappears from his native village, deserting his wife and children, and causes himself to be considered dead. Then he shaves off his beard and attempts to start a new life. He is helped in his desires by his good fortune at the gambling tables of Monte Carlo. But happiness does not await Mattia Pascal in his new life. He learns to his cost that if we cut ourselves adrift from all the forms and constructions of society we can only assist as spectators and strangers at the banquet of life and watch the others enjoy themselves without the possibility of joining them. Then when Mattia, after realising his mistake, tries to go back to his former life and assume his right name, he finds that his place has already been taken.

All the heroes of Pirandello's dramas follow Mattia Pascal in their cool, logical reasoning. Leone Galla in *Il Giuoco delle Parti* says : ' You all say that I have no sentiment ; I do possess it, but when I feel it rise within me I attack and reduce it to impotence ' With bitter irony these characters work out their existence, analysing their illusions, their desires, remorselessly. They justify, condemn, criticise themselves, and think of themselves in the act of living, suffering and tormenting. By dint of reasoning they transfer their feelings to a higher plane of complexity. As a critic has said : ' In Pirandello dialectic becomes poetry.'

G. K. Chesterton has said that really every play of Shaw is the dialogue of a conversion. This remark is true of Pirandello if we reverse its significance. Shaw delights in tearing off one by one the veils of illusion which cover the eyes of his characters until he makes them gaze with his own normal gaze on the rational. Pirandello, on the other hand, takes a malign pleasure

in making his characters start from the rational and gradually ascend until they secure the triumph of the irrational. The irrational may be entirely logical; what we call reason is only one of the many possible forms, one of the many possible reasons. And so in *Enrico IV.*, which many critics consider Pirandello's best play, we find the hero afflicted with a strange madness which makes him imagine that he is the Emperor Henry of Germany. And though he lives in the present day, nothing can shake Henry's belief in his life of fantasy. He truly lives as Henry IV., aided by his friends and satellites, who play up and help him to wear his mask. It is only when he awakens one day and wants to tear off his kingly mask that he finds himself checkmated. While he had been playing his part his place had been taken at the banquet of life; and so there is nothing left for him but to continue to act as Henry IV., but this time consciously and ironically. In this way he may take his revenge on life, that has deceived him.

In the other modern dramatists of Italy, such as Chiarelli, Antonelli, Cavacchioli, and Rosso di San Secondo, there is the same ironical bitterness as in Pirandello. Let us consider now Luigi Chiarelli, whose play *La Maschera e il Volto* is generally considered the *point de départ* of the grotesque theatre. The plot resembles that of the *Playboy of the Western World*, by Synge, and Italian critics have pointed out the debt of the author to Irish drama. The hero Paolo boasts to all his acquaintances that if he should ever be betrayed in his honour as a husband he will not hesitate to kill his guilty wife and her lover. Soon afterwards he finds out that his wife has been unfaithful, and he is reminded of his former statement. But now he feels that the declaration of his intention to murder did not arise from his true inner self, but was imposed on him by the conventions of Latin society. And so he does not kill his wife or her lover, but sends her away to another country under an assumed name. He meanwhile tells everyone that he has killed her. Thus his point of honour is satisfied. Paolo then is arrested and put in prison, but on his return he is feasted publicly, and friends throng the house of the man who has known how to avenge a dishonour. Paolo, however, feels nothing but disgust for the disgraceful buffoonery of society, and he wishes to tear off the self-imposed mask and rebel. Savina, his wife, returns to him secretly, and both decide to flee from the city and commence life elsewhere. This is doubly necessary, for in the event of Paolo staying on in his city he would be indicted for contempt of court. The play concludes with his words, which seem to suggest those of the Ibsenian individualists: 'I refuse to render an account of my life to anyone, whether to society, friends, or law.' This play is undeniably well constructed from the point of view of the old drama. Chiarelli's skill lies in parody. He is

such a literary economist that he can use his poor gifts of style to his own advantage. Instead of attempting to evolve a style of his own, he takes the ordinary bourgeois sentimental dialogue and caricatures it in order to make it tally with his cynical and disillusioned spirit. When he makes his characters—or rather puppets, for they are always pulled by wires—work up a scene, he seems to say to his audience: 'Remember, I am only foisting this old-fashioned stuff upon you so that you may ridicule it.' One of his latest works, *La Morte degli Amanti*, is written in the style of Jullien or the Grand Guignol writers. The outer plot describes the hopeless crumbling away of ideals in modern bourgeois life. The hero and heroine make one of those characteristically modern death pacts—they have their last meal together, and when it is over turn on the gas tap. The husband of the heroine arrives in time and turns the tawdry melodrama into farce, and we are forced to the conclusion that Chiarelli is above all else a juggler with dramatic themes. Over all his plays there stretches the long arm of coincidence; chance is piled upon chance like Pelion upon Ossa, and somebody always arrives just at the precise moment to enable him to produce his grotesque effect.

In Luigi Antonelli the grotesque becomes more fantastic. The main idea at the basis of *L'uomo che Incontrò se Stesso* ('The Man who Met Himself') is the same as in *Dear Brutus* of Barrie. A man bewails his fate because he has not got a second chance of arranging his life. Luciano, the hero, is married to a beautiful girl whom he passionately adores, for he believes her chaste. One day his illusion is scattered to the winds when he finds her in the arms of her lover. Mad with sorrow, Luciano vows that if he only had another chance he would profit by his experience acquired and would know how to defend his happiness. He does not go into an enchanted forest on St. John's Eve, like Barrie's hero, but he arrives at an enchanted island, where he sees himself as he was twenty years before and also his wife Sonia. In vain he warns his wife against the perils arising from the false friend. She falls again just as readily into the clutches of the Don Juan. The moral of the play is summed up in these words: 'Let us look to the future, not to the past, if we truly want to live.' Antonelli has not been able to treat his subject in the way it deserved. He fails altogether to preserve, as Barrie has done in *Dear Brutus*, the contrast between reality and fantasy. There is no air of mystery, no wonderland, in that island. Life there is a replica of our own dull vesture of decay, and thus the play becomes, as so many of its fellows, a mere farce.

Of greater interest for its contrast between reality and illusion is Ernesto Cavacchioli's play *La Danza del Ventre*. It is a symbolical play wherein the hero Nadir personifies the life of

the ideal, but he is an eunuch dancer, and he has the misfortune to fall in love with Pupa, who symbolises brutal instinct and feverish desire. Nadir, in order to satisfy her craving lusts, gives her to Harlequin, the slave who is body without soul, hoping that she will love him spiritually after satisfying her lust of the flesh. But instead Pupa falls in love with Harlequin, and the latter rebels against his master of the spirit. Then Nadir commits suicide, and Harlequin, who only lived through radiance from the spirit of Nadir, loses the love of Pupa, who disappears. All these plays of Antonelli and Cavacchioli, though at times they awaken emotion in the audience, have one defect in common. They float, as it were, in a sea between reality and fantasy without ever completely reaching either shore. The author is never completely convinced in his own mind what he wants to create—whether real men of flesh and bone of this world, or Ariel spirits who inhabit gossamer kingdoms. If we take a play like *Midsummer Night's Dream* we find that Shakespeare keeps definitely separate the two ideas of reality and illusion. Bottom and his merry men live for us as real men. On the other hand, Oberon and Titania are set in the higher plane of our imagination.

In the works of Rosso di San Secondo we find that there is more poetry than in others of the grotesque school. In fact, he always gives us the impression of having strayed into our tumultuous century by a mischance. Modern life, with its steel and stress, harasses his sensibilities, and hence we find him for ever trying to gaze back through the mists to a more radiantly happy world. Signor Tilgher in his extremely interesting essay on Rosso di San Secondo [3] says that all his work is based on the contrast between North and South: the South, where lie the lands of brilliant sunlight and blue skies and seas; the North, with its grey climes, its snows, its livid, darkening seas. In the North men have disciplined and organised, nay even willed, their existence; in the South life is all instinct and passion. All the men of the North and the South are stupefied because they have emigrated from a celestial paradise where they lived before birth—the paradise of the unborn children in the *Blue Bird* of Maeterlinck. But the men of the North, living amid their snowy drifts and thickening mists, have so dominated their own natures and lulled their primeval longings for the paradise that they feel no more the home-sickness. On the contrary, those in the South live in a perpetual state of semi-consciousness, which allows them neither to accommodate themselves fully to this earth nor to turn back to the paradise they came from.

There is thus a profound sentiment of pity underlying all Rosso di San Secondo's work. If we take one of his most characteristic

[3] *Studi sul Teatro Contemporaneo*: Roma, 1923.

ays, *Marionette, che Passione* ('What Passion, ye Marionettes') 918), we find the same tendency as in the other grotesque writers puppetise his characters, but he does not grin sardonically at em or make them stand on their head—he just shows them to in their ordinary everyday life, with all its sickening disillusion id hopelessness. The scene in the first act is laid in a telegraph fice on Sunday, one of those hopelessly wet Sundays that would more characteristic of our more Northern climes. Against this ckground the author shows us three persons, each suffering om some mental anguish. The three enter the office as strangers one another and try to write their telegrams, but chance brings em together, and they tear off their masks. There is a young dy of the 'Blue Fox' who has fled from her lover because he at her and treated her most cruelly; the man in mourning ears it because his wife has deserted him; the man in grey is ore ironic than the rest, and he scorns the other two when he es them beginning to feel the mutual attraction that sympathy affliction always awakens. But he carries within him some still ore painful secret, which he will not reveal. At last the three parate, but the man in grey follows the woman of the 'Blue ox,' and so, too, does the man in mourning. An altercation isues—insults are bandied about; then follow sighs and reconliation, then frenzied dancing. They both agree to meet the dy at a restaurant. But the man in grey has arranged another ble near their own with chairs reserved for the three who will ot come. The dinner is as funereal as any Borgian meal. iddenly there arrives one 'who was not to come'—he is the dy's lover. He rushes furiously to carry her off, and she regnedly submits to her destiny. Thus the two men are left face face. The man in grey pulls out a packet of poison and pours ie contents into the water and drinks it. Then he says good-bye his friend, telling him to salute the fair-haired lady who may rive, and he goes away to liberation. The man in mourning is ft alone sobbing, and the curtain falls. The play, though iaracteristic of the grotesque theatre, shows all the faults of osso di San Secondo as dramatist; though the setting of the enes resembles Antoine's stage by its modest austerity, the iaracters are shadows seen to flit through a hideous nightmare. heir passions in consequence never move us profoundly.

In *La Bella Addormentata* ('The Sleeping Beauty') we find iore poetry as the author tries to express his meaning by symbols. is called a 'play in colours,' and these fleeting colours symbolise ie unreality of life, its fantastic inconsistency. The characters e not puppets this time, but colours, and they move about in world of gross materialism. In the midst of them lives the leeping beauty'—the prostitute of the town. She resembles

closely Sonia Sarowska, the heroine of Bracco's play *I Pazzi* (1922), in that she is entirely amoral. She is the 'sleeping beauty' in this hideous world, and radiates around her a halo of idealism and illusion. At last when she becomes a mother her personality awakes, and at least for a time she ceases to be the placid animal. Rosso di San Secondo, in spite of his originality, uses in this play the pivotal character, the zany always so dear to the writers of the *commedia dell' arte.* In fact, this central character, who is supposed to be the author himself, is the old mouthpiece character that we used to meet in Dumas Fils or Brieux. He ironically undertakes to rescue the 'sleeping beauty'; he makes her first seducer marry her, though she has lived as a prostitute with other men. This play has certain poetical qualities, for it moves in a rarer atmosphere than that of real life—a world of lyrical symbols. All life is considered an adventure in colours, and nothing matters but the colours, which are symbols of man's tortured destiny: the yellow sulphur, the blue skies, the white clouds that change to sombre hue when ridden by the tempest; the green fields that wither beneath the blasting rays of the sun.

Each succeeding work of Rosso di San Secondo becomes more and more obscure. He possesses the characteristic modern European temperament, refined and disillusioned, sensitive to every pulsation of modern life; but he shuns the clear, crystal qualities of mind and prefers to live in a limbo of nebulous fancies. We cannot help admiring his seriousness of purpose, his poetical charm, his sensitive temperament, but he does not draw us after him in panting chase like Pirandello. Both authors are Sicilian; but the one has all the vigour of a people that produced Verga and Capuana: the other prefers to dream away his time in golden gardens of the South. In one of his latest works, *L'Avventura Terrestre* ('The Adventure on Earth') (1924), Rosso di San Secondo asks himself the question: Why do we exist? What are we? Where do we come from? Where are we going to? We do not know. Living and dying is all adventure. When we talk of house, family, home, we speak of meaningless things. We are simply inhabitants of the earth—our home. It is all nonsense to talk of Latins or Northerns, Britons or Japanese or Hottentots. We participate in this adventure on earth like explorers who know not where destiny will carry them.

Rosso di San Secondo tells us not to construct marble palaces, not to strike our roots deep in the earth; rather must we live like the nomadic tribes who sowed the fields for one year's harvest before they moved on to the next region. Again he admonishes us against raising the barriers of nationality—we must not complain of being strangers to one another when we are strangers to ourselves. Here we have reached the conclusion of Pirandello'

feverish teaching. What have we to guide us ? Nothing. When we look at ourselves we see ourselves in double, in triple. We are not the same two minutes in succession—we have not even the fixed reality of a third-rate literary character. We are flitting shadows always in movement, swept on by the irresistible life force which overwhelms the dams and bridgeheads in its impetuous course. It is no wonder that the Futurists in their plays have tried every possible experiment in order to describe these tendencies—from the Robots whom Capek raised to take the place of the slaves of the ancient world to the machine dramas of Marinetti's latest disciples in Italy, which glorify the force and movement of machinery.

The authors we have considered in this article are not characteristic of all the modern Italian theatre ; there are others—such as Sem Benelli, Morselli, Ratti—who have written beautiful works, full of poetry, but they are outside the modern movement to which we limited ourselves. It is difficult to say with precision what will be the process of evolution of contemporary Italian drama, for so many European influences enter the country. But of one thing we may be certain. The grotesque theatre, through the instrumentality of Pirandello, has extended its sphere of influence to Europe, nay even to the whole theatrical world ; and we are witnessing in every country the death of the bourgeois, well-made play. The public has become Pirandellian and wants all the plays served up for its delectation to possess the necessary ' kick ' which will stimulate its jaded palate. Soon the tinselled ' revue ' chorus and the bejewelled film stars will catch the Pirandellian disease, and Pirandello will resemble Jules Romains' hero Dr. Knock, who kept the whole of the town in bed so that they might bear testimony to the glories of his medical science.

WALTER STARKIE.

THE MYTHS OF WAR

ESTIMATED at lowest, the Pact of Locarno has at least reasserted that long-forgotten or long-ignored fact the essential unity of Western civilisation. In spite of differences of language, religion and temperament, the nations of Western Europe possess not only generally ignored interests in common, but also a common culture. Approximately they have all reached the same general standard of civilisation. Racially also they are much more nearly related to each other than was once thought to be the case: the special virtues of the wonderful 'Anglo-Saxon' and the all-conquering 'Teuton' are now recognised to be the products of the patriotic imagination of the nineteenth century. Not one of them has the faintest claim to be considered a sort of superior sub-species of humanity: not one of them is even a pure race. The late-Victorian Englishman who used to boast his unbroken Anglo-Saxon ancestry had really much Celtic blood in his veins; the German finds to his disgust that, far from being of pure Teutonic stock, he possesses a strong admixture of the despised Slav; while the Frenchman cannot deny that there is much Teutonic blood in Northern France.[1] The anthropologists confirm this by declaring that the English, German, French, and Italian races are merely blends in varying proportions of the three main stocks which inhabited Europe in prehistoric times—the Mediterranean, the Alpine, and the Nordic. Would it not be a most astonishing thing if one of these blends should prove fundamentally different from the others either in its virtues or its vices?

It is a curious coincidence that this reassertion of European unity at Locarno should have coincided with Brigadier-General Charteris's alleged disclosures concerning the notorious 'corpse factory' myth, the most gruesome and ugly of all those propaganda stories with which the world has been deluged during the past fifty years. These disclosures have raised a question which cannot be shelved much longer. Upon what basis of fact (if any) do these sensational and unpleasant stories rest?

Stories of 'atrocities' are not confined, as some seem to imagine, to the Germans and their allies during the Great War.

[1] Descended from the Franks, a purely Teutonic people.

Almost exactly similar stories have been told concerning the troops of every nation which has been at war during the last fifty years. In details these stories vary amazingly little. Civilians are ruthlessly shot; women are outraged; houses are burned; prisoners of war maltreated or murdered—in short, murder, rape, and arson are what is strictly meant by the term 'atrocities.' Popularly, however, the term has a very much wider meaning, and for the purposes of this article the expression 'stories of atrocities' may be defined as 'any allegations of infamous conduct made against a hostile nation—if true, rendering that nation morally outside the pale of civilisation.' The word 'frightfulness' expresses this meaning; but it will not be used here, since, to this generation at least, it will always be associated with a particular collection of such allegations made against a nation, near cousins of our own, during a certain four memorable years.

Ever since Mr. Gladstone abandoned his retirement in 1876 in order to thrill and horrify the world by his eloquent denunciation of the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria the world has been thrilled and horrified at short intervals by similar stories from all parts of the globe. No war since then has failed to add its contribution. Mentioning but a few of these 'atrocities' at haphazard, we may recall the alleged Boer atrocities to British wounded in 1900; the alleged British atrocities to the Boers shut up in the concentration camps, the alleged Boxer atrocities, from which we derive the phrase 'Chinese torture'; the alleged Belgian atrocities in the Congo; the alleged Italian atrocities at Tripoli after its occupation in October 1911; the alleged German atrocities in Belgium in August 1914; the alleged Russian atrocities in East Prussia at the same date; the alleged Turkish atrocities in Armenia; the alleged Bulgarian atrocities in Serbia in 1915; the alleged British atrocities in Ireland in 1920; the alleged Sinn Fein atrocities on the Irish Unionists, the alleged atrocities of the French and their Senegalese levies in the Rhine Valley; the alleged Greek atrocities in Asia Minor from 1919 to 1922; and finally, of course, the innumerable alleged Bolshevist atrocities from Vladivostok to Budapest.

Many will feel aggrieved to see the word 'alleged' placed before some of the items of the above recital. It is absurd, they will complain, to use the word 'alleged' with reference to the atrocities of Enver Pasha's Turks or of Lenin's or Bela Kun's Bolsheviks. Their abominable crimes are as much acknowledged facts of history as the Great Fire of London. As for such an item as the alleged British atrocities in Ireland in 1920, these were merely the productions of the skilful and unscrupulous Sinn Fein propaganda department, its calumnies being based partly on the

complaints of the Irish peasantry, all bitterly anti-British, partly on pure fabrication, and partly on those slight but regrettable lapses to which even the best disciplined troops—even British—are liable under gross provocation. A perfectly valid objection, this. The difficulty is that so many items in the very incomplete list of atrocities given above may be explained or excused on exactly the same lines. Take the alleged atrocities of the Germans in Belgium. Can a Belgian peasant when speaking of German soldiery be considered a less prejudiced witness, with less reason to exaggerate their misdoings, than an Irish peasant when describing the conduct of the 'Black-and-Tans'? Recent revelations prove that pure fabrication cannot be ruled out as an inconceivable factor in the case. Finally, those facts which it is difficult to wave aside as exaggerations or fabrications, such as the happenings at Louvain in the night of August 26, 1914, may be condoned airily as those regrettable lapses to which even the best disciplined troops—even German—are liable under gross provocation. In both these cases, therefore, there is admittedly a substratum of fact, excusable or not; in both these cases there is admittedly exaggeration, intentional and otherwise; in both cases the task of the historian is to disentangle the facts from the fictions. It is impossible for the historian to ignore these stories, since they have often had a much greater effect on the course of history than mere battles and sieges. For example, the furious burst of indignation roused by the (totally untrue) story that the blowing up of the American cruiser *Maine* in Havana harbour had been caused by a mine placed beneath the ship by the treacherous Spaniards resulted in the Spanish-American War and the annexation of Cuba and the Philippines by the United States. Or again, for the next hundred years European politics will probably be based primarily on the Treaty of Versailles, and it is utterly impossible to understand many of the provisions of this epoch-marking Treaty without understanding the mentality of its framers. The Locarno spirit has already so much effaced the Versailles spirit that it is difficult now to realise what was the mentality of the victorious Allied peoples unless one recalls those world-wide propaganda stories which in 1919 they believed implicitly. Raemaekers' once popular cartoons express, but do not caricature, what was then the general opinion of the conquerors with regard to the character of the vanquished. This opinion purported to be based, and it was certainly nourished, upon stories of atrocities.

The usual, although unavowed, method of dealing with these stories of atrocities may be termed the popular or patriotic method. The Ruritanian, for example, merely asks who is the alleged perpetrator of the atrocity. If the answer is that he is a

Ruritanian or the subject of a State allied to Ruritania, then the story must be dismissed at once with contempt. Obviously it is merely enemy propaganda. But if the answer is that he is an enemy of Ruritania, then *primâ facie* the story is true: no evidence one way or the other is considered conclusive proof thereof. If the story is utterly impossible, then perhaps it may be grudgingly admitted that it may not be quite accurate in all particulars, but that the enemy are capable of anything, and if they did not commit this particular crime, they no doubt committed another very much worse.

A much less common method of dealing with these stories of atrocities may be termed the historical method. The investigator takes each story separately, weighs the evidence for each carefully, and, subject to his own prejudices on the subject, decides whether it is based on facts or whether it is the production of someone's imagination. Each story thus stands or falls by the evidence (if any) upon which it is based Theoretically one would think that this was the ideal method.

Unfortunately the evidence for these stories is always of a hopelessly unsatisfactory character. Assume the existence of an ideal historical investigator, a person free from all bias one way or the other, and suppose him to be dealing with the alleged atrocities of the troops of Ruritania in the village of Exe. He finds the evidence consists solely of the statements of some peasants, refugees from Exe. They belong to a race which has for centuries borne the bitterest racial hatred against the Ruritanians. Also it is obviously to their advantage to exaggerate their wrongs in order to awaken sympathy and obtain charity. There is no rebutting evidence at all from the Ruritanian side—except, perhaps, just an official statement from the Ruritanian G.H.Q. denying in a sweeping and careless manner any allegations, whatsoever and wheresoever made, against the gallant Ruritanian army. Our investigator cannot probably get hold of any of the Ruritanian soldiers who were alleged to be present In any case, their denials would not be of immense value. The village is possibly situated in some distant, out-of-the-way spot, say in the Carpathians or in the Caucasus. Suppose our diligent investigator takes the trouble personally to visit the site of the alleged atrocities. Even if he finds the village in ruins, this will not settle the matter, since the Ruritanians point out that a battle went on in and around the village of Exe for weeks, and naturally the place was knocked about considerably. Or, on the other hand, if he finds the place undamaged—it may have been rebuilt since, or it may well be that the alleged murders and rapes took place without the houses of the village suffering very much.

So the result of his researches is that the investigator finds

himself with nothing to go upon except the assertions of the villagers of Exe, neither supported nor contradicted by other evidence. In these circumstances, what more can he do in each case, taken alone, than to record a verdict of not proven?

Occasionally these stories of 'atrocities' are based upon the accounts given by neutral eye-witnesses. But the trouble here is that for every unbiassed neutral eye-witness there are probably at least five neutral eye-witnesses who are either strong partisans of one side or the other, or are actually in the pay of one or other of the rival propaganda departments. Suppose that the Ruritanian troops have occupied Wye and have committed 'atrocities' such as the Italians are alleged to have committed in Tripoli in 1911, or the Germans at Louvain in 1914, or the Greeks at Smyrna in 1919, or the Japanese at Port Arthur in 1894. There happen to be five neutral eye-witnesses in Wye. A. is in the pay of the Ruritanian Government: he, of course, was amazed at the admirable discipline of the Ruritanian troops. B. is in the pay of the Wye Government: he finds words inadequate to describe the horrors which he actually saw. C. is a personal friend of the Ruritanian general: he says that wherever he was allowed to go he saw nothing wrong. D. is a merchant who has been ruined by the Ruritanian invasion: he is naturally very bitter against them and their methods. E. is the special war correspondent of a foreign stunt newspaper. He knows that his editor has not sent him to a distant country at great expense in order to describe the Ruritanian invasion as a sort of super-Sunday school treat. His editor's public wants horrors, and it is his duty to provide them. As a good business man he does not fail in his duty to his employers. F. is an eye-witness who dispassionately, plainly and without elaboration or comment, records what he actually saw. Now, with these six accounts before him, how is our investigator to find which is the true one? Truth is not always the happy mean between two rival statements, as so many seem to imagine it is. Truth is often much stranger than fiction. In fact, the truthful F. is at an actual disadvantage as compared to the professional propagandists A. and B., since if he saw a strange and unlikely occurrence he would record it, while they would only record such events as their paymasters desired and expected to hear. Consequently F.'s account may very likely contain those strange, unlikely, and bizarre events which do happen in real life, while A. and B. will produce their fictions always with a keen eye to probability.

The result is that, except where the total mass of evidence is so vast as to be overwhelming, it is impossible for an investigator, unassisted by preconceived views, to decide whether any particular collection of stories is true or not.

The only really practical, and at the same time fair, method of dealing with these stories of 'atrocities' is to treat them all together as one phenomenon. It is a phenomenon particularly characteristic of the present age. No one would contend that the modern European is more brutal than his ancestors. But what the world is now required to shudder at as an atrocity was regarded, apparently, a century or more ago, as part of the ordinary procedure of warfare. Frederick the Great's tender soul was outraged when his Austrian enemies ruthlessly destroyed Zittau in 1757 by bombarding the town with red-hot shot, and the French were duly shocked by the brutalities of the British soldiery after the storming of Badajoz in 1812; but these things at the time interested only a few people. News travelled slowly; the reading public was very small; there was no organised system of scientific propaganda. The general view at the time seems to have been that such incidents were as inevitable in warfare as homicide. This tolerant attitude still prevails in the East, where warfare is still carried on in much the same manner as in the days of Sennacherib, when the Assyrian armies were campaigning in Judea. This does not, of course, prevent the Greeks and Turks and Serbs from following the fashion and shouting 'atrocity' at every possible excuse, but they do so only because they know that Western peoples are curiously fastidious about little things, and foreign sympathy is always useful. Between themselves they regard murder, rape, and arson just as much a part of warfare as homicide.

Apparently this tolerant attitude survived in Europe as late as the Crimean War, but that has all changed now. It may confidently be asserted that no European army could at the present day undertake a campaign upon foreign soil without the Press of the world being deluged with a torrent of stories describing its misdoings. This change of attitude is a distinct phenomenon, characteristic of the present age. How can it be explained? Are these stories, apart from exaggerations and inaccuracies, mainly true? Or are they false, apart from minor incidents upon which it is sought to support them?

Let us deal with the latter suggestion first—that, in general, these stories of atrocities are lies. The argument is based on the principle that demand will create a supply. Professional soldiers can fight each other without hatred because it is their profession, just as lawyers on different sides in a lawsuit bear no ill-will on that account to each other. In the eighteenth century warfare was carried on by small armies of professional soldiers, and little hatred existed between the populations at home. But warfare at the present day is carried on by the conscripted manhood of nations. Modern armies consist principally

of conscripted civilians. Now, to the civilian, war is not an opportunity to display professional ability, but at best an unpleasant and inconvenient necessity. Civilians cannot fight well unless they fight enthusiastically, and they cannot fight enthusiastically without hatred to urge them on. It is therefore absolutely essential in modern warfare to do everything possible to kindle this hatred. War—say, for a trade route or for some oil wells—must for the civilian's benefit be transformed into a heaven-blessed crusade against an infamous foe. Often most civilians have never had the slightest personal relations with any member of the hostile nation. They must therefore be supplied officially with information setting forth the shortcomings of the enemy. And what more convenient and effective method of illustrating these shortcomings could be found than by spreading lurid anecdotes concerning the enemy's methods of warfare ? Patronised and encouraged by the State, in the emotional atmosphere of war time, these anecdotes flourish and multiply with marvellous rapidity. Once started they are soon supported by a host of circumstantial details. ' On enrichissait le récit de cette rencontre de circonstances merveilleuses, auxquelles ceux qui les imaginaient ajoutaient foi les premiers,' says Anatole France in *Thaïs*. The fact that they are so often baseless is a positive advantage. Even when well supplied with damaging facts the astute propagandist often prefers fabrications. Falsehood is often much more useful to him than truth, because it is more adaptable. A story suitable for influencing a Chinese coolie will require adaptation before it is suitable for consumption by an English country gentleman. As M. Bergeret in *L'Anneau d'Améthyste*, another of Anatole France's books, tells a friend :

> Truth stands alone, but falsehood is manifold, and so truth has numbers arrayed against her. Truth is inert, is not capable of modification, is not adapted to those machinations which would enable her to win her way into the hearts of men. Falsehood, on the other hand, possesses the most wonderful resources. She is pliant and tractable, and what is more she is natural and moral. She is natural, as being the product of the working of the senses, the source of all illusion ; she is moral because she fits in with the habits and customs of the human race . . . In short, truth has no hold on mankind, and it would be a pity if she had, for her ways are contrary to their nature, as well as to their interests.

The desire to believe these stories is at the time enormously strong. The Ruritanian feels instinctively that any nation that has the presumption to stand in the way of Ruritania's interests must have other abominable and unspeakable characteristics. In fact, hatred is produced less by stories of atrocities than stories of atrocities are produced by hatred. It was not the stories of alleged German, Austrian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Turkish atrocities which made English people during the war hate Germany, Austria,

Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. On the contrary, it was the hatred felt by English people against the inhabitants of these five countries which made them able and willing to believe these stories of their atrocities. Of course, such stories may sometimes be supported by actual facts. But this is a mere accident. They would be told and believed just as readily if there were no facts to support them. The story of the Kaiser's 'corpse factory,' for instance, would not have been more widely believed, nor, to be quite frank, would it have been more useful, if it had ever had a shred of real evidence to support it.

Now let us examine the arguments in favour of the second proposition—that, in general, all these stories, apart from exaggerations and misdescriptions, are true. Now it will not be disputed that deeds which are now considered atrocities in Western Europe are still regarded in the East as unavoidable incidents of warfare. Thus Harold Armstrong, in his admirable book *Turkey in Travail*, says, speaking of the Greek invasion of Asia Minor in 1919.

> From Smyrna the Greeks pushed out, massacring, burning, pillaging and raping as they went, in the ordinary manner of the Balkan peoples at war.

This manner was until comparatively recently the ordinary manner of all peoples at war Manners are certainly milder than they were, say, 300 years ago, but civilisation is, after all, only a veneer. We are all cavemen at bottom.[2] Occurrences which in cold blood can only be regarded as atrocities take place so naturally and easily in war. Take, for example, the average shop-assistant from his counter, say, in Bristol, or in Leipzig, or in Dijon, or in Naples. Conscript him and train him as a soldier, that is say, accustom his mind to the idea of homicide. He goes off to the war, and after a day of fierce fighting and heavy losses our late shop-assistant, now amateur warrior, finds himself in an enemy village. A shot is fired from somewhere and a comrade is killed by his side. Obviously this is some 'treacherous peasant.' He and his indignant comrades collect a number of the villagers. Someone, of course, must be punished for the 'murder.' To make sure that the 'infamous wretch' shall not escape it is necessary to shoot the lot. When so many valuable lives are being lost every moment, what does the fate of a few unfortunate peasants matter? Some women are found during the search for the assassin. Everything is disorganised: the officer in command has been killed, or is lost, or is not interested, or is busy doing something somewhere else. Our late shop-assistant reflects that it was mere chance that he was not killed to-day, and that it is quite probable he will be killed to-morrow. Time before him is short—and so. . . .

[2] As Dean Inge says, 'It is quite unnecessary to go to Australia or Central Africa to find the savage: he is our next-door neighbour.'

And the village itself—nest of vile, perfidious enemies, people who murder the wounded. Better set it alight to prevent it becoming a haunt of spies and snipers. Justice and patriotism demand it.

Stories of murder, rape, and arson are of course, like all other stories, subject to exaggeration and misdescription by the sensation-loving Press. But in the main they are generally true. Warfare is, after all, only organised homicide, and in this brutal game it is impossible for practical soldiers to keep strictly to a code which well-meaning civilians, seated in peace time in comfortable armchairs, have, with the best intentions in the world, drawn up for their guidance. Stories similar to that given above have been told concerning the soldiers of every army in the world which has been to war during the last fifty years. Taken separately, perhaps, it would be a mistake to claim much for any one of them, but the mass total of evidence is so vast as to be overwhelming. It proves conclusively that modern civilised man, even in spite of education, a blameless life and a sedentary occupation, when primitive passions are aroused and all restraint is removed, will commit deeds which place him on the level of the Turkish peasant or Arab nomad.

There is therefore much to be said for both these propositions. By judiciously blending the two the reader should arrive at a solution not far from the truth. In any case, it is only by treating the subject as a whole, and not as a string of disconnected anecdotes, that any reliable results can be expected. To treat each allegation alone on its merits, as is generally done, is unjust to the alleged delinquent. It would, for example, be grossly unfair to the Italian army to deal with those allegations made against the Italian troops after the occupation of Tripoli in October 1911 as an isolated incident without reference to the fact that exactly similar allegations have been made against every other European army which has been engaged in warfare on foreign soil during the last fifty years. All we can fairly say is either that General Caneva's soldiers behaved to the Arabs of Tripoli with the usual brutality of European troops at the beginning of the twentieth century when dealing with a hostile civilian population, or that here we have an example of the fact that at the beginning of the twentieth century it was customary for the opponents of an invading army to invent and to disseminate such stories in order to influence neutral opinion.

Upon close examination these two propositions, each set out above in exaggerated form, are not so utterly irreconcilable as they may appear to be at first sight. On the one hand we may grant that in war time there is the strongest inducement to invent stories discreditable to the morals and humanity of the enemy.

On the other hand we may admit that the standard of conduct demanded of the enemy is always grotesquely high, and numerous lapses from this exalted standard may be regarded as certain and inevitable. So far at least we are on sure ground. Combining these two statements, we may say, with confidence, that where primitive passions are aroused primitive offences are bound to occur, and in the ancient game of war it is impossible to limit the rival teams, consisting of millions of men drawn from all classes and types, to simple organised homicide in accordance with largely artificial rules. Possibly, therefore, a surprisingly large proportion of the simple, spontaneous atrocities alleged to have been committed in most parts of the world during the last fifty years are true. They are simply lapses from an exalted and hitherto unrealised standard of conduct back to the standards of the Thirty Years' War. On the other hand, remembering the enormous benefits obtained by slandering the enemy and the pitch of perfection to which the disciples of Titus Oates have recently brought their art, we are justified in regarding with keen suspicion all allegations of deliberate, organised and complicated atrocities, against whomsoever they may be made. We may, for example, quite readily believe that certain brutal members of the Ruritanian army were not above indulging in a little arson when they had the chance. We ought, however, to demand the strongest evidence before we believe that the Ruritanian Government had a large quantity of fire-causing machines specially designed, manufactured, and supplied to all the troops with special instructions how to use them to burn enemy property.[3] The before-referred-to myth of the blowing up of the *Maine* by the Spaniards may be cited as an example of the official, organised and complicated atrocity. The now discredited 'corpse factory' myth is the most extreme example of this type of story. We may dismiss all these as obvious fabrications designed to influence public opinion.

To conclude, we may say that whether one considers these stories as in the main true or in the main false, or whether one accepts the solution suggested above, it is essential that they should be dealt with all together as one subject. Treated as isolated, disconnected events, particular incidents of a particular war, they must either be accepted or rejected, invariably on totally insufficient evidence, in accordance with the personal prejudices of the writer. Together they form one phenomenon, and they should be dealt with as such.

[3] See the leading article of *The Times* of October 1st, 1914, where it is stated with perfect seriousness, 'Every German regiment in Belgium seems to possess a special machine for squirting petrol into buildings and to include a squad of methodical incendiaries trained in the specific arts of the higher civilisation, as taught in the University of Berlin.'

F. J. P. VEALE.

THE 'DON PACIFICO' INCIDENT

History is no respecter of persons. In a curious whimsical fashion it has occasionally given prominence to an obscurity, while denying fame to one worthier of a more generous fate. Captain Jenkins, Dr. Jameson, and Don Pacifico are three noteworthy examples of otherwise obscure men acquiring 'text-book' notoriety by involving their country in a crisis of international importance It is with the last of these three that it is proposed here to deal.

The year 1850 was, to students of European politics, pregnant with doubts, problems, and uncertainties. Austria was laboriously setting her loosely-built Empire in order—would she succeed? Russia was secretly preparing her prescription for Europe's 'Sick Man'—what was it? In France the Prince-President was poring over his uncle's '*Idées napoléoniennes*'—why? Yet by a monstrous distortion of values the attention of all Europe became riveted upon the affairs of one 'poor Israelite' in the city of Athens.

Three years previously, in 1847, owing to the presence in the Greek capital of a member of the Rothschild family, the usual Eastertide procession which concluded with the burning of Judas Iscariot in effigy had been forbidden. Baulked of their annual *auto-da-fé*, the mob had no difficulty in finding a scapegoat. The lot fell upon a certain Portuguese Jew, by name Pacifico. The report was confidently spread that *his* was the really sinister figure behind this untoward prohibition. Incited, it is said, by two sons of the Minister of War, 'a crowd of people,' so Pacifico complained, 'amongst whom were some soldiers and gendarmes just come out of church, presented themselves at the door of my house, which they very soon battered down with large pieces of stone. These brigands, in number about 300 or 400, entered my house and, swearing dreadfully, began to beat my wife, my innocent children, and my son-in-law. . . . Having broken the windows, doors, tables, chairs, and every other article of furniture, they robbed me of my jewels, forcing open the closets in which were vases, candlesticks, gold and silver ornaments, diamonds, and lastly a box containing money. . . .' In addition he claimed that important Portuguese archives and evidences of debts incurred

on behalf of the Portuguese Government in his one-time capacity of consul-general had been 'torn to pieces.' The total damage he assessed at 31,534*l.*, of which 2181*l.* was for furniture and personal belongings.

Shrewdness was not the least of Don Pacifico's gifts. Understanding pretty clearly that the chaotic Government at Athens, even if it acknowledged the justice of his claims, would postpone the settling of them till the Greek Kalends, he wrote to Sir E. Lyons, the British Minister, dolefully stating his case and humbly begging for redress. If it be asked by what right did a Portuguese Jew of most questionable reputation seek to involve Lyons in his disputes, the answer is that by an accident of birth (in Gibraltar) he was in point of fact a British subject. Lyons realised that, without doubt, he had suffered a grave injury—whether that injury was less than or as much as Don Pacifico chose to make out was at the moment beside the point. Accordingly he wrote to Coletti, the Minister of the Interior, in no gentle terms demanding instant compensation for 'one of the most barbarous outrages ever committed in modern times at the seat of a Government.'

He might as well have applied to a windmill. There was at this moment no real Government in Greece, no one really responsible—no one, that is, save the opinionated and Teutonic Otto, the King, and the '*enfant gâté de l'absolutisme.*' From such it was idle to expect satisfaction. No country in Europe, it has been said, ever had such bandits for Ministers as Greece; and Coletti was the craftiest of them all. It was mere guile on his part, and ignorance on the part of others at home, to argue that Pacifico should properly have stated his case, not before the Minister of a foreign Power, but before the recognised body for dealing with such matters, namely, the courts of law. It was simple enough within the precincts of St. Stephen's or under the shadow of Temple Bar to make such animadversions; but justice, as we know it, was not in Greece. That would be too much to expect where the judges were at the mercy of the Executive. They neither would have, nor could have, given judgment against the Crown.

There was, however, in Europe one man who thought otherwise—one man who feared the anger of a Greek monarch as little as he had minded the bombast of a citizen king or the injured pride of a Russian czar. 'Il faut une main vigoureuse, une volonté ferme pour forcer le ministère grecque d'accomplir une devoir d'equité, de justice . . . cette main puissante ne peut être que la vôtre, milord.' The Don could not have applied to a better man.

One of the secrets of Lord Palmerston's strength lay in his knowledge of his popularity with the mass of his fellow-country-

the contention that England was bound to consult the other co-guarantors before acting was nonsense. Even Lord Clarendon, who was no admirer of the Palmerstonian style of diplomacy, could not admit 'that because the independence of Greece has been guaranteed by three Powers, either of these three is bound to obtain the permission of the other two before demanding reparation for injury: for this would imply the right of the other two to withhold it, and the third must either quarrel with them or consent to go without redress. . . .' The real reason for Russia's pique was, in Palmerston's opinion, the fact that England had at last turned upon the puppet whom the Absolutists had long been encouraging, for their own purposes, to insult and defy her.

The anger of the French was more restrained and more polite: nevertheless, they were painfully surprised and more than shocked; but, seeing that Palmerston was in earnest, they began to play a double game. While outwardly they came forward and, through their ambassador, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, proffered their good offices, secretly 'they were doing all they could to encourage the opinionated Greek Government to refuse our demands, faithful to the course which French diplomacy has for years past pursued in Greece. . . .' Notwithstanding their palpable duplicity, the good offices of the French were accepted, and a French envoy, Baron Gros, was sent off to Athens. But, as Lord Palmerston's critics failed to note, the services of France were accepted only to help us to obtain just satisfaction, and not for the purposes of discussing the principles of our demands, or, again, of sitting in arbitration upon them. There was only one way in which they were to be settled—by cash, '*toccante sonante* . . . for the word of the Greek Government is as good as its bond,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'and the bondholders can tell us what that is worth.'

No sooner had Baron Gros reached Athens than he ceased to be a mediator and became an avowed advocate of Greece, determined on beating down the British demands to a vanishing point. Yet even Baron Gros was unable to work the Hellenic oracle; and after several weeks of haggling he threw up his mission in disgust, whereupon Admiral Parker renewed coercive measures. Then quite suddenly the Greek opposition crumpled up; within a week they had agreed to all the British terms, and indemnified in full Mr. Finlay for his garden and Don Pacifico for his goods and chattels.

But neither Palmerston nor Pacifico was as yet out of the wood. In the first place, there was a now doubly-enraged France. Not only had her good offices been of no avail, but the whole dispute had been settled without her having gained a scintilla of

credit. She at once recalled her ambassador, and an international crisis of the first magnitude seemed imminent: but no one knew his France better than Palmerston. He realised well enough that its people 'did not care a straw about the matter,' and, that being the case, he had only to deal with the injured *amour-propre* of a French Cabinet, which would never dare to go beyond words. He was right. For a time they blustered; then their attentions were elsewhere directed, and, like Russia, they were compelled, with ill-grace, to bow to a *fait accompli*.

The next problem was the amount of the Don's claim against the Portuguese Government. The papers relating to these claims had all very conveniently been destroyed in the general sack of his house, so that, pleaded Don Pacifico, 'nothing remains which can enable me to recollect or state their precise contents'—nothing, that is, save his memory, which was probably as trustworthy as Palmerston's 'Greek bond.' It all read very suspiciously. A man who by general report had always lived in very modest circumstances, whose wife and family had been most plainly dressed and even more plainly adorned, lounged, if his first claims were true, upon rich brocaded sofas and chairs, surrounded himself with rare curios, slept in a handsome bedstead between sheets of the finest linen, and covered his wife with a profusion of jewellery.

Such had been his claims against the Greek Government; but the international commission which met at Lisbon to settle his case against Portugal was more cautious in its proceedings. The members took the Don's mnemonic capacity not at his but at their own valuation. After a short sitting they issued their award. Pacifico had claimed 27,000*l.*; he was granted 150*l.*, but he gave his name to history.

In the meantime the reverberations of the Don's case had passed from Athens to London, where in Parliament Lord Palmerston turned to confront an angry clamour which had been skilfully worked up by the Opposition, *The Times*, and the 'anti-Pams' of his own party. However much many of this Conservative Opposition might in their heart of hearts have agreed, in this affair at least, with Palmerston's policy, they can hardly be blamed for the attack they now launched upon him. It was all in the game of party politics, and they felt that the Don had delivered his lordship into their hands. But there were a number—and these to a large extent among the Liberals themselves—who joined the attack upon their Minister from more metaphysical and less material considerations. These were a type of Englishmen who, in an international quarrel, unfailingly assume that their own country is in the wrong. To them she is in the position of a prisoner held guilty until proved innocent.

Primâ facie the arguments of these gentlemen were excellent.

Here it seemed that a mighty and powerful nation was browbeating a poor defenceless State. What need had they of further evidence? But, it may be asked, what has physical strength to do with justice? If Right is *not* to be dependent upon Might, it matters not in a dispute what is the physical ratio of one party to another. The weaker brother is just as likely to be in the wrong as the stronger. Is, then, justice to be denied to the latter merely because he is more muscular? If the case of the plaintiff is a sound one, it matters not what is the size of the defendant—and Palmerston was convinced ours was sound.

'Our case is good,' he wrote, 'our right indisputable; Greece is an independent State and responsible for the acts and misdeeds of her Government. . . . Justice to our own subjects is a paramount consideration. . . .' The dubiousness of Pacifico's character had nothing to do with the question of right and wrong.

For nearly twenty years Palmerston had been irritating the consciences of these gentlemen. Now the day of reckoning was at last arrived: the Pacifico incident was to be the occasion of a massed attack upon the Minister. Every morning *The Times* thundered away from Printing House Square—every morning Palmerston flung it into the fire; while for the others he was preparing a fate less drastic but equally destructive. The Pacifico incident was to be the occasion of the finest speech in Palmerston's career—of the greatest triumph of his life.

His enemies had attacked his diplomacy *in toto*: well, *in toto* would he defend it. For nearly five hours he held the House of Commons spell-bound. Speaking without a pause, without turning a hair, without referring to a single note, he reviewed and justified his whole policy ever since he had been Foreign Minister.

> I therefore fearlessly challenge [ran his remarkable peroration] the verdict which this House . . . is to give on the question now brought before it—whether the principles on which the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government has been conducted, and the sense of duty which has led us to think ourselves bound to afford protection to our fellow-subjects abroad, are proper and fitting guides for those who are charged with the government of England; and whether, as the Roman in days of old held himself free from indignity when he could say '*Civis Romanus sum*,' so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong.

He resumed his seat amidst a storm of prolonged and intense cheering, and cleared himself by a majority of forty-six. It was one of the most melodramatic victories ever won in the House of Commons. 'We are all proud of him,' said his opponent Sir Robert Peel. 'He has triumphed,' notes Lady Clarendon, 'over a mass of educated public opinion, over that mighty potentate *The Times*, over two branches of the Legislature, over the Queen

and the Prince and most of the Cabinet he sits in, besides all foreign nations.'

Thus from the misfortunes of a 'poor Israelite' was Palmerston given the opportunity of routing his enemies and of gaining the most signal success of his life.

Yet, by itself, the Pacifico affair does seem trivial and unworthy of the intervention of the British Lion; but looked at from another angle it becomes a sort of test case. If we were to take such an act in silence, just at what point would we begin to raise our voice in protest? Immunity in this case would only have emboldened those who delighted in the sport of 'twisting the Lion's tail,' and, snowball-like, each subsequent insult would have become more violent than the last, till at length the very security of the Empire might well have been threatened. 'No great nation,' once said the Duke of Wellington, 'can have such a thing as a little war.' For the self-same reason no great nation can allow herself to be insulted with impunity. She has too much at stake.

When Don Pacifico cashed his draft for 150*l.*, if he had a sense of humour, he must have chuckled to himself. It is to be hoped that he had: it might have helped to compensate him for the smallness of the cheque.

W. Baring Pemberton.

A CUMBERLAND CENTENARY

You see yon precipice ; it wears the shape
Of a vast building made of many crags ,
And in the midst is one particular rock
That rises like a column from the vale,
Whence by our shepherds it is called the PILLAR.

THUS Wordsworth, in days when rock-climbing was yet unknown, described the cynosure of English cragsmen—that great rock 500 feet high which springs from the southern slopes of Ennerdale and was scaled for the first time exactly 100 years ago.

The climbing of crags and mountains is a true, although a late, manifestation of the universal effort of mankind to gain the mastery over Nature. In any big climb the 'human interest,' as publishers' advertisements call it, is predominant. It is a tale of difficulties ingeniously and courageously surmounted, of the passage through danger. Narratives such as Whymper's recital of his assaults on the Matterhorn read like an epic. The conquest of the Pillar is of course a humbler affair. And yet it has an historic importance, for it marks the birth of the great sport of rock-climbing in England. The centenary will be fitly commemorated by a company of cragsmen who propose to climb the rock on Easter Day by the route discovered by the first pioneer. For the sake of its 'human interest,' if for no other reason, there must be many friends of the Lake District who will care to hear the early story of the crag.

From Moses Trod—the old smugglers' track which girdles Great Gable and curves round the head of Ennerdale—you may look down the valley on a summer evening and see the Pillar, true to its name, jutting up from the steep hillside, a deep purple-brown silhouette against the sunset sky beyond. Closer at hand you discover that it is not one huge blunted cone, but two—somewhat as when the index and the middle finger are elevated together. And you find that it is separated from the main mass of Pillar Mountain by a deep cleft. Climbers have christened this cleft the Jordan Gap, and the buttress beyond it Pisgah. Perched aloft on some momentary stance on the Ennerdale face, while you wait perhaps for the leader to finish the next pitch, you can catch unforgettable lightning visions of the cloud shadows racing across

the fells on the further side of the valley; of the yellow valley bed with its eager stream; of the smooth and pale surface of the lake. And on New Year's Day you may hear the bay of a fox-hound finding scent in the dale, a sound infinitely strange heard from your crow's-nest position, as if it belonged to another world. You may see the pack tearing past far below, small as autumn leaves swept onwards by the wind.

In the second edition of Otley's *Guide to the English Lake District*, published in 1825, the rock is spoken of as unclimbable. Two years later Otley had changed his tune. In the 1827 edition, describing the Pillar Mountain, he says:

> It presents towards Ennerdale one of the grandest rocky fronts anywhere to be met with; and has derived its name from a projecting rock on this side, which was originally called the Pillar Stone, and had been considered as inaccessible till an adventurous shepherd reached its summit in 1826.

The adventurer was named Atkinson, but Otley was wrong in supposing him to be a shepherd. He was a native of the dales, but his occupation cannot have taken him much among the mountains. He plied the prosaic trade of a cooper at Croftfoot, in Ennerdale. What sudden urge of high endeavour broke upon his cooper's soul and drove him to the Pillar we shall never know. Had he been a shepherd, his feat might perhaps seem less remarkable; for the Cumberland shepherds were tough and plucky, and do not seem to have shared the utter terror of rocks and precipices indulged in by the old writers on Lakeland scenery. Years before they had found the quick way up Scafell from Mickledore by the Broad Stand, a scramble which involves one really exposed step—out on to the cliff. Indeed, there was a story told in the dales long before Atkinson's time that a shepherd had climbed to the top of Pillar Rock and there fallen asleep and somehow slipped over the edge. Wordsworth mentions this tale in a note at the head of his poem *The Brothers*.

> The poem [he says] arose out of the fact mentioned to me that a shepherd had fallen asleep on the top of the rock called the Pillar and perished as here described, his staff being left midway on the rock.

It will be remembered that Wordsworth makes the shepherd a sleep-walker—a truly prophetic inspiration on his part, for, had he actually had knowledge of the summit, he must have been aware that it would be well-nigh impossible for any but a sleep-walker to fall off the top having once safely arrived there! The poem was written and published in 1800, and if any corroboration of Wordsworth's fact could be found, this earlier adventurer who lost his life so strangely in the hour of victory would deserve Atkinson's fame. A contemporary account of Atkinson's exploit

was published in a local newspaper, and the writer avers that, 'Though the undertaking has been attempted by thousands, it was always relinquished as hopeless.' We can safely discount the 'thousands,' but the enthusiastic exaggeration shows that already an interest was being taken in the rock, and makes it very unlikely that a previous ascent should have escaped being chronicled. The tradition would seem to be finally disposed of by the Rev. James Jackson, that eccentric and lovable cleric who styled himself 'Patriarch of the Pillarites.' Of Mr. Jackson's exploits and personality some slight account must be given later on, for no story of the Pillar could be complete without its 'Patriarch.' So late as 1876 he heard the tale that a young Bowman of Mireside, in Ennerdale, had been found dead at the foot of the Pillar Rock 100 years before. Writing to Mr. George Seatree in a letter which I have been kindly permitted to use, he says:

> Now, as Patriarch of the Pillarites, I was jealous of the reputation of the Rock and was unwilling that it should be burdened with a catastrophe of which it might be guiltless. I therefore wrote to Mr. John Bowman of Mireside to inquire if there was any tradition in his family of such a fatality having happened to some juvenile branch a hundred years ago. This is his answer: 'Rev. Sir,—The name of the man who lost his life upon the mountains of Ennerdale was John Bowman. But it was not the Pillar Rock from which he fell, but from a rock about one mile higher up the dale.' The fact [concludes Mr. Jackson with a pleasant sarcasm at Wordsworth] appears to be this: the poet had heard that there had been a fatal fall from a rock in the Ennerdale mountains, but all the rest is 'airy nothing' to which the poet's pen had given 'a local habitation and a name.

Atkinson emerges with his claim well established. He climbed alone, and the route he took was on the western side of the crag, and is now called the 'Old West Climb.' For modern cragsmen it is a course of no intrinsic difficulty, and fully to appreciate Atkinson's intrepid spirit we must obliterate modern standards from our minds and invoke the awe with which the crags were invested 100 years ago. Eager huntsmen for the picturesque were in full cry over the Lake District. It was the heyday of the romantics and the rhapsodists who swept away in soulful contempt the orderly and practical scenic preferences of the eighteenth century. You have the controversy crystallised in a conversation in *Sense and Sensibility* between Marianne Dashwood and Edward Ferrers, in which Miss Austen peppers both parties impartially with her inimitable darts. It is too long to quote in full, and it would be vandalism to prune it, so I refer the reader to the eighteenth chapter of that glorious book.

A Scottish gentleman once asked Dr Johnson how he liked the Highlands. Said Dr. Johnson, representative of the eighteenth century: 'How, sir, can you ask me what obliges me to

speak unfavourably of a country where I have been hospitably entertained? Who *can* like the Highlands? . . . I like the inhabitants very well.' The damning distinction implied leaves no doubt as to what Dr. Johnson thought of the 'Bens.' It is perhaps hardly fair to the eighteenth century unreservedly to epitomise it in Dr. Johnson. So long as you did not ask it to climb any mountain steeper than Skiddaw, it was sometimes ready to appreciate a mountain view. About the same time that Johnson took his Scottish tour Thomas Gray explored part of the Lake District. He, too, made a Journal of his expedition, and he seems to have had a far more sensitive eye for scenery than the learned doctor. No writer has penned more charming descriptions of Lakeland scenes, always provided he was allowed to observe the mountains from a distance. Ullswater, Grasmere, and Derwentwater gave him exquisite enjoyment. Everyone who has come from Grasmere to Derwentwater by Dunmail Raise will remember the beautiful prospect suddenly revealed when the road drops over Castlerigg. Gray was taking the pass in the other direction, and from Castlerigg he looked back, and was fain to return to Keswick, for the sun breaking out discovered the most enchanting view he had yet seen of the whole valley—the two lakes, the river, the mountains in all their glory. He was fortunate. 'The sun breaking out' explains his particular delight. For there is no view in the District which gains more from the glowing indigo and enamel-like green which flood hills and dales when the sun has but half dispersed the rainclouds. White clouds and bitter grey; lakes of crystalline sky; royal blue and violet shadows on the shapely curves of Catbells; paler violet filming Causey Pike, which rises so gracefully yet deceptively tall; in the distance the Buttermere Mountains; nearer at hand the silver water and the swampy meadows between Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite, green like the plumage of a parrakeet—these make a colour harmony as rich as the interwoven chords and melodies of some great orchestral piece. Such a view, which he might command from the secure vantage of a civilised road, Gray could enjoy to the full. But let him make excursion to Borrowdale and his pleasure vanishes. At that time, apparently, the dale was penetrated only by a vile cart-track, which must have been as often as not under flood-water. And the Borrowdale streams are incomparable at their job of flooding out the road. I was once driving a car on a pitch-dark summer night in pouring rain up the dale. Suddenly we dashed into water where the dale narrows at the celebrated 'jaws.' We proceeded very gingerly, immersed just to the axles. Then the engine stopped. The rapidly rising water had entered the carburettor. In the space of little more than an hour, having made various abortive efforts

to extricate the car, we were wading waist-deep to salvage our suit-cases and rucksacks, which were awash on the back seat. At Rosthwaite they told us that three hours earlier there had not been a puddle on the road, and next morning the car was found high and dry and cleaner than it had been for many a week!

Gray admits that when he visited Borrowdale he got no further than Grange. The sight of 'Gowdar Crag' appears to have been too much for the eighteenth century.

> The rocks at top deep-cloven perpendicularly by the rains, hanging loose and nodding forwards, seem just starting from their base in shivers. The whole way down, and the road on both sides, is strewed with piles of fragments strangely thrown across each other, and of a dreadful bulk, the place reminds me of those passes in the Alps, where the guides tell you to move on with speed and say nothing lest the agitation of the air should loosen the snows above, and bring down a mass that would overwhelm a caravan. I took their counsel here and hastened on in silence.

It is interesting to note the difference in the attitude of the dale farmer and the occasional visitor. Gray himself relates how the farmer at Grange had been let down over a cliff on a rope in order to take an eagle's eyrie, a proceeding that must have required considerable bravery. Every hamlet rose in arms to fight the eagles, whose depredations among the lambs, not to mention hares, partridges and other game, were very serious.

A generation or two later the peaceful penetration of the District by romantically-minded excursionists was in full swing. Tourists had begun to find a 'fascination frantic' in the rugged and perpendicular flanks of a mountain, in the Stygian gloom of a gorge, in the dragon teeth of a serrated ridge—still always provided that they did not push their acquaintance too intimately. Already, in 1818, Thomas Love Peacock has a dig, in *Melincourt*, at

> the more profane hand of the picturesque tourist who contrives by the magic of his pencil to transport romantic terrors from the depths of mountain solitude to the gay and crowded, though not very wholesome atmosphere of a metropolitan exhibition.

Peacock himself was too good an artist as well as too keen a humorist to lose his head and his sense of proportion in describing a rugged prospect. He has woven some delightful vignettes of mountain scenery into *Melincourt*, and he actually allows his heroine to take quite a stiff walk unaccompanied. But the old guide-book writers who ministered to the voracious romantic appetite of the tourist practised for the most part no such restraint. An edition of Housman's *Guide to the Lake District* published the year before Waterloo is a model of tourist catering. Housman wished to be thought a plain man. 'Unexaggerated descriptions, in plain and simple language, are here principally aimed at,' says he in his preface. Having thus produced an impression of

moderation and trustworthiness, he proceeds to borrow from the most sensational descriptions that he can find. How must his readers' emotions have been strung up on setting out for Buttermere when they had read as follows of the innocuous and pleasant pass of Whinlatter, between Keswick and Lorton:

> The steeps and Alpine passes of Whinlatter [he is quoting from Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*] form an ascent of five miles up stupendous heights by a winding path . . . You look down from such tremendous precipices on whose brink you are travelling that from the windows of a carriage the aspect and situation are alarming.

A passage such as the preceding conveys an idea of how the fells were regarded by visitors just over a century ago. We shall get a more accurate measure of the attitude of the natives from the *Tourist's New Guide* published by Green in 1819. Green was a county surveyor, and during his survey of North Lancashire had occasion for many expeditions among the fells. Like the dalesmen, work took him into the heart of the mountains, and not merely along the tourist-beaten tracks. He is bracing:

> The mountains . . . are daily traversed by shepherds, and could the luxurious citizen submit to training, he might ascend their most aspiring heights as easily as he now ascends from 'Change to Islington.'

He was not easily rattled, but Sharp Edge, on Saddleback, tried his nerves. He went there with Otley, a Keswick man and well acquainted with the hills, and he says that 'it has less of safety to recommend it than singularity.'

> We had not gone far before we were aware that our journey would be attended by perils, the passage gradually grew narrower, and the declivity on each hand awfully precipitous. From walking erect we were reduced to the necesssity either of bestriding the ridge or of moving on one of its sides with our hands lying over the top, as a security against tumbling into the tarn on the left, or into a frightful gulley on the right, both of immense depth. Sometimes we thought it prudent to return, but that seemed unmanly, and we proceeded, thinking with Shakspear that dangers retreat when boldly they are confronted.

These two showed the true cragsman's spirit; and it is curious to reflect on the harmlessness of the place that called for such courage. As a scramble, Sharp Edge comes somewhere between the better known Striding Edge on Helvellyn and Crib Goch on Snowdon. It is a little narrower and more vertiginous than Striding Edge, and much shorter than Crib Goch. It is not even mentioned in Abraham's *British Mountain Climbs*. Compared with Atkinson's route up the Pillar Rock it is negligible.

Yet Green and Otley were among the more adventurous spirits of the time. We can see Cooper Atkinson in the brave light which he deserves if we set his exploit against a background of this adventure on Sharp Edge. The lonely daring of Atkinson's

project and the cool-headed pluck which he brought to its ex tion rank him for ever among the pioneers of the human race. could be no spectacular performance, like that, for instance Jacques Balmat, conqueror of Mont Blanc, yet he was equ the inaugurator of an era and the consequences of his vic equally important and far-reaching. Without a Jacques Bal in the background the great snow peaks of the Alps m never have been scaled, but without a Cooper Atkinson English climbers would never have made the sole guideless as of the Grépon from the Mer de Glace. To-day scores of mo taineers ascend the snow peaks every season, but twice since the first ascent have a party of climbers successf tackled the great cliffs of the Grépon.

The modern easy route up the Pillar Rock, known as ' Slab and Notch,' proceeds up the eastern face of the High M It was apparently first discovered in 1863 by a Cambridge pa led by Mr. Conybeare and Mr. A. J Butler. Times were chang A year or two later Prior's *Guide to the Lakes* was reviewed in Alpine Club *Journal,* and the reviewer is positively amused Prior's wholesome awe of a precipice.

> He speaks of the Pillar Rock, a fair bit of rockwork, with ama respect, and says of Mickledore, the gap between Scawfell and Sca Pike, that ' even the Alpine Club would decline to attack it without ro [Here the scorn of the reviewer is withering] Ropes would be an absur [says he]. The passage is found to be one . . . up which, to say not of members of the Alpine Club, most tolerably active ladies could cl with a little assistance.

Both Prior and the reviewer are apparently referring to Br Stand rather than to the actual col of Mickledore. Even fashioned Prior could hardly suggest that a man would nee rope on the col.

Ladies who could adventure with a little assistance on Mic dore were shortly to make their *début* on the Pillar. On Jul 1870, Miss A. Barker, of Bolton Hall, Ronald Parker, of P Nook, and C. A. Barker, 89th Regiment, ascended the rock. is an interesting coincidence that the first woman to climb Central Buttress on Scafell, the most difficult course in the wh District, should be a namesake of the woman pioneer of the Pil More than fifty years separates these ladies' exploits. ' Slab and Notch ' is a very simple rock climb. The Cen Buttress requires faultless nerves and skill of the highest order. comparison of the relative intrinsic merits of these two perfo ances makes a most striking measure of the advance in ro craft during the last two generations, and, incidentally, of advance in feminine accomplishment at what used to be called ' manly sports.' Yet honour where honour is due. M

Mabel Barker would be the first to admit that equal courage an perhaps superior initiative were required by her predecessor o that humble climb half a century ago.

Miss A. Barker was followed in 1874 by Miss May Westmo land, whose ascent, celebrated in verse in the *Whitehaven New* gave rise to an amusing correspondence, in the course of whic we are introduced to the Rev. James Jackson, then onl Patriarch designate of the Pillar. This grand old man of th mountains deserves an essay to himself. As a young fello he fought the French 'for King George upon his throne' i a blue coat and gold epaulettes. But he soon exchanged hi blue coat for a black one and the sea for a Lancashire parish He must have been something of an enigma to his parishioner On one occasion he was observed performing airy feats o his church steeple in order to secure a faulty weathercock 'under circumstances of danger,' as he himself remarked, 'fror which the workman recoiled—the squire's man sickened at th sight.' His character had that mixture of modesty and naïv boastfulness that we sometimes find in children. He gave up hi parish in 1856 and came to live in the Lake District, and whe we meet him in connexion with the Pillar he is an old man. H called himself *senex juvenilis*, and was never tired of recountin the mighty walks he had made in his ripe old age. In the space o a week during his sixty-ninth year he walked forty-six miles i fourteen and a half hours on one day, fifty-six miles in eightee hours on the third day following, and sixty miles in under twent hours after another three days' interval. There are not man modern fell-walkers who could beat such a record even at thei physical zenith; and Parson Jackson was by no means insensibl to his own prowess. But when he heard that a lady had ascende Mont Blanc in January of the year in which, at the age of seventy nine, he conquered the Pillar, he gallantly and unreservedly gav up to her his laurels, calling his own performance a very tam affair compared with hers. Miss Westmorland, however, stun his pride. He had not then succeeded in climbing the rock, an he wrote to the paper in 'incredulous amazement' at her 'alleged feat, backed by the opinion of 'Auld Will' Ritson, the famou landlord of Wasdale Head, that no woman could do it, and tha Pillar Fell had been mistaken for the Rock. Evidently neithe Ritson nor Parson Jackson had heard of Miss Barker's ascent a that time. Ritson's opinion of climbing exploits was apt to b sceptical. Mr. George Seatree relates how he once asked 'Aul Will' if he knew of a course which he and a friend had done o Scafell—now called the Penrith climb. 'No,' was the reply 'an' if it's t' seeam pleeace as aa mean aa doan't think ye've bee up. Nowt but a fleein' thing cud git up theer.'

Miss Westmorland's evidence was so conclusive that doubting old clergyman had to admit it. He apologised hu ously and handsomely, and, nothing daunted, announced tha was then in his seventy-ninth year, and had not yet aband hope that he might drop his visiting-card into the bottle at top of the rock which some ingenious climber had placed t to hold the roll of ascents. His hope was fulfilled on May 1875. He was a great versifier and celebrated his ascent:

> The Pillar smiled—a sober smile,
> When on his dizzy height
> Last day of May there proudly stood
> An aged errant knight.
>
> When man, he wrote in small P.P.,
> Expressive of his charge,
> But now he writes in age P.P.,
> But they're in letters large.

Proudly he exchanged his parish priesthood for the more glor title of 'Patriarch of the Pillar'!

Three years later, at the age of eighty-two, the mount claimed him. He fell by the hand he had been so anxiou exonerate from dealing death. Is it over-fanciful to think the great rock regarded it as a kind of ὕβρις that this 'ver old gentleman' (the phrase is his own) should scale its buttre unscathed? What happened exactly cannot be known, fo was solitary. The search party found his body in the G Doup, a deep mountain cove just to the east of the c Apparently he had not been on the Rock, but had slipped f the craggy fell. In those days the high level path from Was Head had not yet been beaten by the feet of countless clim to a track, and you approached the Rock over the fell. The had been thick with mist. There is something noble and sa factory in the lonely end of the old mountaineer:

> And had he not high honour,
> The hillside for a pall?

To die alone on the fells full of years, and with mental and bo vigour unsapped, is a consummation of life that most crags must hope for in vain.

With Parson Jackson holding the stage we may ring down curtain. He closes the first, and perhaps most fascinating, in the drama of the Pillar. It was for the generation which growing up when he died to make and enjoy the golden ag cragsmanship. For in every craft the initiators have, as a the least opportunity for positive achievement. The deeds of men of the 'eighties and 'nineties are sufficiently recorde climbing literature, and make brilliant reading, but they be

to a more technical and specialised set of interests. Climbers like J. W. Robinson, Owen Glynne Jones, Charles Hopkinson, Mr. Haskett Smith, and Mr. Cecil Slingsby blazed a trail up every crag in Cumberland.

Said caustic Will Ritson, looking on: 'What's makkin' ye fellas fash yer'sels seea mich aboot climmin' t' crags? Isn't t' fells big eneugh for ye?'

K. C. CHORLEY.

CEOL MOR

The world may come to an end,
But love and music can never die.
Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh
[MARY MACLEOD, the celebrated Skye poetess]

THE Highland bagpipe, or *piob mhor* (great pipe), has been the national instrument of Scotland for over 200 years.

About the year 1700 the harp was actually superseded by the pipes; for several generations previous to that time the harp, or *clarsach*, and the bagpipe were played, figuratively speaking, side by side in the castles of the great Highland chiefs.

The harp was the instrument of peace; the pipe was a more robust instrument, and could be played in peace and in war. The playing of the harp declined sadly; it is now rarely indeed heard in the Highlands, but efforts are being made to revive the old music. It is possible that the harp's decline was due to the decay of the art of the bard who sang his verse. The Highland chiefs at that time (that is, between 1650 and 1750) were becoming absentees from the Highlands, for they were spending much time in London or abroad, and thus social changes militated against the professional bard who used the harp as an accompaniment to his recitative. The two arts of harpist and rhapsodist decayed together, and from the same cause.

Ceol Mor (in English, 'the big music') is the classical music of the Highland pipe, as opposed to *Ceol Beag* ('the little music'), which comprises marches, strathspeys, and reels. Each composition of Ceol Mor is nowadays known as a *Piobaireachd* (Anglicè, *Pibroch*). It is surprising how few, even among Scotsmen, know the meaning of the word 'piobaireachd.' Even in the Highlands there is an impression that a piobaireachd must be a lament But this belief is erroneous, for a piobaireachd may be a battle-piece, a salute (such as the salute composed at the birth of Ruaraidh Mor MacLeod), a 'gathering' tune (such as *Tulloch Ard*), or a lament. The idea that a piobaireachd must necessarily be a lament originated in the haunting sadness of almost all old-world Celtic music. Each piobaireachd is built upon a theme, or *urlar*, one variation following another and the tune ending

with the intricate crowning movements, the *crun-luadh* and (sometimes) the *crunluadh-amach*.

In the old days there was no 'staff' notation. All compositions of Ceol Mor were handed down from one generation of pipers to another by Canntaireachd. Canntaireachd, which is really a 'word' notation, was sung by the old masters of the pipes when they taught their pupils, and in this notation groups of syllables stood for groups of notes.

The chiefs of all the great Highland clans had their hereditary office-bearers, doctors, armourers, purse-bearers, archers, bards, harpers, and pipers. Of pipers the most celebrated line was the MacCrimmons. They owe their pre-eminence to the great beauty of their compositions and their skill in teaching. Various traditions are handed down concerning the origin of this famous musical family. One tradition has it that the first of the MacCrimmons was brought back from Italy by the MacLeod of the day on his return from a crusade in the reign of King Alexander of Scotland. Some authorities believe that the MacCrimmons are descended from a royal Irish race. In the Bannatyne manuscripts it is stated that 'in the thirteenth century the south of Harris and the small isles were possessed by the MacCrimmons, afterwards the hereditary pipers of MacLeod.'

In the days when the MacCrimmon music was at the summit of its excellence Ceol Mor alone was played by the great pipers. The rapidly-executed march, strathspey, and reel of modern times found little favour with the old pipers or their chiefs, and there is a tradition that the Laird of Coll, returning unexpectedly to his castle and hearing his piper secretly practising a march, there and then dismissed him from his service.

But in those days Ceol Mor was reverenced and understood more than at the present day. At the MacCrimmon college at Boreraig each piper had to commit to memory 195 testing compositions of Ceol Mor and be a master of theory and composition before he was qualified, and there was a saying that it took seven generations of pipers to make a master-player, and even then seven, and sometimes as many as twelve, years of tuition in a hard and testing school were necessary before the pupil was considered worthy to take up his high office as piper to a chief. With the passing of the old times the composition of Ceol Mor has died out; during the last hundred years less than half a dozen outstanding piobaireachd tunes have been composed, and none during the last fifty years.

In the mist-wreathed Isle of Skye in bygone days lived two celebrated piping families—the MacCrimmons and the MacKarters, or MacArthurs. The MacCrimmons were pipers to MacLeod, the MacArthurs to MacDonald of the Isles.

MacDhomhnall nan Eilean (as MacDonald of the Isles is called

in Gaelic) in those days lived in his lonely castle of Duh Tuilm, in the extreme north-west of Skye, and his pipers the MacArthurs from time immemorial occupied the lands of Hunglater in Trotternish in virtue of their office. These lands were valued in 1773 at 84 merks of silver duty. MacDonald of the Isles is said to have kept a piper in each of his three baronies—Trotternish, Sleat, and North Uist.

A little green hill in close vicinity to Peingowan at Kilmuir called Cnoc-phail was the general rendezvous of the MacArthurs and their pupils. To the top of this eminence they almost daily resorted and practised their tunes. The MacArthurs vied with the MacCrimmons of Dunvegan, the MacGregors of Fortingall, the MacKays of Gairloch, the Rankins of Coll and the MacIntyres of Rannoch. [New Statistical Account, 1840: Parish of Kilmuir]

Manson in his book *The Highland Bagpipe* mentions that the MacArthurs kept another piping college on Ulva, beside the Isle of Mull. The house was divided into four apartments—'one for their use, one for receiving strangers, one for the cattle, and one for the use of the students while practising.'

It is interesting to learn that one of the last of the MacArthurs over a hundred years ago was in favour of founding a college 'to instruct those whose services might be useful in Highland regiments.' The scheme came to nothing; but in recent times we have seen started and carried on successfully an army school of piping in Edinburgh Castle, where specially selected army pipers are put through a six months' course of tuition by the instructor employed by the Piobaireachd Society.

The MacIntyres, pipers to the Menzies, were another celebrated line of hereditary pipers. A MacIntyre is said to have piped at Bannockburn in 1314, and it is believed that parts of this old pipe are still in existence—the chanter, which has the same number of finger holes as the modern chanter, but two additional holes at each side; the blow-pipe, which is square but graduates to round at the top; and the single drone, of which only the top half remains. Amongst other hereditary pipers were the Rankins, who were pipers to MacLean of Duart (chief of the clan) at Duart in the Isle of Mull. The Rankins are believed to be descended from one Raing, of the Clann Duilidh or MacLeans. Until the year 1692 the Rankins were pipers to MacLean of Duart. In that year Duart, because of his support of the Stewarts, lost his estates to the Campbells, and with the estates went the hereditary pipers. The Rankins then became pipers to the MacLeans of Coll, and when Johnson visited Coll in 1776 he heard one of the Rankins pipe, and mentions it in his journal.

In the days of the earlier Rankins a celebrated piper of Northumberland visited the Isle of Mull to compete against the piper of MacLean of Duart. From piping the rivals came to fighting,

and with the sword Rankin killed the piper of Northumbria. A cairn of stones was built over him where he fell, and to this day the place is known as Dail an t-Sasunnaich, or 'the Englishman's Valley.' When, some years ago, the cairn—which was near Aros —was pulled down, a human skeleton was found underneath it.

Two hundred years ago in Skye the MacCrimmons and the MacArthurs had a fame almost as widespread as that of the illustrious chiefs they served. Nowadays the fame and some of the traditions of the MacCrimmons remain ; but of the MacArthurs one can learn nothing, or next to nothing, in Skye, and it is sad, indeed, to think that the records of so great a family should have disappeared.

After the battle of Culloden, in 1746, a stringent disarming Act was put in force throughout the Highlands of Scotland, and in those days it was often as much as a man's life was worth to be convicted of being a piper. Up to that time the playing of Ceol Mor or piobaireachd on the Highland pipe had throughout the Highlands been held to be the highest form of musical genius. The expression of this genius was abruptly checked and has never regained its full vigour. Many beautiful compositions have doubtless been lost, and many more are possibly laid away with old papers in the recesses of some Highland castle, or perhaps in some lawyer's office. That many have been preserved to us is due largely to Donald MacDonald, a native of Glen Hinisdale in Skye, who about 1805 published what is probably the first collection of piobaireachd tunes. Later, in 1839, Angus MacKay published his more extensive collection of Ceol Mor, but to MacDonald as pioneer the greater honour is due.

So far as we can tell from existing pieces of music the MacCrimmons seem to have excelled all other pipers in the art of piobaireachd composition. They have given to posterity some unique compositions of Ceol Mor. Every piper knows that haunting and pathetic tune *Cumha na Cloinne*, or the Lament for the Children. The composer of this piece of classical pipe music was Padruig Mor MacCrimmon, who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century. Like most other musical pieces of renown, it was composed under the stress of deep emotion. It is said that on the first Sunday of a certain year Padruig Mor and his eight sons went together to the little church at Boreraig. At the end of the year he went again. This time he had accompanying him his only surviving son, all the rest of his family having died during the twelve months.

There is some indefinable essence in the compositions of the MacCrimmons, so that a piper learned in the Ceol Mor can tell in his heart on hearing a piobaireachd for the first time whether or not the composition is a MacCrimmon one. Beautiful piobai-

reachdan have, it is true, been composed by other pipers, but the MacCrimmons are unique in the number of outstanding tunes which they composed.

So far as is known, the dates of the most renowned MacCrimmons are as follows:—Donald Mor, 1620–55; Padruig Mor, 1640–70; Padruig Og, *circa* 1700; Donald Ban, *circa* 1746; Callum, *circa* 1770; Iain Dubh, 1800. This family of eminent pipers held rent free the lands of Boreraig and Galtrigil until about 1770. The farm had been given originally only during the pleasure of the proprietor. And at last came a time when the value of the land had risen to six or seven times what it was when the MacCrimmons had been given it, and now MacLeod very reasonably proposed to resume one half of the farm, offering at the same time to MacCrimmon a free lease of the other half *in perpetuum*. But MacCrimmon, indignant that his emoluments should be curtailed, resigned the whole farm and broke up his establishment, which has never been restored. The farm was afterwards let to eighteen different tenants, and brought in over 100*l*. a year.

The MacCrimmons were well educated, intermarried with highly respectable families, and were universally regarded as vastly superior to the common class of the country people.[1] A son of the last family piper in 1840 held the rank of captain in the British Army, and inherited, so it was said, the musical talents of his race. It is interesting to read in the New Statistical Account of 1840:

> There are a few of the MacCrimmons still residing in the parish, but they were born of what was reckoned a very low marriage for MacCrimmon, and they do not possess either the talents or the respectability of their progenitors. A MacCrimmon still acts as piper to MacLeod, but he is not descended of the Boreraig MacCrimmons, who appear to have renounced their profession with their endowment.

Even at the present day one can visit Boreraig and see the ruins of the house in which the MacCrimmons dwelt. No mean dwelling was this, but a building of considerable proportions with its byres and outhouses beside it. Close to the ruin, and now forming part of an old wall, is a great stone nearly half a ton in weight. It is the Clach Mhor Mhic Cruimein, or MacCrimmon's Great Stone. This stone is said to have been used by Padruig Mor MacCrimmon to drive into the ground the tether-pin for his horse. No one now living in Skye can so much as raise this great stone from the ground.

Near Clach Mhor is the small recess in a rock by the sea known as Slochd nam Piobairean, or the Pipers' Hollow. Here the pupils of the MacCrimmons were accustomed to practise their tunes while white-winged solan geese sailed across the blue waters beneath them and the setting sun shone golden on the distant

[1] In the Dunvegan papers it is on record that about 1800 the chief of his day gave 150*l*. Scots to his piper as a dowry on his marriage.

Cuillin. Near the Pipers' Hollow is Uamha nam Piobairean, or the Pipers' Cave, a cave to which the great MacCrimmons themselves retired to play. A little distance to the south is Leum an Doill, the Blind Man's Leap. One of the pupils at the MacCrimmons' piping college at Boreraig was Iain Dall MacKay, the blind piper of MacKenzie of Gairloch. Some action of his angered the MacCrimmon of the day, and Iain Dall was hotly pursued by the irate instructor. To escape him the blind man leapt from the top of a knoll to the grass 20 feet below. This happened centuries ago, but the marks of his heels were, so it is said, visible in the soft grass-covered ground until a year or two ago.

The MacArthurs are said to have been first taught by the MacCrimmons at the school of piping at Boreraig, but at a later date (as I have mentioned earlier in this account) they had their own college about five miles south of Dun Tuilm. Like the MacCrimmons, the MacArthurs were persons of considerable importance. Pennant, during his tour of Skye in 1772, mentions that he

> took a repast at [sic] Sir Alexander MacDonald's piper, who according to antient custom, by virtue of his office, holds his lands free. His dwelling consists of several appartments, the first for his cattle during winter; the second is his hall, the third for the reception of strangers, and the fourth for the lodging of his family

The MacArthurs considered MacDonald of the Isles to be without equal in the Highlands, and it is said that one of this family of hereditary pipers (Uilleam MacBeathag) composed a poem making MacLeod, MacKinnon, and MacLean mere doorkeepers to his own chief.

Almost the last occasion on which we hear of the MacArthurs is at the funeral of Flora MacDonald. This heroine died at Kingsburgh, in Skye, on March 4, 1790, and the funeral procession to Kilmuir churchyard was headed by many pipers from the colleges of the MacCrimmons and the MacArthurs. Here is a story of Charles MacArthur :—

Sir Alexander MacDonald of the Isles, while on a visit to MacLeod at Dunvegan Castle, heard with delight the finished playing of Patrick (or Padruig) Og MacCrimmon. Sir Alexander said to Patrick Og that he had a young man in his own country (Dun Tuilm) who showed promise as a piper, and he should like him to go through the MacCrimmon college at Boreraig. Patrick Og said he would be delighted to be of any possible service to Sir Alexander, so young MacArthur went to Boreraig and for eleven years studied there. At the end of that period his instructor took him to Sir Alexander MacDonald at Dun Tuilm Castle. Now it happened that MacKenzie of Gairloch was a guest at the castle at the time, and along with MacKenzie was his celebrated blind piper, Iain Dall MacKay.

Sir Alexander MacDonald of the Isles considered this a fine opportunity of testing MacArthur's efficiency. Accordingly he made Patrick Og MacCrimmon and Charles MacArthur promise not to divulge to MacKay who they were, and, taking them both before the blind piper, said: 'I have here a young man who has been learning the pipe for some years; do you, Iain, consider he is worth the money I have spent upon him?' He bade MacArthur tune his pipe, and, when he had the 'piob mhor' going properly, said to him: 'Now play us something in Ceol Mor.' While MacArthur played Iain Dall sat by the fire in silence, listening attentively. At the close of the tune he said to Sir Alexander: 'I think a great deal of him; he gives the notes correctly, and if he takes care will excel in his profession.' Sir Alexander MacDonald said he was delighted to hear so favourable a report, but, as he had been to the trouble of sending *two* pipers to Patrick Og, in order that he might retain the better of the two as his own personal piper, he would be obliged to Iain Dall if he would now listen to the second player. He then signalled to Patrick Og MacCrimmon to play, but at the close of the tune, before Sir Alexander MacDonald had time to speak, Iain Dall excitedly exclaimed: 'Indeed, Sir Alexander, no one need try me in that manner, for though I have lost the eyes of my human body I have not lost the eyes of my understanding, and if all the pipers in Scotland were present I would not find it hard to distinguish the last player from them all.' Then, turning to Patrick Og, he said: 'It is quite needless, my good sir, to think that you could deceive me in that way, for you could not but know that I should have recognised your performance among a thousand.'

The MacArthurs are buried in Kilmuir churchyard. On a flat slab, so weathered and moss-grown that it is not easy to read the quaint writing, is the following inscription, which at first sight appears to be written in a foreign tongue:

HERE LY
THE REMAINS OF
CHARLES MAC
KARTER WHOSE
FAME AS AN HON
EST MAN AND
REMARKABLE PIP
ER WILL SURVIVE
THIS GENERATION
FOR HIS MANNERS
WERE EASY & RE
GULAR AS HIS
MUSIC & THE
THE MELODY OF
HIS FINGERS WILL

After 'will' the inscription ends abruptly and unexpectedly

It is said (to account for this) that the local mason after a time asked for payment for the letters already cut out, and when, for some reason, this was refused he left the inscription unfinished.

Tradition is silent concerning the MacArthurs, but in MacLeod's country a number of legends still survive about the MacCrimmons. Here is a story that I heard by the peat fire at Boreraig:—

One of the MacCrimmons (perhaps Donald Ban) and MacLeod were abroad fighting. MacLeod was a general in the British Army. When an army is on the march it is customary for all traffic to draw to the side of the road, but it seems that on this occasion a carriage neither stopped nor gave the soldiers sufficient room. MacLeod naturally was annoyed at this, and he and MacCrimmon, hurrying to the place, held the wheels of the carriage. Such was the strength of the chief and his piper that the carriage remained and the horses went on without it!

The college, or Oil-Thigh, of the MacCrimmons at Boreraig was, by universal consent, unequalled, and even unapproached, in all Scotland. According to one account, a piping college existed here even before the time of the MacCrimmons, who towards the end of their time granted diplomas to their pupils. On the diploma was a picture of Dunvegan Castle, the galley of MacLeod, and various musical instruments, with a seal, the name of the holder, and the date of the entrance to, and departure from, the college. Two of the MacIntyres of South Uist, hereditary musicians to Clan Ranald, were among the last students at Boreraig, about 1745. Four cows are said to have been paid for their schooling. At Dunvegan Castle, the seat of the Chief of MacLeod (the present chief being the twenty-third in direct descent), about six miles from Boreraig across the loch, is preserved the celebrated Piob Bhreac, or Speckled Pipe, that is said to have belonged to Patrick Mor MacCrimmon and must be almost three centuries old. If this, indeed, be its age, it refutes the theory that the third drone was added to the Highland pipe early in the eighteenth century, and that before this the instrument had only the two small drones. In the castle is another historical pipe. It, certainly, has only two drones, and is said to have been played by Iain Dubh, the last of the MacCrimmon hereditary pipers, about 1800.

If the old walls of Dunvegan Castle could give back to us mortals the music they have received through the long centuries, we should doubtless hear some wonderful compositions of Ceol Mor perfectly performed. I have played on his pipe the tunes of the past in the old part of the castle, in the very room where the most illustrious of the MacCrimmons doubtless played, and as I became engrossed in my tune I fancied I felt the influence

of the old pipers about me, and found myself wondering whether they were recognising the old piobaireachd ('MacCrimmon's Sweetheart'), which must have become somewhat altered in form with the passing of the centuries.

There is a tradition in Skye that this beautiful piobaireachd was written in the following manner: When a MacCrimmon wished to compose he retired to some lonely spot—perhaps Uamha nam Piobairean at Boreraig—and for some days and nights fasted and meditated on music. As he lay on the floor of the cave the first night, half asleep, half awake, one of his ancestors appeared to him and played to him a tune that haunted him because of its unusual melody. The second night the spirit piper again appeared, and again the third night, and always he played the same tune. After the third night MacCrimmon felt that the tune was firmly impressed on his memory, and noted it down in that notation called *canntaireachd*. So deeply did he fall in love with this tune that he called it his sweetheart, and ever since then it has been known to pipers the world over as 'MacCrimmon's Sweetheart.'

It is said that up to the time of the Gille Dubh, or 'Black Lad,' the MacCrimmons were good, but not outstanding, pipers. MacCrimmon's bagpipe was at that time called A'Chlachlaidh Dhubh, or 'the Black Gate,' and the Black Lad, who was the youngest son, was thought so little of by his father that although he and his two other sons used to play nightly upon the Black Gate they would never allow the Black Lad even to touch it! But one day when the rest of the family were out the Black Lad got down the chanter. He had scarcely commenced to play, when the fairy from the 'dun,' or hill, near-by appeared before him and asked him: 'Which wouldst thou prefer, skill without success or success without skill?' The Black Lad made answer 'Give me skill without success.' The fairy thereupon pulled a hair from her head and wound it round the chanter reed. Then she asked him to place his fingers on the holes of the chanter When he did so she laid her fingers on his fingers and then told him that from that day onward he would be 'king of pipers.'

Another version of the legend is that a fairy gave the first MacCrimmon a chanter saying that it would carry with it Buaidh na Piobaireachd, or in English 'the championship of piping.' She added a warning that if ever a word were said in disparagement of the chanter she would instantly take it back. Years afterwards, MacLeod and MacLeod of Raasay were returning to Skye from Applecross in the Dunvegan galley. MacCrimmon, as usual, was with them, and MacLeod said to him in Gaelic: 'Seid suas' ('Blow up'). MacCrimmon blew up his pipes, sitting on the prow, the piper's seat. But the sea was so rough, he could not keep his fingers on the chanter, and at last MacCrimmon in anger

threw down the pipe and began abusing the chanter. Scarcely had he finished speaking when the chanter wrenched itself from his hands and leapt overboard into the waves, and MacCrimmon, too late, remembered the fairy prophecy.

And that is, perhaps, why the Speckled Pipe in Dunvegan Castle has no old chanter, but only the drones.

SETON GORDON.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE GENERAL MEDICAL COUNCIL AND OSTEOPATHY

To the Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SIR,—As a qualified osteopath, in practice for the past twenty-one years, I have read with interest the contributions of Dr. Graham Little and Mr. Haydn Brown in your issues of February and March respectively. Mr. Haydn Brown rightly states that 'strong presentation deserves firm examination.'

No one questions the powers given to the General Medical Council in the Medical Acts of 1858 and 1886, nor that medical education in Great Britain has been placed on a very high standard; nevertheless, these Medical Acts seem to have been used to establish and protect a vested interest. So long as new discoveries are made and developed within the orthodox walls of medical institutions, they are accepted and utilised to the benefit of general medical practice, but a discovery emanating from outside the fold finds acceptance extremely difficult, if not impossible. Even discoveries by orthodox medical men themselves, such as those by Lister, Bodington and others, had a very rough journey to ultimate acceptance No thinking person, of course, entirely blames the medical profession for this, for the profession especially cannot be too cautious in accepting new ideas. Yet, on the other hand, too frequently the medical body itself has been over-optimistic about new ideas. It is well known that books on the practice of medicine which are ten years old are useless, because new drugs, with different ideas of their uses, come into vogue every ten years or less. Surgery, which crept in through the skilful hands of the barber and his razor, has certainly made wonderful strides, although there is abundant evidence of over-optimistic experiment on a faithful and trusting public.

Andrew Taylor Still, the founder of osteopathy, himself a skilled physician, but a fearless-thinking man, soon realised that the student must discard materia medica and pharmacology if he is to be a successfu osteopath. He encouraged the development of all sciences relative to th human body, but he rigidly proclaimed the fetish of the 'bottle of medicine Several of our practitioners have tried to combine the practice of osteopath with the prescribing of drugs, and in every case it has proved a failure They are neither good medical practitioners nor good osteopaths. Th whole osteopathic curriculum is directed to training creditable osteopath not drug practitioners. From this it is not hard to understand why oste pathy is disparaged, although the effect of osteopathy is already felt i all medical schools throughout the world. The osteopath is trained to fin the mechanical defects in the human structure, working on the basis th a distortion causes abnormal functioning and lowers the resistance of t body against disease. It is bound to be difficult for the public to reali

the amount of scientific data accumulated since the days of Dr. Andrew Taylor Still. Even though osteopathic research, records of which are procurable, has proved our concept and principle, even though our colleges have been raised to such high standards, even though the osteopathic profession is curing thousands upon thousands of cases after ordinary methods have failed, yet the condemnation from the orthodox medical school is more fevered than ever. Medical propaganda, indeed, tries to convince the public that as a profession we are not able to diagnose disease, and therefore ought not to be permitted to work except under the guidance of a medical practitioner, who admittedly knows nothing about osteopathy. Lord Dawson is illogical in this deduction. Because a practitioner of osteopathy does not prescribe drugs, it does not follow that he is unable to diagnose disease. But most decidedly, in the public interest, an ordinary medical practitioner ought not to be permitted to attempt osteopathy until he has been trained to do this highly skilled work.

Although in every State in the United States osteopathic colleges are there recognised by statutory enactment, osteopaths here in Britain realise the difficulty of the Minister of Health or the General Medical Council in effecting any supervision or jurisdiction over these institutions. The various statements, however, made by Lord Dawson and Dr Graham Little against our osteopathic colleges are untrue, as we have repeatedly proved in the columns of the daily Press.

The *Lancet*, reporting a speech by Lord Dawson, says: 'And it was at the end of his career that treatment came in, for it was recognised that the student could be quickly taught the principles of treatment if he was properly grounded. It was over treatment, however, that nearly all the controversies raged.' If this expresses the attitude of the medical school, the osteopathic attitude towards the treatment of disease is quite different. Even though the osteopathic student is taught all the basic sciences just as thoroughly as the medical student, yet osteopathic principles and practice are taught and indicated concurrently with, and from the earliest study of, anatomy, physiology, and pathology. The success of the osteopathic school undoubtedly is due to a more intimate and intricate deduction from anatomical and physiological data. In Great Britain the development of the orthopædist along the lines of Sir Herbert Barker and his predecessors is striking. In the United States there has been a similar absorption, involving still more the general principles of osteopathy. Yet the two systems are still distinct. The principles and technique employed by Sir Herbert Barker are osteopathic, but are nevertheless his own, though not the less valuable to medical science. Osteopaths much admire Sir Herbert.

On the General Medical Council twenty-seven out of its thirty-eight members are appointed by existing corporations and medical colleges. Since osteopathy is not included in the present medical curriculum, how is it possible for this Council to administer and hold jurisdiction over a branch of medicine which they do not understand, practise, or recognise? That is why special legal enactments in regard to osteopathy have been passed in every State in the United States and in certain Provinces of Canada. Meanwhile, the British Osteopathic Association are determined that a London School of Osteopathy shall exact standards at least equal to the existing medical standards. Our members, including Sir Herbert Barker and several registered medical men, are competent to manage this institution. This school, we hope, will presently gain recognition and protection by Royal Charter followed by parliamentary enactment. When the Government and the people realise the full facts, it will be seen that this is the only solution. Some of the States in the United States tried to

control the practice of medicine by 'Composite Boards.' This is not a success, and in some States, such as Massachusetts and California, the whole law has been revised in favour of distinctive and separate legislation

The qualified osteopath does not claim that osteopathy is a cure-all nor does he deny that he has his failures, but he certainly does claim tha his system of therapy fills a notable vacancy in the general practice o medicine. Mr. Haydn Brown recommends the General Medical Counci to appoint a Medical Committee to investigate new contributions to th science of medicine. I fear that such a procedure would offer osteopath very little hope of justice where medical vested interests might b threatened.

The majority of the members of the British Osteopathic Associatio are British-born men and women, who have been compelled to go to th United States in order to study osteopathy. Among them are severa registered medical men, who have had to study for at least two years, i addition to their British qualifications, in order to become fully qualifie osteopaths. The efforts of the British Osteopathic Association cannot i any way be considered American propaganda The few American ostec paths in Britain, most of whom are British by adoption, would only b too pleased to associate themselves with a British Osteopathic College, i order to remove the necessity for further importation from the Unite States and to save an unnecessary journey for Britons who desire to stud osteopathy.

Certain it is that the public, and with equal certainty a large percentag of general medical practitioners, would welcome an alteration in th construction and powers of the General Medical Council, and revision o the Medical Acts of 1858 and 1886 will probably be necessary before th problem of the qualified osteopath is solved We request sufficie protection to develop the principles of osteopathy, so that eventua osteopaths may take their rightful place in the practice of healing. I the public interest we strongly advise that no person shall be permitted call himself an osteopath unless he has been properly trained and gradua from an accredited institution. The British Osteopathic Association alrea have established a register of the qualified osteopaths in Great Britain.

Yours faithfully, E. T. PHEILS.

92, Newhall Street,
Birmingham, *March* 15, 1926.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of t NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 *&* 12, *Orange Stre Leicester Square, W.C.* 2.

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publicatio but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification articles which have already appeared in the Review. anonymous contribution is published.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

XIX- -XX

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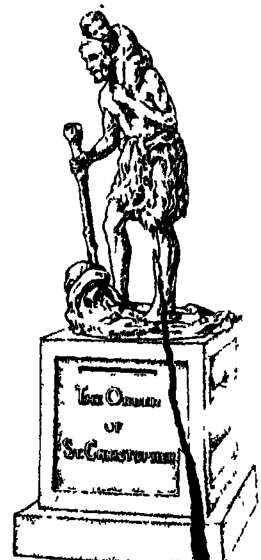
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PARIS: MESSAGERIES HACHETTE, 111, Rue Reaumur. NEW YORK: LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.

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THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY
AND AFTER

No. DLXXIX—May 1925

LORD CURZON

A Personal Recollection

The idea that Lord Curzon was hard and arrogant is so prevalent that, out of justice to his memory, I would like my experience to the contrary to be known.

The first occasion on which I saw Lord Curzon was during his first experience of office. He was then, in 1891, Under-Secretary of State for India. And I had just returned from the Pamirs, the 'Roof of the World,' whence I had been expelled by the Russians. It was a serious matter, for I was on official duty at the time, and the place in which I was arrested was in Afghan territory. A strong note had been despatched by Lord Salisbury to the Russian Government and an apology demanded. Mr. George Curzon, as he then was, had asked me to come and see

him at the India Office to tell him exactly what had happened and to give him information about that kind of 'No Man's Land' which lay between the Russian and Indian Empires, and which I had been exploring for the previous three or four years. I was greatly impressed by the interview. Instead of asking me a series of perfunctory questions and regarding me with that *blasé* expression which I had been accustomed to in the Simla offices, he entered into the whole matter with the keenness of a boy. His mind was as fresh as his colour. He was well dressed, eager and buoyant, and, what astonished me most, he frankly told me his own views of policy; and, instead of being merely interrogated, I was given the advantage of free and equal conversation with a man who was thoroughly up in the subject and enjoyed talking about it. I should say, indeed, that probably he did far more of the talking than I did myself. I had been very keen on my work, and I had undergone great hardships, and often risked my life, in carrying it out. It was natural, therefore, that I should be drawn to a man who took such interest in it.

And Mr. Curzon, on his side, was attracted to me for one special reason. Through all his life he had a particular admiration for explorers. He has publicly recorded that the award of the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society gave him more pleasure than his appointment as a Minister. I was four years younger than he, but already, when I first saw him, I had gained this gold medal for one journey and the United Service Institution of India medal for another—secret—journey. And I had just returned from a third.

So we were mutually attracted to one another. From that time to the very end of his life I was honoured with his friendship. And, except my own father, no man ever did anything like so much for me as Lord Curzon. Staunchness in friendship was a marked trait in his character.

On this occasion I had seen Lord Curzon in his element. On the next occasion of our meeting he was to see me in mine, and at a spot not so very far away from where I had been arrested by the Russians. He was then—in 1899—out of office, and, in the very teeth of opposition from the Government of India, had managed to find his way to the northern frontier of India, and he wrote to me in Chitral asking if he might come and see me there. It was a year before the Chitral campaign, and I was then in political charge of Chitral, with an escort of fifty Sikhs to guard me. I gladly welcomed him, and for a fortnight we rode round Chitral together. And often since I have marvelled at the pluck he then showed. His complexion was then ruddy; he was stoutly built, he spoke vigorously, and he had done much travelling. I had not an inkling that he was suffering all the time from

that trouble in the back which beset him all his days. I therefore arranged the day's marches as I would for an ordinary hard frontier officer bent on getting over the ground quickly. It is true, he used to be somewhat restive at the end of a particularly long march. But he got through them all right, and wrote innumerable letters and made voluminous notes besides.

At Chitral itself I gave a dinner for the chief—the Mabhtar, as he is called—and some of his nobles, and Curzon delighted in the opportunity of seeing these people in their own surroundings. And every evening, even after a long march, we used to sit up till twelve or one at night discussing frontier problems, and a good deal besides. For the moment, I must confess, my enthusiasm for him cooled under these discussions. He would directly oppose me on every point, and I used to get tired of the ceaseless argument. But when we reached Gilgit, and I found him behaving in exactly the same way to other frontier officers, and when at the end of it all he handed me the draft of an article for *The Times* and asked me to criticise and correct it, and I found all my own views most admirably expressed, I saw that all this opposition and argument did not mean real disagreement. It was partly habit and partly a device for drawing out the opinions of others. And this knowledge of my Curzon served me well on many a subsequent occasion.

All officers did not, however, realise this. And his cocksure ways and disposition for talk grated on men living hard and dangerous lives—three of these very men were killed in Chitral a few months after Curzon's visit—and qualities of high value in Westminster were not equally valued in Curzon on the Indian frontier.

We all recognised, indeed, that he was a man who would certainly go far. But from the necessity of our circumstances we had to take stock of men with the directness of children, and I recorded in my diary at the time that his industry and ability would take him to all but the highest position, but that the lack of sympathy in him would stand in the way of his attaining the highest position of all.

After all that he subsequently did for me, it seems base ingratitude on my part to recall this now. But I am drawing a picture of him as I saw him; and it the picture is to be true, I must say this, though I should in justice add that I was afterwards to discover that this impression of hardness and inconsiderateness which he produced was not inconsistent with extreme tenderness of personal friendship.

I should note here also another of what seemed to me his deficiencies. I was at that time, and have, indeed, been ever

since, deeply interested in the fundamental nature of things. Having travelled much in remote regions and mixed with a great variety of peoples, it is natural that I should be. I had, therefore, at Chitral many books on science and philosophy. But Curzon, glancing at the philosophical books, said, in his decided way, that I would not get much out of them. He may have been right in the sense that I was wanting in the capacity to get much out of them. But in the sense that there was nothing in them worth getting out he was altogether wrong. And I notice that in the obituary notice of him in *The Times* it is stated that nothing abstract took hold of his practical mind, and that it was probably his want of interest in philosophy that accounted for his failure to secure a First in Greats at Oxford. I was disconcerted at the time at finding this highly cultured man of affairs taking so disparaging a view of philosophy. But I afterwards came to think that this revealed a distinct deficiency in him. A man who aspired to directing the affairs of so great and varied an Empire as ours should have his views grounded on the best available knowledge of the whole great world, of which even the British Empire is only a minute component part, and of the spirit by which it must necessarily be directed. And if Curzon had laid his foundations deeper and surer, he might have been better equipped for his task.

From Chitral Curzon went off on his very adventurous journey to Kabul, taking with him a fancy uniform which he had discussed with me, and which, as a cavalry officer, I regarded with the utmost horror, as it was compounded of features from Lancer, Hussar and Dragoon uniforms indiscriminately mixed together. I have not heard that he ever had the face to be photographed in it!

By the time he had returned to England I also had returned home, and I used to see him in his flat in what was then called St. Ermine's Mansions. As always, he was working very hard, and he told me that he used to make from 1000*l.* to 1200*l.* by his books and various other writings, in addition to the 500*l.* a year private income. He did not at that time publish any account of his journey in Afghanistan, but he gave to the Royal Geographical Society a description of the visit to the Pamirs which he had made just before he came to Chitral. In the lecture he described the various branches of the Oxus on the Pamirs and appraised their claims to be considered the true source of the Oxus, and having given the palm to the most southerly branch, he then showed how he had visited the source of this branch in a glacier, and he left the impression that he had thereby discovered the source of the Oxus. After he had spoken the President asked if Captain Younghusband had anything to say. I thereupon said I had visited the different branches,

including the southerly one, three years before, and had not only been to the source of the river, but also to the source of the glacier from which it sprang. People came up to me afterwards and congratulated me on the way in which I had 'taken down George Curzon,' and I then realised how much his unfortunate manner irritated people. But I had not the slightest idea of taking him down. I was a very matter-of-fact young man, and I was merely stating facts to a scientific society. About ten years later, when Lord Curzon, as Viceroy of India, sent me on a mission to Tibet, the *Daily Mail*, in an article on 'The Leader of the Mission,' gave a somewhat fanciful description of this incident, and said that Lord Curzon evidently bore me no malice for it. And most evidently he did not, for he cut out the article and sent it to me in Tibet as 'something to amuse' me.

Meanwhile events of the most serious nature had been happening in Chitral. The chief who had dined with us had been murdered by his brother. British officers had been killed. A British force was besieged in Chitral fort, and an expedition had been sent up from India to relieve them. Acute controversy raged as to the wisdom of our retaining a political officer in so remote and exposed a position. And Curzon threw himself into this with the greatest vigour. I managed to get out with the relief expedition as correspondent of *The Times*, and when I returned I found the Conservative Government in office again and Curzon included in it as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He was now married and was installed in Carlton House Terrace.

And here in the summer of 1895 he gave a dinner to all those in England at the time who had been in Chitral, and to meet them he had invited Lord Roberts, Lord Lansdowne and Lord George Hamilton, the new Secretary of State for India. And I mention this dinner because of its sequel. Colonel Townshend (afterwards Sir Charles Townshend, the defender of Kut) during the dinner pencilled notes to Curzon and me asking us to come on afterwards to supper at the Savoy to meet Sir Herbert Kitchener and Arthur Roberts, the music-hall comedian, for whom Townshend had a most inordinate admiration. A more incongruous party I never attended. But Kitchener improved the gloomy hour by impressing upon the new Foreign Under-Secretary the urgency of sending an expedition to Khartoum.

Hardly four years later Mr. George Curzon was, to our astonishment, appointed Viceroy of India, at the same time being raised to the peerage. He was not yet forty years of age. I was the political agent in some native State in Rajputana, in the interior of India. In accordance with his unvarying friendship, he wrote to me asking me not to look upon him as Viceroy, but as an old

friend and fellow-traveller. And at the conclusion of the terrible famine which had visited the part of India in which I was stationed he invited my wife and me to stay with him at Simla. The famine work had been terrible, and my wife had stayed with me all through that awful hot weather. With dead bodies lying about the roadside and people dying all round us for months, it really seemed as if we could never smile again. But when we reached Simla, Lord Curzon laid himself out in the most deliberately thoughtful way to make us forget our experiences. He sent us to the play, and gave us ponies to ride, and said that we were to do absolutely nothing else but enjoy ourselves.

Two years later he appointed me to the very delicate post of Resident in Indore. The Maharaja (Holkar) of that time was subject to ungovernable fits of temper, and at such times it was positively dangerous to approach him Of some terrible things that he had done I had taken no notice, as they had not come officially before me But one case in which he had himself caused very serious bodily injury to a man was brought before me by the man himself, and I had to inform the Maharaja that, seeing what had happened, I could not advise the Viceroy to pay his contemplated visit to Indore. Holkar replied that it was a matter of indifference to him whether the Viceroy visited him or not, and that, as he could not do as he pleased, he wished to abdicate In reporting the matter to Government, I referred to the other much worse cases of which we might at any moment be compelled to take notice, and I recommended that, as the Maharaja had himself expressed a desire to abdicate, his abdication should be accepted, especially as even when heir apparent he had behaved so violently as to cause Lord Ripon, the then Viceroy, to hesitate about allowing him to succeed. Lord Curzon, after consulting with the Home Government, decided to accept the abdication, and I had to go to Holkar's palace to inform him of the decision. 'Good God!' said Holkar, 'you did not take that abdication seriously. Why, I have abdicated seven times before, and no one has taken the slightest notice of it!' However, a subsequent interview with Lord Curzon assured him that the matter really was serious this time, though Lord Curzon arranged that the Maharaja should himself announce in his own durbar his desire to retire, and should himself put his son on the *gaddi* in his place.

And now for Tibet. I had settled down at Indore for another dreary hot-weather when one day in May I received a telegram directing me to proceed at once to Simla, and was then informed that I was to take charge of a mission to Tibet. I lunched at Viceregal Lodge; and afterwards, while a gymkhana was taking place at Annandale, Lord Curzon, sitting under the deodar trees,

explained his intentions. And here again one remarked the completeness of his exposition and the thoroughness with which he had gone into the whole question. His entire programme of sending a mission straight to Lhasa had not then been accepted by the Home Government. I was to go to a spot only a few miles inside the Tibetan frontier. Still that was good enough. The old joy of travel and adventure leaped within me once more, and I knew I had behind me a kindred spirit to my own. I spent three delightful months just within the Tibetan frontier, with glorious views of Kinchenjunga, Makalu and Mount Everest, but as regards negotiations, of course nothing occurred, and I returned to Simla to confer with the Viceroy as to what should be done next.

Lord Curzon first asked me to describe the situation as I had found it. He then asked for my opinion as to what should be done next. Having heard my views, he proceeded in his old way to raise every possible objection. But knowing his habit, I answered these objections, and at the close of the interview he told me to be present at the Council meeting the following morning. Here all the Council, including Lord Kitchener, were assembled, and Lord Curzon, prefacing his remarks by saying that he had had the advantage of consultation with me, proceeded to put before the Council exactly what I had proposed, and when any member of Council ventured to raise any of the objections which he himself had raised, he would brush it aside as quite unworthy of consideration. Altogether he made out a magnificent case. His proposals were accepted by the Council, and eventually the approval of the Secretary of State was obtained for them.

And this incident was very typical of Lord Curzon's methods. He was not a man who acted by intuition, as, for instance, Lord Kitchener did. He invariably worked up a subject very carefully beforehand. He weighed the *pros* and *cons*, made up his mind which line he meant to take, and then proceeded along it as if there were no question that it was right. And having armed himself beforehand with good answers to every objection and having also the gift of presenting his case in a very persuasive and convincing manner, he was able to carry his Council with him.

I returned to Tibet, and we had many difficulties, for the advance over the Himalaya was made in the middle of winter. The Tibetans continued to refuse to have any dealings whatever with us, and in the end rose against us and besieged the mission in a farmhouse for a couple of months. But throughout I had Lord Curzon staunchly behind me. He used to write me long letters in his own hand and in their nature much more as friend to friend than as Viceroy to subordinate. Some of these letters

were three or four sheets of large square writing paper in length, and were often written in camp late at night. And they were always full of encouragement. Sometimes a present of champagne and other luxuries accompanied them. And once only was there a shade of reproof; that was when Captain O'Connor and I had gone without an escort and without warning into the Tibetan camp to make one last effort to settle without fighting. He thought the Commissioner himself ought not to have run the risk, as if anything had happened to him the whole mission would have ended in disaster. However, the Commissioner himself knew very well what he was about, and was able by his venture to get a sure grasp of the whole situation, which he could never have got at second hand.

Eventually Lhasa was reached, the Tibetans agreed to the treaty, and all ended happily. And Lord Curzon's appreciation of my efforts to carry out his intentions was as finely expressed as it was deeply felt. I could feel he understood the value of every point and realised every difficulty there had been in obtaining it. He was thorough in everything, and he was no less thorough in expressing appreciation than he was in denouncement. But the warmest expressions were reserved for when we met. Then, as he took both my hands in his, there literally were tears running down his cheeks. 'Remember,' he said, 'through all the rest of my life there is nothing I would not do for you.'

But during the rest of his life there was nothing which I asked him to do for me. That meeting with Lord Curzon after my return from Lhasa was the culminating point of the relationship between us, and I wanted to leave it at that. I had had to take certain action on my own responsibility which incurred for me the censure of His Majesty's Government, and I had been terribly anxious lest it should have met with Lord Curzon's disapproval also. But finding that he who had chosen me for this delicate task, had provided me so tacitly with the means of carrying it out, and encouraged me so heartily in its execution, was the most appreciative of my work, I had the greatest satisfaction which a man can have. And after that any honour or appointment he might have secured for me would have been very trivial in comparison. That was the climax. I would risk no anticlimax.

That also was, I think, the climax of Lord Curzon's career He was then on his way back to India for an extension of his term of office. And during that extra period there came that unfor tunate controversy with Lord Kitchener which ended in th Viceroy's resignation. I met him at Dover on his return ar spent the night with him at the Lord Warden Hotel. His indign tion at his treatment by the Home Government was intens Every member of his Council, except Lord Kitchener, had be

with him and formally signed the despatch supporting the Viceroy's contention. And that the Cabinet should throw over the whole Government of India and support the Commander-in-Chief seemed to him an almost unconstitutional proceeding. What had happened was that articles had been appearing in the Press and 'creating an atmosphere.' So when the controversy broke out Lord Kitchener's side was known rather than Lord Curzon's, and, as there were vague hints of Kitchener's resignation if he were not supported, the Government backed him and let Curzon go.

It was a cruel blow, from which, in my opinion, he never recovered. And one little incident connected with the situation is so characteristic of Lord Curzon as to be worth mentioning. The very day of his return the Conservative Government resigned; and it was commonly reported that Lord Curzon, in his indignation, would refuse to see the members of it. However, a social party was got up where he and Mr. Balfour, the just resigned Prime Minister, might meet. They met, indeed; but, according to reports, Lord Curzon's manner was of the coldest. Some reports said that he had cut Mr. Balfour. But when I saw Lord Curzon a few days afterwards, he was furious at these reports. He said he was deeply hurt at Mr. Balfour's having thrown him over, but, after all, Mr. Balfour was head of his party, and they would have to work together, and he had laid himself out to be particularly warm to Mr. Balfour. But Lord Curzon was never good at disguising his feelings. They were there on the surface for anyone to see. And the burning indignation in his soul was evidently only too apparent.

And now what of Lord Curzon's work in India as a whole? There was once a high official in India who thus described his predecessors and himself. One, he declared, said much but did little, another did much and said little; a third—himself—said little and did little. As a fact, he was one of the best officials in India. He may have, figuratively speaking, said little and done little himself. But he was the means of work in others. His sympathetic presence was everywhere felt. Every single thing was observed by him, and he knew all that was going on. With a frown he discountenanced what was wrong; with a smile he encouraged what was good. And men went about their own avocations with a good heart.

Lord Curzon was of neither of these types. It could not be recorded of him either that he said much and did little, or that he did much and said little, or that he said little and did little. He belonged to a fourth type. He said much and did much. He braced up the whole Indian administration in a way in which it had never been braced up before. He examined minute details

in every branch, and he reformed the great general principles. The main fly-wheel went round faster, and every tiny subsidiary wheel was fitted to respond to the increasing speed. He gave of his health and his brain and his heart to the service of India, and when he left it there was not a branch of the administration of which the efficiency had not been increased. And though men like Lord Morley, whose names are associated with great Indian reforms, are commonly supposed to have had greater love for India than the proverbial haughty Lord Curzon, there is, in fact, no comparison between them. Lord Morley's devotion to India was a cold-blooded and temporary sentiment beside Lord Curzon's passionate love of a lifetime.

Still, looking back on his work after twenty years, I am almost disposed to think that if his temperament had enabled him to be of the third type mentioned above—if he had simply made his influence felt instead of doing the work himself, if, in fact, he had been more of a King Edward and less of a Dalhousie—he would have better carried out his main object in India. He described that object to me soon after he came out as Viceroy—to be the lessening of the gulf between Indians and British. This is what Queen Victoria had enjoined upon him. And this is what he meant to do And he set about fearlessly punishing Englishmen in cases where they seemed to him to be in the wrong in troubles with the people of India, and attempting to be fair and just to all. Yet he never really captured the affection of the Indians. If he had not made the fatal mistake of coming back for a second period of office, and had left as the strong Viceroy and not as the Viceroy knocked out by the Commander-in-Chief, he would have preserved the awe with which Indians then regarded him. But their affection I am doubtful if he was ever capable of acquiring.

We may look upon him as a great Viceroy. But we must look for Viceroys greater still.

The next time on which I had an opportunity of seeing the real Curzon was in 1911, after I had been run over by a motor car, and there was real risk of my losing my life. He came to see me on my sick-bed. And of all who came there was none who showed me a tenderer sympathy. He almost crept into the room, and coming up to my bed, said in the most moving way: 'My dear Younghusband, how are you, my dear fellow?' And then, after as much conversation as I was allowed, he asked if there was any fruit or anything which he could send me, and went on: 'Now, as soon as ever you can move, you are to come to Hackwood and bring your wife and your nurses and anyone you like with you. And you shall have rooms on the ground floor, so that you can get out easily into the garden. And whenever you want to

see me I shall be there to see you; and if you want to be by yourself, I shall leave you alone. You shall do just as you like.' No one could have been kinder or more thoughtful.

Space is pressing, and I must pass over several years. When Lord Curzon was appointed Foreign Secretary and almost within reach of his ultimate goal, I wrote and congratulated him and received in acknowledgment not one, but two, letters, and both in his own handwriting. So punctilious was he in replying to letters that he had written the second fearing he had not already acknowledged my letter. But the point of his reply was the phrase 'I hope the same strong spirit as of old will be with me.' There seemed to be just a doubt in his mind. And, personally, I do not think the old spirit *was* with him. I think that it had been broken, partly by the blow he had received at the close of his Viceroyalty and partly by the strain he had put on his constitution for so many years No man can work for years up to two or three in the morning without feeling the effects.

While he was at the Foreign Office he did, indeed, suffer from illness. But neither illness nor excessive work was allowed to stand in the way of friendship, and at the close of my presidency of the Royal Geographical Society he wrote me actually from his bed two whole sheets of appreciation of my work. How, indeed, he managed to keep up his buoyancy of spirit under all his hard work and continual illness was a wonder. But it did not leave him to the end Only two years ago he was good enough to invite me to a small man's dinner at his house to meet a distinguished Frenchman, and he was apparently as full of spirits as when a young man. The common conception of him is of a haughty, arrogant, unapproachable man. But no one enjoyed bandying conversation and telling good stories more than he did. And his power of talk was marvellous. I remember once being in camp with him near Simla. One evening the outside guest was a racing man, and Curzon talked racing the whole evening. The next evening the guest was a cricketer, and apparently Curzon had spent his whole life watching cricket-matches. He had lots of humour, too, and would often tell a number of stories against himself, though I am not so sure that he appreciated humour being directed against him by others. The only person I have met who could really take him on is the present Dean of Winchester.

At this particular dinner what chiefly impressed me was what Lord Curzon told me about the difficulties under which public men often had to make the most important speeches. He gave as an instance a speech which he himself, as a boy sitting on the steps of the Throne (in accordance with his right as the eldest son of a peer), had heard Lord Beaconsfield deliver. He said the

country little knew of the illness, the despondency, the domestic troubles, from which a Minister might have been suffering when he had to get up and make a confident, cheerful speech to nerve the spirit of the country. He made no mention of himself. But it must often have been under such conditions that he himself had to speak.

Actually the last letter I received from him was one written last summer discussing in great detail the rules of polo in Chitral, and the last time I saw him and the last speech I heard was at the Central Asian Society dinner last summer. And I am glad to have that occasion as a final remembrance of him. For there for the last time there flared up in him the old enthusiasm for India. One speaker had said of Africa that it was so much more interesting than Asia. If it had been designed, this could not have been a more fortunate hit. For it roused Curzon to glowing indignation. With all his old eloquence, he spoke of the romance and variety of interest of Asia. And then, turning to consider India, he said that now—now, when things were at their most difficult stage—was the time for young Englishmen to come forward and devote their lives to the service of India. It was the real Curzon once more and the Curzon as he was at the summit of his career. And this was my last sight of him.

One final matter, and that the most important. What of his religion? What of the mainspring of his life? I have a letter from him in which he gives his views with his usual outspoken frankness. But even if it were fitting to quote from it I cannot, for I have not it with me here in Egypt. After its perusal the orthodox would probably not claim him as one of themselves But of this there would be no possible doubt: that he appreciated the value of religion. Neither his wide experience of the world nor his intellectual attainments had led him to any form of disbelief. By temperament he was not what one would describe as particularly attuned to religion. He did recognise the presence in the world of a Divine Spirit and our inspiration by that Spirit and I believe I am right in my recollection that in the early day of the war he wrote a letter to *The Times* emphasising the importance of religion and holding up Lord Roberts as an example of life inspired by religion which we would do well to follow.

Yet at the close of Lord Curzon's life the thought does kee forcing itself upon me how greatly he would have been helped his career, and how much more he would have been able to do f the Empire, if he could have found more comfort and inspirati in that great national institution which is designed to repres the religious side of our life. Some men go out to Nature and th in the blue skies, or the bracing wind, or the song of bird, or sweetness of flowers find balm and composure or strong insp

tion. And Lord Curzon had too much of the poet in him not to be one of these lovers of Nature. But he was perhaps even more a lover of art. And if this great Englishman, who sacrificed so much for his country, could have found in the Church of England that deep satisfaction for his soul which every worker needs, how much greater might his work have been! If in the church, with the combination of great arts—the art of architecture, the art of ceremonial, the art of music, the art of painting and the art of oratory, every one inspired by religion and all united together and directed to the worship of God—he could have felt lifted out of his ordinary self and in unison with the great heart of the world, and yet all the time most fully his own greater and more real self, he would have gone about the affairs of his country in a very different spirit and with far greater effect. Reverence would have deepened in him. And with deepened reverence would have come that finer courtesy and nobler consideration which are so essential in conducting the affairs of men.

Politics are applied religion, it has been said. All the more necessary is it then that our politicians should have their religion continually refreshed and renewed; all the more necessary is it that the beauty of holiness should be kept continually before their eyes.

These are the final reflections that occur to me after thirty-three years of sometimes most intimate contact with Lord Curzon, the closest touch being at the supreme period of his life.

May he always be remembered for his unsparing devotion to the public service and for his unfailing loyalty of private friendship.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND.

OUR INDUSTRIAL POSITION

So often we hear from all corners of our country angry cries of denunciation of different classes of the community. We find one kind of politician, like Mr. Wheatley, preaching the class war, a trade unionist of the kind of Mr Cook preaching the same sort of thing. On the other hand unquestionably we have certain employers who place all the blame for our industrial ills upon the workmen. While all this has been going on in the country we have had one of the most remarkable speeches I have ever heard, when the Prime Minister made a 'peace gesture.' The time may therefore be opportune for a careful scrutiny and an impartial survey of our industrial position.

There can be no doubt that a great deal of harm is done by extremists on both sides, by angry speeches and stupid rhetoric. If half the time wasted in abuse were spent in quietly talking matters over, we should be nearer solution of our difficulties. Let us examine one of our most stricken trades, shipbuilding At one time our shipbuilding industry was the pride of the world. The Tyne, the Clyde, and the Tees were literally the shipbuilding centres for the whole world. But to-day these great yards cannot secure work in competition with the rest of the world; these places are among our necessitous areas. Yet every day we read of shipbuilding orders going to Holland, Germany and other foreign countries. What is the cause? I have no doubt that the main cause is the lack of co-operation between masters and men. Only a few days ago I was conversing on a train journey with a prominent Liverpool employer whose business is ship-repairing. He had a ship in Glasgow upon which some minor interior repairs were necessary. He went to the local Labour Exchange and secured six unemployed joiners. He was immediately stopped by the Carpenters' Union, on the ground that this was carpenters', and not joiners', work. As he was unable to find any carpenters unemployed, what was the result? The unemployed joiners remained unemployed in spite of the fact that they could have performed the work satisfactorily, and the ship was taken from Glasgow to the Mersey, where the repairs were completed by joiners. Such instances could be multiplied many times over.

And what is the net result? In this case the loss of time to the shipowner was serious, he lost money, which must add to the expense of running that ship, and no good was done to anybody. In numerous cases ships which could have been repaired in the Mersey, the Clyde, the Thames or elsewhere in England have gone to Cherbourg and other Continental ports for repairs. Why do trade union officials do such foolish things? Such tactics cannot be in the interest of trade unions, and certainly not in the interest of their members.

In my opinion, the real cause is that employers have made no attempt to put their case before either the leaders or the men. Even among prominent trade union leaders there is profound ignorance about the everyday accountancy necessary to every business. In the Press a short time ago there was a report of an interview with a trade union official who said that all the troubles of the shipbuilding yards were caused by the bonus shares which certain shipbuilding yards had issued to their shareholders. The merest child in business could have told him that bonus shares have not the slightest relation to factory costs. The only difference bonus shares could possibly make is that the dividend declared after profits have been made would be smaller. What surprises me in this matter is that employers apparently make no effort to remove these erroneous ideas or to educate the workers upon their real business difficulties

When I heard Mr Baldwin in the House of Commons give a description of his early business life, I could not help thinking that here is the keynote of our present troubles. It will be within the recollection of all my readers how he described the old family business, how the employer knew all his workmen intimately, interested himself in all their troubles, their pleasures and their sports The old family businesses which made England great were like that. The old 'boss' lived near the works; his son joined in the football and the cricket on the village green; his daughters taught in the Sunday-school; his wife was the district visitor and dispenser of charity. All that has now changed. The limited liability company has made the workers into numbers who clock on and clock off. Furthermore, the express train and the motor car have taken the employers many miles away from their factories.

Take my native Lancashire. The cotton manufacturer of Burnley, Bolton or Blackburn no longer lives in close proximity o those towns; he lives at Southport, St. Anne's or Blackpool, hirty miles away. He arrives at his works at nine o'clock and ushes away at five o'clock. He knows nothing whatever of his nen or their lives. He leaves their business and political educaion to the first Socialist 'tub-thumper.' Then when they believe

the story that he cares for nothing but the 'divi.' he expresses surprise.

There are many ways in which education of the worker is necessary. There is the vital question of the disparity between wages in what are known as 'sheltered' and 'unsheltered' trades. It is absolutely monstrous that a miner should only earn 3*l.* per week while a crossing sweeper in some towns gets 4*l.* The miner has a dirty, disagreeable job to perform, but his wages are beyond argument too low. The skilled engineer only receives 2*l.* 13*s.*, while the lavatory attendant gets his 3*l.* 15*s.* Yet it cannot be too often emphasised that the crossing sweeper and lavatory attendant have to be paid out of the local rates, and local rates are a first charge on industry. These calls have to be paid before debentures and wages are paid, and before profits are distributed. In other words, the crossing sweeper and lavatory attendant get their wages before the miner and skilled engineer receive one penny piece. The more the crossing sweeper and lavatory attendant get, the less there will be available for the miner and skilled engineer to secure as wages.

The plight of the miner and skilled engineer is certainly most serious, yet beyond doubt they are drawing at the moment, not merely every penny their industries will stand, but every penny the industries are making. If we examine the coal-owners' balance sheets we find that as a whole they are losing money, and that the miner is tak[...] every penny piece the collieries are earning. Yet I look in [...] any real explanation of these facts by colliery own[...] miners.

Let [...] textile trade. What causes trouble here [...] use in the fact that certain large [...] their shareholders, and yet their [...]. In their entrenched position [...] mers as they like, and, in spite [...] e in penury. This example [...] that the prosperity of the employe[...] of the worker. It is the one case where the hackneyed phrase that the interests of capital and labour are identical is falsified. Yet the irony of the thing is that the heads of these great combines are nearly all Free Traders. In every fiscal controversy the head of one of these concerns [...] quoted the opinion that tariffs mean the ruin of Lancashire. I [...] nder if the prosperity of Lancashire would be restored if calico [...] ting, dyeing, bleaching and packing were cheaper. At any [...] hese combines are a justifiable cause of irritation to the [...]

[...] now turn to the building trade. I must say I have a [...] of sympathy with this trade. There was no industry

in the country which suffered so severely from insecurity of employment as the building trade. The purpose of this article is not to go into the reasons for this, though it can be safely said that the main reason was foolish finance. Suffice it to say there were more failures among builders than in any other trade. Confirmation can be had by reference to the *Gazette* registering bankruptcies and deeds of arrangement. Consequently bricklayers, plasterers and other employees in the building trade suffered severely from long periods of unemployment and short time. There can be no doubt that those engaged in the building trade, both employers and employees, acted more like philanthropists than as business men towards the nation.

If you take an average, houses in pre-war days were put up without one penny piece profit to the building trade and without adequate remuneration to the employees. Then came the opportunity of the building trade The nation was short of houses. Both employers and employees were determined to take advantage of the situation. Now, of course, all this is wrong. It is wrong that the builders and contractors should be making huge fortunes as they are doing. It is wrong that manufacturers of building materials should profiteer as they have done. It is wrong that the bricklayer and plasterer should prevent unemployed people from learning their trades and by this means increase the supply of labour. However, no good can come of wild denunciation of either masters or men The building trade is still passing through that phase which most trades passed through from 1918 to 1921 Then a great many trades were experiencing a boom, factories were busy, prices were rising; profits were high; demands for increased wages were cheerfully acceded to; profits were so good that no one could object. Everyone forgot that we were living on the crest of a wave. We were then living, as a great many countries in Europe are living to-day, on borrowed money and the printing press.

The building trade in England is still very much in that position They think there is money to burn; they forget that that money is only borrowed money, and that their apparent prosperity is the result of subsidies. They proceed in their wild descent to Avernus. We all know what Virgil said about that descent. The trouble comes when you want to turn back. The spendthrift who has been spending money wildly always finds it difficult to retrench. As things are at present, the employers in the building trade are making no effort to put their house economically in order. The builders are content with the knowledge that the fewer bricklayers there are, the larger will be the house shortage. They may wake up one morning to find new methods of construction have arrived,

and that the nation is restive. Then the brick house will have to come back to an economic basis. In those days the employers will find themselves in trouble. Having given way in every direction to their employees, having made no firm stand against the trade union demands, when stern necessity faces them there will be trouble. That was what happened after the 1918–21 boom to which I have referred. Wages had been bounding up, hours had been shortened, union restrictions of output had been tolerated, and it was only when it was found impossible to obtain orders in the face of world competition that the employers took a stand. Then it was only after a bitter series of strikes and lock-outs that conditions were changed to enable us to compete. Even now after four years the position is far from satisfactory.

For this state of affairs I can never cease to blame the home policy of Mr. Lloyd George It has been said that his foreign policy eventually defeated him. In my opinion, his home policy was equally disastrous to us as a nation. We have not recovered from it yet. What a chance he had! After the General Election of 1918 he could have led the British nation anywhere, such was his influence. If he had followed the example of Garibaldi and shown the people the true picture; if he had told the country that we were not a rich country, bu[t a] [p]oor one; if he had pointed out that we were in for bad ti[mes] . . . it was only by every man and woman working hard t[o] . . . [coul]d recover its former position, things would hav[e] . . . Instead of this, what did he do a[nd] . . . our country fit for heroes . . .
hope of a feather-bed l[ife] . . .
employees were led to belie[ve] . . .
earned without hard work. By . . .
mischievous ideas and an erroneo[us] . . .
which even yet have not been ent[irely] . . .
was pushed through under Mr. Lloyd [George] . . .
without mature consideration or careful . . .
[on]ce passed is seldom repealed. It would . . . [l]ed repeal legislation, but I am not at all sure . . . [t]he Lloyd George legislation and started . . . [uld] . . . [b]e the best thing for the country. But that . . . [i]s . . . [impossi]ble. We have to tackle our problems as we find . . . It . . . crying over spilt milk. A politician, like mys[elf], who . . . hundred times against that Government, can gain little . . . from saying, 'I told you so.' . . . [n]ecessity is to face the situation as it is and try and . . . Before I approach my own solution let us turn . . . a few moments to the Socialist remedy. The

Socialist Party are His Majesty's Opposition and apparently the only alternative Government in our political life to-day. This party argues that all our industrial ills will be cured if we nationalise the means of distribution, production and exchange. While this sweeping proposal is their ultimate aim, at the moment they confine their activities to the nationalisation of mines and railways

While examining these proposals, I should like to make it clear that my opposition to nationalisation has always been on the ground of expediency If I thought that nationalisation of mines, railways or anything else would be of advantage to the community as a whole, I should support that policy. It is because nationalisation is impracticable that it receives my uncompromising opposition. Let us look at the Socialist Party's proposal to nationalise the mines. We are able to do this because they introduced a Nationalisation of Mines Bill in the last Parliament What did that Bill propose ? It proposed that if the nationalised mines made a profit, that profit should be given to the miners ; if the mines made a loss, that loss should be refunded from the National Exchequer That is simply a case of ' Heads, I win , tails, you lose ! ' But it has a deeper implication still. If the National Exchequer has to bear losses made by the mines, these losses must fall upon the workers in every other unnationalised industry The result would be that, though the miners might get an increased wage, every other worker would have to accept less. It is the old story of sheltered and unsheltered industries. The miner would be removed from his unsheltered position to a sheltered one, and, in order to do this, those left in an unnationalised and unsheltered position would be forced to pay the miner's wages out of funds which would otherwise be available for their own wages

The Socialist may reply that he wants all industries to be under he State, so that all workers can be put in a sheltered position. t only remains to point out that if all industries made losses, as nationalised industries always do, both in this country and all over he world, the country would soon be in a state of national bankuptcy. We have also no guarantee that relations between masters and men would be in any way improved by making the State the master. In my view we should find more strain between he trade unions and the State than we have ever had between the mployees and private employers. We hear a great deal about he great limited liability companies having no soul, and there nay be some element of truth in this, but it is indisputable that he State as an employer would never have a soul. The State as n employer always seems to me a cold, callous organisation lominated by the eagle eye of the Treasury. Think what question-

time in the House of Commons would be like when mines are nationalised. We have some indication from the questions put by dockyard members on all kinds of trivial points raised on matters affecting dockyard employment. We should have the same kind of questions from all the members representing mining areas. Think what electioneering would be like. Every candidate knows how he is inundated with *questionnaires*, and they are mostly proposals to give higher wages or better conditions to various classes of civil servants. I tremble to think of the kind of Dutch auction which would go on if mines were nationalised. Probably a General Election might be decided, not on some great issue of national policy, but on the point as to whether the miners should receive an advance of 5*s.* per week. The whole proposal that nationalisation would put our industries in a better and more prosperous condition is grotesque, and we have to search elsewhere for a remedy for our troubles.

We have arrived first at the conclusion that the condition of our industries is far from satisfactory; secondly, that relations between employers and employed are embittered, and thirdly, that the Socialist remedy would make matters worse instead of better. What then should the country do to improve our trade and improve relations between employers and employed? I think many people have forgotten the Report of a Royal Commission which sat for many months under the chairmanship of the present Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Whitley. A close study of that really remarkable document would be of great advantage. As the result of that Report the joint industrial councils were brought into existence. These councils, useful as they have been in many ways, have fallen far short of the original intention of the signatories of the Report. As one prominent trade union leader said to me a short time ago, industrial councils only deal with wages. But if we read the Report we find that the industria[l] councils were intended for a far more useful purpose than that.

In my view, we want something much wider if we are to cur[e] industrial unrest. My idea is that the industrial councils are to[o] national and not sufficiently local. Their work wants decentrali[sation]. It is difficult for busy manufacturers to leave their wor[k] to attend these meetings in London. Furthermore, the counc[ils] have developed too much into academic meeting-places to p[ut] forward new proposals for wage increases which the indus[try] cannot afford to pay. What I should like to see is the indust[rial] councils discussing means by which their industry could be m[ade] more efficient and more prosperous, so that wage increases sh[ould] be made possible. I am quite sure if we are to attain that ob[ject] we must start in the factory itself. If the management [set up a sm]all committee of workers to discuss, not w

so much as the effective running of the factory, I am sure they would be surprised at the benefits that would accrue. Even the lowest grade worker in a factory may have some idea to put forward which would either reduce factory costs or increase productivity, which would have the effect of enabling that factory to pay higher wages. For, after all, we must lay stress on the fact that half the trouble in the past has been caused by the desire of the employer to capture all the profit. The real profits of an industry from a national point of view are those made before any wages are paid to the workers.

Our problem is to secure an equitable distribution between capital and labour, and our task has been made more difficult by the fact that in days gone by employers took advantage of their employees Latterly the boot has been on the other leg · the employees through their trade unions have been trying to capture the whole of the profits. Committees such as I have outlined would bring the management into closer union with the minds and thoughts of the workers. The managers would come to realise the grievances of the men and remove them when real. They would be able by quiet talk and reasoning to get rid of some of the fallacies which are in the men's minds. These committees would be a means of education to both the management and the employees. Out of these factory committees would come [illegible]tional committee, before which would be laid matters of [illegible]l and even international concern. In this way the joint [illegible]ial councils would become real parliaments of industry, [illegible] of academic debating societies.

[illegible]was always a matter of regret to me that the proposal to [illegible]orkers' representatives on the railway board of directors [illegible]opped from the Railway Bill before it became an Act in [illegible]. This would have been a most interesting experiment ; and [illegible] in my opinion, a pity it was not tried. The time will come [illegible]ll boards of directors will be opened to a workers' represen[illegible] It is only fair that they should be. The responsibilities [illegible]oard are not to the shareholders only : they have responsi[illegible] to the workers also. If a factory fail, it is disagreeable to [illegible]areholders, who lose their money, but it is far more serious [illegible] employees, who lose their means of livelihood. There is no [illegible] education than the board meeting of a big industrial con[illegible] I have no hesitation in saying that six months' experience [illegible] board of directors by an unprejudiced Socialist would cure [illegible] of his theories better than anything else could. He would [illegible]ve education on all the difficulties, dangers and perils which [illegible]y business passes through in its daily life. We have all [illegible]ed a great deal about peace gestures since Mr. Baldwin's [illegible]ech in the House of Commons on the Trade Union Levy Bill.

There could be no finer peace gesture than the acceptance of my proposal. If a workers' representative came directly on to the board to hear all the discussions, to learn all the difficulties, it would show that there were no secrets to hide; it would lead to a better understanding between the employer and employed; it would eradicate suspicion. In that happy day we might even remove the possibility of strikes and lock-outs, and we would be putting into practice the trade unions' slogan, 'All for each and each for all!' Then all would be working happily together for the increased happiness and prosperity of all.

During the past few weeks there have been some very interesting developments which seem to be heading in this direction. First, there is the experiment that is taking place at the Vauxhall Colliery at Wrexham This colliery was on the point of closing down, but, through the help of a local fund, it is being continued by the colliers themselves. The local fund guarantees the working of the colliery against any loss, but any profits will go to the workmen. This experiment is, perhaps, the first of its kind. If it succeeds in securing greater output and reducing working costs, then we are very likely making a big step towards a new era in industrial development. It is a national disgrace that our mines should be closing down. Coal is the basis of our industrial supremacy. The fact that this country had such valuable and easily obtained coal has been our greatest asset in the past.

The second rift in the clouds is the conference between employers and employed to consider the state of our shipbuilding Here there has been a definite effort to consider many of the points raised in my article, and apparently a joint committee o employers and employed is to be set up. This is what I gathe from the Press reports of the speech by Mr. John Barr, a directo of Messrs. Vickers, Ltd., who acted as chairman at the conferenc His suggestion was that these committees shall consider costs production. This is precisely my proposal. This is a tangib example in concrete form, which I should like to see followed every industry. These committees, as I have previously point out, will serve to educate both sides into the difficulties and fe of the other. The employer will get into touch with his employ and employees will get into touch with the employer. Tl interests will become identical. If they succeed in reducing c of production and profits are made, then the workmen benefit.

The main difficulty in our present-day industrial probler the suspicion and bad blood which exists. I remember at a p meeting during the last election hearing a Conservative wo man pilloried from the back of the hall on the ground that h

the 'gaffer's friend.' Supposing he was, is it impossible to be the 'gaffer's' friend and the worker's at the same time? Let us get away from such an atmosphere of gibes against the hated capitalist, and let the capitalist take a broad view of the trust placed in his care. Capital was never given to the capitalist to exploit for selfish ends. When both sides in this quarrel attack their problems in the right way, then that old trade union motto which I have quoted will have a deeper implication. And what is far more important, British industry will have been saved.

My concluding remarks are simple. The trade of our country is in such a parlous state that the outlook is every excuse for that vile person, the pessimist, to be let loose. Pessimism never cures anything to my mind, and I have often myself been accused of being an incorrigible optimist. Our ills can be cured. Serious as our position is, by a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together we can cure our industrial ills Those ills are largely of our own making. We hear a great deal about 'ca' canny' among the workmen, but the employers are not entirely free from blame on this score. They do not work so hard or so long as their fathers and grandfathers did. The example of hard work should start at the top It is marvellous how the electric magnetism of a real worker vibrates upon those who work under him.

A few nights ago it was my pleasure to hear my friend (but political opponent) Mr. J H. Thomas speak at a timber trade banquet. He was appealing as a Socialist to a company of merchant princes, to whom his politics were anathema, but his appeal was non-party on behalf of our suffering masses. He spoke of the spirit of 1914, when all minds were centred on how much we could give, and not how much we could get. If that spirit can once again be uppermost in the minds of both employers and employed, then, and only then, will a solution of our difficulties be at hand. That solution cannot come by legislation, nor by fostering a party or class controversy. It can only come in answer to that fervent prayer of the Prime Minister, 'Give peace in our time, O Lord.'

JOHN R. REMER.

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION IN SWEDEN

EACH of the four States in the north of Europe is at the present moment pursuing its own interesting experiment in the alcohol question.

Finland, the nearest neighbour of Sweden on the east, adopted total prohibition during the war, and still keeps it. Prohibition in Finland has had both good and bad consequences; and it is not too much to say that it has given many bitter disappointments even to its warmest partisans. Nevertheless, prohibition is still supported by an overwhelming majority in the legislature, and there is every probability that there can be no serious question of repealing prohibition in the immediate future.

Norway, the western neighbour of Sweden, also during the war, introduced prohibition for all drinks of a stronger alcohol content than 14 per cent. Owing to the force of circumstances, however, Norway has found it expedient to abolish prohibition so far as concerns wine. The prohibition of spirits still continues but its effect has been such that the political parties are at presen engaged in a violent and uncertain struggle as to its continue existence.

Denmark has entered on the path of a high tax on alcoh The considerable rise in the prices of alcoholic drinks which h been a consequence of this has had a highly restrictive eff Thanks to the markedly thrifty character of the populat Denmark has in this way been able to obtain results wh would be inconceivable under similar circumstances in her ne bour States in the north of Europe.

In *Sweden*, even before the war, the foundation had been for an organisation of the trade in alcoholic drinks which ex an absolutely distinctive combination of various measures f limitation of the injurious effects of alcohol. The entire facture and sale of alcoholic drinks in Sweden has been ma subject of a monopoly. It has been left for the local au to decide whether trade in such drinks should be allowed place or not, and very far reaching restrictions have been i on the trade. The most important of these restrictions the sale has been made dependent on an individual cont

the buyers, intended to regulate consumption and to exclude those who abuse alcohol from access to it.

This Swedish system for the organisation of the trade in alcohol was long the battle-ground for a violent struggle, which, however, has now been succeeded by a remarkable tranquillity. For the present, at any rate, there has been a lull in the attacks, which came from two opposite camps, that of the opponents of restriction and that of the champions of prohibition. No Swede in anything like a responsible position at the present moment is in favour of a return to the conditions that prevailed before the coming into existence of individual control. The situation of the champions of prohibition can be made clear in the simplest way by putting together the three following events in the sphere of temperance politics

In a voluntary *plébiscite* which was arranged by the Swedish prohibition organisations at the close of the year 1909 more than 1,800,000 citizens over eighteen years of age gave their vote in favour of total prohibition, while not quite 20,000 voted against it.

In a consultative *plébiscite* which, in accordance with the decision of the Riksdag, took place in August 1922, when the present alcohol law had been in force for a period of about three years, 889,000 men and women over the age of twenty-three voted for the introduction of total prohibition, but 924,000 against it.

A few weeks ago the Swedish Riksdag unanimously rejected private motion in favour of a total prohibition of alcohol after declaration by representatives of the prohibitionist members of e Riksdag that prohibition legislation is not at the present time actical politics.

Politically, therefore, the Swedish system is very firmly oted. And what has it been able to achieve ?

From the point of view of organisation its result is that both wholesale and the retail trade in alcoholic drinks has been ancipated from every trace of private profit. No economic ce presses forward selling from behind in order to make the l mount up. Not even the restaurant-keepers who serve holic drinks in connection with food have any advantage in ing the consumption of alcohol at their restaurants rise above tain limit The State takes the profit of the sales, and the quence is that the Swedish people in 1923 spent more than o,000*l*. on the purchase of spirituous liquors and wines; than half of that sum, or nearly 5,500,000*l*., went to the equer. The total receipts of the Swedish State from taxes, n dues, excise, and various charges amounted to not quite o,000*l*. in that year. Hence about one-fifth of the total ue of the State was derived from the manufacture, import, ale of alcoholic drinks.

carried out with success during the great strike that embraced the whole country, bore witness to the spread of the idea of prohibition. In point of fact—to quote the most prominent speaker in the Riksdag at that time—prohibition seemed as irresistible as fate. But there were people animated with a strong social sense who feared that the simple prohibition formula did not yield any real solution of the problem, and who were resolved not to give way without resistance.

A young Stockholm physician, Dr. Ivan Bratt, was the most brilliant champion of this critical view. In the course of his practice he had had opportunities of studying alcoholism at close quarters. He was profoundly convinced of the necessity of energetic measures on the part of the community to fight against alcoholism; and he believed all the more in the possibility of such measures because he himself in a large number of cases had found by experience what amazingly good results could be obtained in those who abused alcohol by patriarchal supervision or a suitable change of environment or the like. He aimed his ingenious arguments in speech and writing against the idea of prohibition, less perhaps for reasons of principle than for practical and psychological reasons He maintained that it was bound to be impossible to enforce prohibition so long as influential and socially unobjectionable good citizens refused to regard the moderate consumption of alcohol as a crime. As alcohol is comparatively easy to manufacture, and as, under a state of prohibition, the immense possibilities of profit must tempt people to the illicit manufacture, importation, and sale of alcohol, the prohibition of alcohol could scarcely fail to evoke overwhelming forces which would be as dangerous for the general spirit of obedience to the law as for general temperance.

But Dr. Bratt did not content himself with this critical offensive against prohibition. He was able, a thing of muc more importance, to bring forward something positive. He boldly sketched a revolutionary reconstruction of the alcohol legislation in such a direction that the community might be enabled, with the system companies as organs, to control, restrict, and, if necessary, prevent every individual purchase of intoxicating drinks, and by means of other organs, anti-alcohol municipal committees, to keep an eye on other people who abused alcohol and in the last resort send them to Government institutions designed for their care. As a member of the Liberal group in the Stockholm City Council, and as the man appointed by that council as auditor of the Stockholm System Company, he maintained that, in order to meet the requirement of the law that the sale should be organised 'in the interests of morality,' the company must first and foremost know to whom it sold alcohol and in how large quantities. As the

system company was not greatly impressed by his remarks, he himself founded a new company which he called the 'Stockholm System' in contrast to the older 'Gothenburg System'; and this new company obtained as from the beginning of the year 1914 the concession of the trade in alcoholic drinks in Stockholm.

One day in February 1914 the inhabitants of the Swedish capital were informed that no one would be allowed to buy spirituous drinks if he had not first obtained permission to do so from the Stockholm System and had received from the company a passbook (*motbok*) in which every purchase was stamped. The news was received with mixed feelings. Some people applied for passbooks, while others obtained spirituous drinks from places outside Stockholm. The legislature intervened and surrounded the capital, and also the towns where the system companies had followed the example of the Stockholm company, with regional protective zones known as control areas. When the most persistent opponents of the system began to import from abroad the State authorities again intervened and prescribed that imported alcoholic goods might be delivered from the customs only through the intermediary of the system companies. At the same time the Stockholm System had begun to buy up one after the other of the private wine and spirit firms. In an ever-increasing number these passed from private ownership into semi-public ownership, gathered into the hands of a company embracing the whole country, which had been organised on the same principles as the system companies. Within a few years this company was the owner of all the wine firms and spirit factories of the country and the manager of what was practically a monopoly of the wholesale trade to the system companies. Legislation followed in the tracks of the action which had been already carried out. The law which was passed by the Riksdag in 1917 and came into force in 1919 made the passbook and the control of sales to individuals obligatory for the retail trade of the system companies in alcoholic liquors. A few years later the Riksdag also confirmed the monopolisation of the wholesale trade, that is to say, the manufacture, import, and sale of intoxicating drinks for the system companies.

The whole of this course of development, carried through on private initiative, would have been inconceivable without the moral support of the opinion which the prohibition movement had called into being in more far-sighted circles. For some people the Bratt restriction system stood out as a valuable aid in the work of improving the state of temperance. For others—and perhaps the more numerous—its essential importance lay in offering a means of escape from the state of prohibition. Starting from

different points, both these tendencies joined in working together to bring about the legalisation of the new organisation.

In its now completed form this organisation comprises the entire manufacture of spirits and wines in Sweden, all importation of such goods into the country, and all sale of them either to the retailers, the system companies, or to the public. Beer occupies a place by itself. During the war, owing to shortage of raw material, the production of strong kinds of beer came to an end; and this production has not since been resumed. A law which will soon be two years old forbids the making and sale of malt liquors with higher alcoholic strength than about 3·75 per cent. in volume. The sale of beer which is weak in alcohol, on the other hand, is free

The importation, manufacture, and wholesale sale of spirituous drinks and wine is in the hands of a semi-State company called 'Vin & Spritcentralen' The dividend on the shares in this company is restricted, and the surplus profits fall to the State. Representatives appointed by the Government have the majority of votes on the board, and the Government also appoints a managing director and half of the company's auditors. Private pecuniary interests have been entirely removed from the operations of the company, the strictest possible control over manufacture and stocks has been established, and the most scrupulous honesty in the nomenclature of the goods has been carried through in very close connection with the legislation of the exporting countries themselves.

The sale of wines and spirituous drinks to the public is in the hands of the local system companies, 120 in number at the present time, each of them being the central body in its own control area. The concessions to these system companies are granted by the county authorities on the recommendation of the proper municipal authority. The shareholders in the system companies cannot get more than 5 per cent. on their shares, and their influence is limited to the fact that they choose two out of the five members of the board of each company The three other members of the board are appointed by the authorities, the chairman being appointed by a central State authority, the [illegible]oard of Control, which exercises a very searching inspection [illegible] the companies, issues regulations for their operations, appoints [illegible]ors, and passes their accounts and reports. All profits [illegible] the operations of the companies, over and above the 5 per [illegible] the shareholders, are paid over every year to the national [illegible].

[illegible] to be allowed to buy spirituous drinks or wines for [illegible]nption a person must be the holder of a passbook [illegible]ystem company. Anyone who wants a passbook

makes a request to that effect to the company in whose area he is domiciled. He gives his complete name, date and place of birth, occupation, address—in brief, he gives all the information that is necessary for identification. He has also to answer a number of questions intended to throw light on his social qualifications: whether he has received poor relief, whether he has paid his taxes, how large a dwelling he occupies, whether he has a family and, if he has, how large, why he has not asked for a passbook earlier, what quantity of spirituous drinks he considers himself to require per mensem or per annum. Verifying and supplementary information can be obtained by the company from the local authorities, who are bound to inform the company when anyone has been punished for drunkenness, reported as an alcoholist, or been guilty of crime calculated to disqualify him for the right to purchase alcoholic drinks. The information is entered on a card in a card-index, comprising all the persons who have applied to the company If there is no reason to refuse the right to buy, the person in question receives a passbook provided with a number corresponding to the number on the card in the central idex of the company and also to that on a card in the index which kept in the shop to which he is assigned for making his purchases. he customer makes his orders for spirituous drinks and wine on ·der forms in the passbook and signs each order with his name. is signature has already been entered on the card which is kept . the place of sale; and before the goods ordered are delivered 1 examination is made to see that the signature on the order rm is genuine. The purchase is stamped in the passbook, and ie order forms are sent up to the main office of the system comany, where they are sorted into portfolios, one portfolio for each istomer, and are afterwards made the objects of revision.

The law forbids a system company to sell to anyone more ian 4 litres of spirituous drinks per month. For special casions, however, as when an important family festival gathers gether a large number of guests in a home, a larger quantity may granted after a request explaining the reasons has been handed . But the intention of the legislation is not that passbooks ititling the holder to purchase 4 litres of spirituous drinks in the onth should be given to anyone who asks for them and against hom there is no objection to be raised. It is the duty of the comnies, so far as possible, to apportion the right of purchase, having gard to the legitimate requirements that exist. As a rule, only ie passbook is issued to each household. If there are grown-up ns in the household, however, one or more of the sons can, in dition to the head of the family, get a passbook with a specially nited right of purchase—*e.g*, restricted to 1 or 2 litres a month. married woman can get a passbook as well as her husband,

but not both at the same time, and in nine cases out of ten the book is issued to the man. Women who earn their own livelihood can also obtain a passbook provided that they are not too young, but as a rule only for a small quantity, varying from 1 or 2 litres a year to 1 or 2 litres a quarter. An unmarried young man cannot usually expect to obtain approval for a request for a passbook until he is twenty-three to twenty-five years old; and the right to purchase which is then granted is at first very much restricted. Persons who are badly off, or whose pecuniary conditions are uncertain so that they are not in a position to pay their taxes or have to have recourse to free hospital treatment, communal meals or the like, for themselves or their children, are not allowed the maximum quantity stated in the law. The way in which the private individual makes use of alcoholic drinks is thus not the sole factor which is taken into consideration. The system companies have also to consider the fact that spirituous drinks have to some extent the character of an article of luxury, which is apt still further to impoverish one who is already poor. Constant attention must also be given to the possibility that persons may be able to gain pecuniary profits by selling to others if they are enabled to buy larger quantities of spirituous drinks than they themselves require.

Anyone who has repeatedly been arrested for drunkenness o specially treated for alcoholism, or is otherwise known to lead a disreputable life, will naturally get no passbook. If a system company finds out from its own observation or from information from the authorities that the holder of a passbook is not very careful in his relation to alcohol, his right of purchase is restricted or entirely suspended. In many such cases it has proved advantageous to deliver the passbook with a strictly limited right of purchase to the wife of the irresponsible man, or to place the careless consumer under special supervision in co-operation with the municipal committees against alcoholism or other humanitarian organisations. In that case he knows that he can retain his limited right to purchase only so long as he lives an orderly life and this consciousness may help him in a remarkable manner to [illegible] control of himself. The book itself does not show whether [illegible] passbook holds good for the highest quantity granted by the [illegible] for a smaller quantity, as it has the same appearance in [illegible]; but in order to find out the reason why a book covers [illegible] quantity it is necessary to consult the central index [illegible] company. Every official who has to deal with these [illegible] bound to the strictest secrecy. The card-indices of [illegible] company will undoubtedly become sociological material [illegible] for future social investigators.

[illegible] system companies alone have to deal with sales [illegible]

off, the sales on, which are connected with restaurant operations, are in the hands both of system companies and of private individuals. The serving of intoxicants at people's restaurants in the proper sense of the term has been retained by the system companies without exception. The serving of intoxicants at restaurants of a higher standing is to a large extent in the hands of private restaurant keepers. But these restaurant keepers are bound by very strict conditions in their contracts with the system company. The period of the contract, and consequently the right to serve intoxicants, is restricted to from one to three years. The restaurant proprietor is pledged to buy from the local system company all the alcoholic drinks he serves, and as the system company can refuse to sell to him if he does not fulfil the terms of the contract, the company has the power of exercising an effective control over the restaurant keeper's sale of intoxicants to his customers. The prices the public have to pay for the liquors served are carefully regulated; and if the amount of spirituous liquors and strong wines served at the restaurant rises above a certain limit, fixed beforehand, the restaurant keeper has to pay for the excess quantities to the system company the same price that he himself gets from the public. For him, therefore, it becomes a matter of pecuniary interest to husband the sales of alcoholic drinks and to make the most possible of the sale of food and non-alcoholic drinks. In order to prevent the consumption checked by the restrictions on sales off from taking refuge in sales on and there bringing about an abnormal rise, the quantity of spirituous drinks and strong wines served to guests at restaurants is very carefully limited. Spirituous drinks may be served only in connection with a genuine meal [illegible] a certain price; and no guest may have more than a [illegible] quantity. Three glasses of spirituous drinks of 5 centi-[illegible] each is at the present time the greatest quantity that a [illegible] can obtain at one and the same visit to a better-class restaurant. Still more strict serving regulations apply to the popular restaurants. Similar provisions regulate the serving of strong wines.

During the ten years during which the system of sale here briefly described has been applied in the capital of Sweden, where it was first introduced, the outer conditions under which it has worked have undergone many vicissitudes. In his work *Drink* [illegible] *1914-1922: a Lesson in Control*, Mr. Arthur Shadwell has mentioned a very instructive period during the years 1907-19, when the shortage of foodstuffs and the trade blockade in combination compelled the Swedish authorities to have recourse to a systematic rationing of alcohol of a kind which otherwise is alien to the Swedish system of adaptation to individual requirements

The quantity of spirituous drinks which was allowed to be bought from the system companies was cut down to 2 litres a quarter. This state of things approached total prohibition. The public reacted against it; illicit distilling and unlawful sales spread like a pestilence; and cases of drunkenness, which had at first been reduced to a minimum, increased at a terrible pace. The restrictions had reached the breaking point.

The course of development since then, however, was unknown to Mr. Shadwell; it is, if possible, still more instructive. When it became possible at the beginning of 1920 to relax the very severe rationing, and the sale of intoxicants could return to the more ample form contemplated by the legislation, a very gratify[illegible] change took place. The lawful sale of alcohol was augme[illegible] while the unlawful sales shrank; and the immediate effect wa[illegible] rapid diminution of both drunkenness and alcoholism. The [illegible] few years have occasioned other difficulties to the selling organi[illegible]tion. The currency conditions in some of the former belligerent countries on the Baltic have stimulated a comprehensiv[illegible] smuggling traffic, which has especially been attracted by th[illegible] prohibitions in Finland and Norway, but which has also ma[illegible] itself unpleasantly felt in Sweden and Denmark. The stru[illegible] against the smuggling of spirits is at the present time the m[illegible] exacting task of temperance policy for the whole of Scandinav[illegible] and for the more effective prosecution of this struggle there [illegible] recently been concluded a convention between the Baltic Po[illegible] containing stricter rules for the exportation of spirituous dr[illegible] and the examination of suspicious vessels.

As the Swedish alcohol legislation does not deprive the [illegible] abiding citizen of the use of alcohol, but rather raises obsta[illegible] against its abuse, smuggling and illicit trade are here deprive[illegible] any protective disguise, and stand revealed as the speculatio[illegible] [illegible]lous desire for gain in vice and immorality. In Swed[illegible] [illegible]efore, the measures against smuggling spirits have a v[illegible] [illegible]ite and broad support in public opinion.

[illegible] the Swedish selling system lacks the salient simplicity of [illegible] [illegible]ition programme, it has by way of compensation [illegible] [illegible] of building on an indisputable and generally reco[illegible] [illegible] when it brands the abuse of alcoholic drin[illegible] [illegible] It places on every private individual the de[illegible] [illegible] in a way which is socially desirable: in [illegible] [illegible] the sense of social responsibility, and in [illegible] [illegible]ve effect. The apparatus which it ha[illegible] [illegible]inish the injurious effects of alcoh[illegible] [illegible] habit may seem to be somewha[illegible] [illegible] that the foreign observer wi[illegible] [illegible]onceivable elsewhere than in Sweden

But there is nothing in the national character of the Swede which makes him more fully disposed than many other peoples for this kind of legislation; and when the first outlines were drawn up by Dr. Ivan Bratt they were greeted with scepticism or ridicule as an Utopia, as a fantastic device by a theorist with no sense of reality. The Utopia has become a solid fact. The time has not yet come for a final judgment; but nevertheless the Swedish system has already stood so many tests, and can show so many fine results, that we have every right to look forward with distinct hopefulness to the continued development of this very distinctive attempt at the solution of the alcohol problem.

EINAR ROSENBORG.

COTTON-GROWING WITHIN THE EMPIRE

When the supply of a raw material is equal to the demand, the price of that material remains more or less constant; when demand increases without a corresponding increase in supply, the shortage is indicated by a rise in price.

That there is a very serious shortage in the world's supply of cotton to-day is revealed by the high prices which all grades now command. For example, in 1914 the average price paid for Middling American per pound was 7·16 pence, which at that time was considered abnormally high; to-day's quotation is 14·31 pence per pound, approximately double.

The shortage is due to a variety of causes. Cotton provides the cheapest material for clothing yet devised; consequently, in one form or another, it is in demand all the world over. Although a large new acreage has been placed under cotton since the war, the additional quantity of the raw material produced has been sufficient to keep pace with the rising demand due to the normal rease in the world's population. Moreover, the yield of cotton acre under cultivation in old-established fields is slowly, but surely, declining. In America that very destructive insect the boll weevil, is reducing production and adding to the of the product. In Egypt the cotton lands appear to be ly losing in fertility.

overtake this shortage is a matter of vital importance to d in general, and to Lancashire in particular; how very nt may be judged by the fact that directly and indirectly ap ately one-fifth of the entire working population of this coun dependent upon the cotton trade for a livelihood.

In article which appeared recently,[1] Lord Meston writes of a par rship of three which has set out to increase the production o tton in the Sudan. The partners are the Government, a ndicate, and some native agriculturists. The Government finds the land, provides the irrigation works, marks out the fields, and settles the tenant cultivators. The syndicate suppl ies the cotton seed, ploughs the fields, controls

[1] 'Sudan Problem s—II. Internal,' by the Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I. *Sunday Times*, Feb y 1, 1925.

the water, and gins and markets the cotton when the crop has been harvested. The tenant cultivators till the fields between seed-time and harvest, and pick the cotton when mature. This seems a good division of responsibilities. The gains expected to result from this co-operation are to be justly apportioned, for the tenant cultivator is to receive 40 per cent. of the value of the crop raised, whilst the Government and the syndicate will share the remainder.

But Lord Meston sounds a very necessary note of warning. Referring to the Gezireh project as a whole, he writes:

> Its magnitude, its efficiency and its symmetry entirely divorce it from the ordinary agricultural life of the people; and the Government will have to provide models on a far less ambitious scale if it hopes to get the peasantry practically interested in future extensions of the cotton area.

Therein lies the danger. Will the native agriculturist be attracted by great enterprises of this kind? Or, if he is induced to settle on these created fields, will he, can he, live up ›the high pitch of efficiency demanded of him? Will he not ›oner or later succumb to a natural impulse and return to his *'dinary agricultural life?* Will he not come to hate the efficiency ıd symmetry of these gigantic schemes as our poorest classes ıathe and detest the efficiency and symmetry of the workhouse, ·eferring their own homes, however squalid they may be? In ıort, will the Gezireh cotton area and extensions of that area :tract the native cultivators (and their families) in sufficient ımbers, or, having succeeded in doing so, will they be able to ›ep them?

Already doubts are expressed as to the adequacy of the labour ıpply in the Sudan. The Sudanese are no fonder of working ıder a rigid discipline to a time schedule than are the peoples ırther south. Moreover, the African native does not readily igrate. It usually requires force, famine, or a pestilence to duce him to move with his family even to a more favoured spot ıan that which he happens to occupy. This may seem unreason-›le: possibly it is; but it is human nature and must be taken to account.

When leading his *ordinary agricultural life*, the native is apt be regarded by those of us who do not know him well as a lazy llow. This is not fair to him. In most parts of Africa food is sily come by, and, since his other wants are few, the native has nple leisure, which he thoroughly enjoys, and no amount of 'ating about the dignity of labour will rob him of that enjoy-ent. In his place who would work if the occupation offered did ›t appeal? But introduce to the African a home interest, and : is not slow to respond.

It is well to lay stress upon this point: offer to the African native family some reasonably profitable occupation which can be followed at home, one which will appeal alike to man, woman, and child, one in which they can all take an active interest, and it is accepted as a pleasurable pastime.

For the successful cultivation of cotton certain factors must be present, namely, suitable soil, a sufficient rainfall, ample cheap labour, and good transport facilities. Given suitable soil, an insufficient rainfall can be augmented by irrigation, and transport can be provided; these things can be bought with money, but there is no substitute for the labourer in the cotton fields, because the whole cotton crop does not ripen simultaneously, and no reaping machine has yet been invented which can differentiate between the ripe and the unripe cotton boll. It would therefore seem that the labourer is by no means the least important factor; moreover, his goodwill is necessary. He and every member of his family must become *practically interested* in the growing of cotton, or any partnership entered into with him to produce it will probably fail.

Attracted by the very high prices which cotton commands to-day, Europeans within the Empire are turning their attention to the cultivation of cotton in preference to other crops. In Australia, in the Cape Province, in the Transvaal, and in the two Rhodesias, cotton is being planted on a considerable scale. These activities may ease the present difficult position slightly and temporarily, but they will not solve Lancashire's problem. The European in Africa must live up to the standard of comfort of his kind, or he would die; his wants are many and expensive. Lancashire asks for a vast supply of very cheap cotton. The European cannot produce cotton cheaply enough. He cannot, of course, afford to employ white labour, and even the cheapest native labour is costly and uncertain. To very few European planters is native female and child labour accessible; therefore it is necessary to employ, feed, and pay men and boys to do a class of work which can very well be done by women and children. The European will cultivate cotton so long as it commands a high price. Lancashire's aim and object is to bring about a return to pre-war prices as rapidly as possible; she wishes to see Middling American sold in the world's market at sevenpence or less per pound. Long before that level is reached European planters will have abandoned cotton.

Where, then, is Lancashire to find her plentiful supplies of cheap cotton? Consciously or unconsciously, Lord Meston points the way. In his article already referred to, he says in effect, 'Get the native peasantry of Africa practically interested in the cultivation of cotton.' What can be done in a country

where the native peasantry has become *practically interested*—to quote Lord Meston's words once more—is clearly demonstrated by the wonderful progress which Uganda has made in the cultivation of cotton during the last few years. In the Uganda Protectorate almost all, if not all, the cotton is produced by the natives on their own land at their own homes. There, too, the elements of a partnership exist, but the responsibilities are differently distributed, and, though the symmetry of the Gezireh scheme is conspicuously absent, a fair measure of efficiency is maintained under Government control and encouragement. The native cultivators may be said to own the land, which they not only till between seed-time and harvest, but plough up in the first instance. They also sow the seed and pick the cotton when ripe. The European or Asiatic middle-man—in the place of a syndicate —buys, gins, and markets the cotton. The Government supplies the seed and, as closely as the numerical strength of its Agricultural Department permits, exercises a general and most helpful supervision over the industry.

The following figures reflect the progress made during the ast ten years :

Output in Bales of 400 lb of Cotton Lint

1915	25,000
1920	75,000
1925	160,000

What total might have been reached had ample transport xisted it is impossible to say. Some suggest that 1,000,000 ales would now have been the yearly crop of cotton. The fact emains that the 3,000,000 natives who inhabit Uganda are apable of producing a very large quantity of high-grade cotton. The peasantry is willing and anxious to grow, tend, and pick the otton, but does not regard the transportation of it as a pleasurable astime ; on the contrary, carrying loads of cotton or pushing ales of it along the road in hand-carts is hard and uninteresting work which takes the man from his family ; rather than indulge n it the native will sometimes decline to grow cotton at all.

But, in spite of inadequate transport facilities, the natives of Jganda, assisted by their women and children, have reached an annual output of 160,000 bales of cotton. The quality of their otton, thanks to the unremitting care of the Agricultural Department, is of a higher grade than that known to the market as Middling American, and though it may not be so fine as the cotton which the Sudan expects to produce under the Gezireh scheme, t is what Lancashire wants.

Although only on the threshold of her development, Uganda

is already prosperous. Her prosperity is due almost entirely to the cotton which her native peasantry grows. She affords striking support to the assertion, so frequently made, that cotton confers immense benefits upon the country in which it is produced and upon those who produce it.

There are many areas in Africa, other than Uganda, where cotton will grow. The soil is good, the rainfall convenient, and the native population numerous. The exploitation of such areas offers a rich moral as well as a material reward.

It is not suggested that Uganda has met with no difficulties on her road to prosperity, or that difficulties do not lie ahead. She and all other dependencies who follow her cotton policy always will have problems to solve. The native agriculturist has much to learn in regard to the cultivation of cotton, but fortunately he learns quickly and does not readily forget.

Before the partition of Africa by the European Powers, which resulted in an influx of missionaries, Government officials, and itinerant traders, the natives in many parts grew cotton, knew how to spin it, and wove from it strips of cloth or blankets. With them the cotton bush was a perennial, harbouring all manner of insect pests and diseases. The older the bush, the more diseased; it probably died of disease, for it was never uprooted. These bushes were in no sense cultivated as a crop; as a general rule they were permitted to spring up anywhere in the immediate neighbourhood of the village.

With the coming of the European the natives ceased to take interest in their cotton bushes. White and coloured calicoes, print, and cotton blankets, together with glass beads and base metal wires, continued for some years to be the sole medium of barter. Ten chickens or a goat were exchanged for a yard of white calico or of red Turkey twill, two or three yards of print for a bag of grain, a young ox for a cotton blanket. The native processes of spinning and weaving from their miserably short-staple cotton were laborious; chicken, goats, sheep, and cattle were plentiful; the native industry of weaving died, so, too, did the cotton bushes, though here and there a few may survive which must be searched for and destroyed, or they will remain a standing menace to the cultivation of good cotton.

The native must be taught to regard the cotton bush as an annual, to be uprooted and burnt at the end of each season under pain of penalties, for thus only can disease be kept under.

He must be brought to rely solely upon his local administration for his yearly supply of cotton seed, which should be issued to him free of charge; if left to himself, he will plant any seed he can get, which of necessity results in rapid deterioration of the cotton produced.

He must be taught to regard the insect pests and diseases to which cotton is subject as enemies to himself, and must be shown how to combat them.

It is necessary to nurse him through years of falling prices which will inevitably follow upon his successful efforts to produce cotton in large quantities. When prices fall, the native very naturally believes that the middle-man who buys his cotton is cheating him. The marketing of the crop must therefore be conducted under Government supervision for some years. The native has, as a rule, and rightly so, an absolute faith in the Government, and so long as district officers have the time to explain the phenomenon to him he will accept falling prices philosophically. This is a problem with which the Administration of Uganda has successfully grappled in the past and will be called upon to face more frequently perhaps in the future.

What is required everywhere in our African possessions is a general strengthening of the *personnel* of agricultural departments.

If a large-scale map of Africa is consulted, it will be seen that n Lakes Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyasa, Nature has provided Central East Africa with unique waterways. Each of these great akes is now connected with a coast port by rail. The population along the lakes' shores is in many parts dense; the rainfall is known to be convenient; and the soil has been declared suitable n the main. Money spent on the development of transport—specially that offered by the vast natural waterways—and in ncouraging the native agriculturists to grow cotton should produce results similar to those which Uganda has shown. And if the olicy of getting the *native peasantry practically interested* is also ollowed vigorously in West Africa and in the native reserves of Rhodesia and of South Africa, there seems every reason to hope at in the course of time Lancashire will be entirely freed from r dependence upon foreign countries for her supplies of raw tton.

Lancashire must look to the native peasant population of frica for her salvation, for no one else can give her what she ants.

FRANK WORTHINGTON.

INDIA AND ITS LANGUAGES

INDIA presents opportunities that are found together in no other part of the world for observing the different methods by which mankind has solved the problems of speech. In India proper no less than 179, or if we include Burma 190, languages are used in everyday intercourse, and these belong to four different great linguistic families, besides other smaller groups that have not yet been finally affiliated. The great families are the Austric, the Dravidian, the Tibeto-Chinese, and the Aryan, and in this respect India may be looked upon as a kind of linguistic Clapham Junction, where the traveller can transfer himself from one train to another without change of platform, and so be conveyed at will in all directions to the most distant corners of the earth. By the Austric line we are carried south-east from the Punjab, across India, Burma, Indo-China, Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, to far-away Easter Island, off the coast of South America; by the Tibeto-Chinese we are led eastwards from Baltistan, in Kashmir, along the southern slopes of the Himalaya, through Assam, Burma, and Siam, to China; while the Aryan languages take us by the great Indo-European line, stretching across Western Asia, through Europe, and beyond the Atlantic to America. In this way we find that India has linguistic relations that very nearly encircle the entire world.

It is languages of the Austric family that have been spoken for the longest time in India, and, so far as we know, some old form of it may be looked upon as India's aboriginal speech. It falls into two great divisions—the Austro-Nesian and the Austro-Asiatic—but of these two the former is spoken only in one corner of the country, in the extreme south of Burma, by a tribe of sea-gipsies known as Salôns. Thence, as explained above, it stretches across the Pacific to Easter Island, to the south, also reaching New Zealand, but avoiding Australia. The Austro-Asiatic division has important representatives in Indo-China, which do not now concern us, and, besides, not only reaches up Burma into Assam, but also crosses the Bay of Bengal, *viâ* the Nicobar Islands, into

the centre of India proper, where it appears as Santali and other allied languages spoken by mountain tribes, such as the Santals, the Mundas, and the Kurkus, whose names will be familiar to readers of the journals of missionary societies. But the Linguistic Survey of India, which has lately been completed, shows to us that languages of this group must once have been spread over a great part of the valley of the Ganges and along the southern face of the Himalaya right up to the Punjab. Over the whole of this vast area, though other languages spoken by later immigrants now hold the field, again and again we come across relics, preserved like flies in amber, in the shape of words and idioms of Austro-Asiatic origin. Moreover, these can be traced back to very ancient times. When the Aryans, as we shall see, entered India from the north-west, they found in their new home many things with which they had hitherto been unacquainted, and for which they had to borrow the native names. We find these even in Sanskrit—an Aryan language which has been dead for more than 2000 years, and which had to adopt the Austro-Asiatic names for such articles as the betel leaf, for cotton, for cotton cloth, and even for the bamboo arrow—words which, till their origin was discovered, have sorely puzzled Indian philologists. Again, as might be expected, some of the names of Indian countries which appear in Sanskrit literature are of similar origin. The Aryans found them in use and adopted them. An interesting example is found in the name of the folk called ' Klings ' by the Malays, the last-named being a people speaking an Austro-Nesian language. These Klings are immigrant Indians, and the word is a corruption of ' Kalinga,' the ancient Sanskrit name of a part of the east coast of India. But ' Kalinga ' itself is an Austro-Asiatic word borrowed by Sanskrit, which in this way became so well known to Europeans that it appears in Pliny's *Natural History*. We thus have an instance of a word originally Austro-Asiatic, adopted by the Indo-Aryans, and again reappearing in a corrupted form in the Austro-Nesian speech of the Malay Archipelago. Father Schmidt, of Vienna, who is our great authority on the subject, is of opinion that the earliest traceable form of all these Austric languages must have been spoken in India itself, and that thence they started on their progress across the Pacific to Easter Island and New Zealand. On their long journey they have, of course, undergone great modifications, but the chain of relationship is still clearly traceable. Among other Austro-Asiatic tongues of India we may mention the Talaing, once spoken over a great part of Burma, but now driven to Pegu, in the south, and the Khasi of Assam, the language of the district in which Shillong, the capital of that province, is situated.

If we take Santali as an example of the most important group

of these Indian Austro-Asiatic languages, we are at once struck by the apparent complexity of its grammatical rules. While it is throughout a model of regularity—it is as easy as Esperanto in that respect—its method of expressing the simplest of ideas demands that every verb must, by itself, provide a reflected picture of the whole sentence in which it appears. For instance, the word *dal* means ' beat,' and that is simple enough ; but if we wish to say that ' my slave's son allows people to beat him,' the word that we must use for ' beat ' is *dalochoakantahentaetiñae*, in which each syllable has its own special force, while the whole monstrosity means ' He, who belongs to him, who belongs to me, will continue letting himself be beaten ' ! It is no wonder that the full conjugation of a Santali verb would occupy something like 600 pages of an ordinary grammar, and yet the whole principle is so simple and logical that it can be mastered in a few hours.

The affinities of the Dravidian languages are not nearly so certain as those of the Austric. They are mainly spoken in the south of India, and among them are included languages such as Tamil (the tongue of eighteen millions of people), Kanarese (ten millions), and Telugu (twenty-four millions), each with a systematised grammar and an important literature representing ancient civilisation. There are also small tribes scattered over Northern India, and even in Baluchistan, far to the west beyond the Indus, which speak minor languages of the family, so that the total number of people whose vernacular is Dravidian is sixty-four millions, or considerably more than the population of Germany. It may be taken as certain that in bygone ages tribes speaking languages of this family once occupied a great part of Western India and of the Punjab, but where they came from and how they got there are questions on which scholars are not yet agreed. One set, of which Mr. Slater is the latest exponent, maintains that, like the Aryans, they came into India from the north-west, but long before the latter, and it is indeed pretty certain that when the Aryans did enter India they found them a civilised people, inhabiting cities, and in possession of the Punjab, where many
...ard fight had to be won before they could be mastered.
Asiatic ...er school looks upon them as coming in prehistoric times
of the coun... Australia, when there was land communication between
gipsies know... continents. This aspect of the case is still under
across the Pa... and it would as yet be premature to give a decided
Zealand, but ... regard to it ; but, though we cannot now quote any-
has important r...ing that such a connection exists, we can at least
concern us, and, b... in points of resemblance that prevent us from
but also crosses the... t is impossible.

The original home of the speakers of Tibeto-Chinese languages seems to have been between the upper courses of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Ho-ang-ho, and from here they spread in all directions. So far as India is concerned, they entered it in at least three great series of waves of migration along the river valleys down the Chindwin, the Irrawaddy, and the Salween into Burma, down the Brahmaputra into Assam, and up the same river into Tibet. Each swarm forced its predecessors either before it down to the seaboard or else into the hills overlooking the river valleys, and hus we find the speakers of the older Austro-Asiatic languages of Burma and Assam confined, as I have said, either to the coast country of Pegu, in the extreme south, or scattered about in nountain tracts where they were safe from invasion.

The Tibeto-Chinese languages have two main branches—the Siamese-Chinese and the Tibeto-Burman. So far as India is con-erned, the former, with about a million speakers, is found only n Burma, whither the Shans, whose tongue is closely allied to iamese and through it to Chinese, came from Yunnan, and now orm an important community. More important to us are the Tibeto-Burman forms of speech heard in Tibet, Burma, and rge tracts in Assam and Eastern Bengal. In Tibet the speakers ave covered the whole country as far west as Kashmir. To their outh lies the Himalaya, and numerous colonies have spilled over at range and have occupied Nepal and the whole southern face ht along as far as the Punjab. The time of the earliest invasion India is unknown to us, but the immigrations have been going for many centuries, and we know that a powerful Tibeto-rman kingdom existed in Assam when it was conquered by e Ahoms, a Siamese-Chinese tribe, in the thirteenth century. warms of invaders have come at intervals ever since, and the last vasion—that of the Kachins—was only stopped by the British nquest of Upper Burma in 1886.

The Tibeto-Chinese languages offer a marked contrast to the tali of which I have just been speaking. Their vocabularies her consist entirely of words of one syllable or are based on h, and phonetic rules so limit the number of even such mono-llables that in some there are not more than 500 or 600 possible rds. Nevertheless, by a system of building up compound words m these monosyllables, they are capable of expressing com-cated concrete ideas without difficulty.

If we except the two great literary languages, Tibetan and rmese, all the speakers of Tibeto-Burman forms of speech now e in mountainous districts. As a rule, each tribe is separated om its neighbours by difficult country, and when the members f one do meet those of another it is often only to settle some feud y a fight, or in wilder tracts, to satisfy the craving for head-

hunting or for captives for human sacrifice. Hence communication between the various tribes is difficult and rare. Moreover, a monosyllabic unwritten language, the words of which are liable to be altered under various causes, such as taboo or the like, is particularly easily changed. There are cases on record in which a tribe has sent out a colony to a distant hill, and in a couple of generations the respective members of each community have become unintelligible to each other. In this way tribal speeches rapidly split up into separate dialects, and dialects into separate languages; and so, while there are about 120 Tibeto-Burman languages, the number of speakers of each, excluding Tibetan and Burmese, averaging about 17,000, is small.

Another peculiarity of these languages is that they have no proper noun or verb. In English, if we say, 'My hand is strong, 'hand' is a noun; and if we say, 'Hand me this,' it is a verb. This occurs only occasionally in English, but every Tibeto-Burman word can be treated in the same way. For instance, if we want to say, 'I went,' we must say, 'My going finish,' in which 'going and 'finish' are neither noun nor verb, but something between both, and can be used as either.

This failure to distinguish clearly between nominal and verbal categories has in some of the Tibeto-Burman languages resulted in making them incapable of expressing abstract ideas. In tongues such as Tibetan or Burmese, which have developed literatures, this has been overcome by various devices, but in the more uncultivated speeches of the wild tribes of the hill country between Bengal and China the difficulty still exists. Here we find tribes whose languages appear unable to express anything in general terms, and who confine their vocabularies to purely concrete ideas. Many, for instance, do not possess a general term for so simple an idea as 'man.' They can speak of an Englishman, of a Singpho, of a Mikir, of a Garo, or of a man of any other tribe, but they have no word for 'man' in the abstract. Similarly, in one of these languages—Lushei—while there are at least nine or ten words for different kinds of ants, there is no word for 'ant generally.

Words denoting relationship or parts of the body are the results of an abstraction. A father, in the abstract, who is not the father of any particular individual, is an idea which requires a certain amount of reflection. Such words are accordingly hardly ever used alone in Tibeto-Burman languages, but, with a few exceptions, are always associated with some particular person. We come across words for 'my father,' 'thy mother,' 'his hand,' and so on; but 'father,' 'mother,' or 'hand' is not used by itself. Most Tibeto-Burmans would be sadly put to it to translate literally such sentences as 'A father is naturally kind' or 'The

hand possesses five fingers.' In some cases we come across languages conscious of this difficulty and struggling against it, and can watch the process by which the mentality of a savage tribe expands and develops its speech so as to become an implement for expressing higher and more abstract thought. In ordinary talk the possessive pronoun of the third person occurs much more frequently than 'my' and 'thy,' and in some of these languages the word for 'his' has gradually become more and more indefinite, till it is ultimately used as a mere meaningless prefix, employed with all nouns to which it is desired to give an indefinite sense.

Similarly, these languages possess no grammatical form corresponding to what to us seems so essential—a relative pronoun [o express such an idea as 'the man who came yesterday' a peaker would have to make up some such sentence as 'the 'esterday-come man.' Some, however, of these tribes now find hemselves in contact with Aryan languages all of which make as ull a use of the relative pronoun as does English. Attracted by ts manifest convenience, they have begun to adopt the idiom into heir own language, and the way in which they have solved the roblem is a remarkable example of how the human mind in the nost distant countries works along the same lines. Just as we in England have taken the interrogative pronoun 'Who ?' and now ise it also as a relative, so the Lhota Nagas of Assam, acting quite independently and with no neighbouring language from which they could borrow the idea, have done the same. If a Lhota wishes to tell you to take what you want, he says (if we translate it literally), 'What do you wish to take ? Take it.'

Very different from these Tibeto-Burman tongues are the Aryan, spoken by 233 millions (about half the population of Europe) over Northern and Western India. Here we have languages istantly related to our own, with full array of vocabulary and rammar according to our European notions and capable of xpressing with clarity and elegance any idea that the mind of nan can conceive. We know more about how these forms of peech came into India, and can even give approximate dates for heir entry. The Aryan languages are a branch of the great Indo-European family, of which Latin, Greek, English, and most of the ther European tongues are also members. The original home rom which the Indo-European languages spread over Europe nd Western and Southern Asia has been a subject of discussion or many years. We in England are probably most familiar with he cautious opinion of the late Professor Max Müller that it was somewhere in Asia'; but since that opinion was uttered many ther localities have been proposed, of which the one that for long

was most generally accepted, and is still adhered to by many authorities, is the steppe country of Southern Russia. The latest theory, urged with great felicity by Professor P. Giles, of Cambridge, in the *Cambridge History of India*—based on the distribution of the vegetables and animals the names of which have survived from the most ancient times, on geological history and on discoveries lately made in Asia Minor—places the centre of dispersion farther to the north and west, in a tract which may roughly be considered as equivalent to the modern Austria-Hungary. From here there issued, to the north, south, and west, tribes whose speech is now represented by the European languages to which reference has been made above. Other tribes, in raid after raid, crossed the Dardanelles and invaded Asia Minor—forerunners of similar incursions that occurred over and over again and have been recorded in classical history. Some of these hordes appear to have worked their way towards the East, across Asia Minor and Northern Mesopotamia, and about 2000 years before Christ we find them as a people called Manda settled in North-west Persia, in and about the ancient Media. Whether they did come thither across Asia Minor or by some other route may be a subject for argument, but there can be no doubt about the existence of the Mandas or about the country where they were to be found at this date They were in touch with the Hittites of Asia Minor, and many of their names and other words have been preserved in inscriptions and in correspondence with the rulers of Egypt. According to the latest opinion, it was these Mandas, or Medes, who, under the name of Aryans, overran the country now known as Persia and sent out colonies that invaded India through what is now Afghanistan. Isolated in India from their brethren in Persia, and surrounded by hostile tribes, these colonists retained their language in great purity, just as the Spanish of Mexico and Peru is much more like the Spanish of the sixteenth century than it is like the Spanish of the present day, and as the English of the lower orders in Ireland recalls the English of Elizabethan times. They had a hard fight with the Dravidian and Munda tribes whom they found already settled there, and who opposed their entry; but they gradually spread over the Punjab, down the Gangetic plain as far as Bengal, and also down the western coast as far as Goa. As they progressed they became more and more racially mixed with the natives of the country, so that there is now little Aryan blood in an inhabitant of Bengal, but their language was maintained and imposed upon the conquered peoples. As in the case of the Tibeto-Burmans, the Aryan invasion of India was not one migration once for all, but came in wave after wave, continuing over some centuries, so that the speech of the latest comers differed widely from that of

the earliest, and we can trace this difference in the languages that are the posterity of these speeches at the present day. Some, ıch as Hindostani, are as simple and direct as English, while thers, such as Marathi, have all the panoply of grammar that we nd in German.

The Aryan languages of India are generally called 'Indo-ıryan,' and the earliest form of these with which we are acquainted ; Sanskrit. Its oldest dialects, as represented after centuries of ral transmission by the Vedic hymns, were probably identical ith the Aryan tongue spoken in Persia just before the first migra-ion. Later forms of it represent in the main the Aryan language hen spoken in the neighbourhood of what is now Delhi, and in it 'e have a huge literature, on the merits of which it is unnecessary ɔ dilate. From it, and from its allied dialects, are sprung the ıodern Indo-Aryan languages. Of these the principal are Hindi poken and written in several dialects by something like ninety-ght millions, or more than the total population of the United ates), Bengali (about fifty millions), Marathi (nineteen millions), ujarati (ten millions), and Panjabi (sixteen millions). Of these indi, which includes the well-known Hindostani, is the language the whole Ganges valley between the Punjab and Bengal; engali, as its name implies, is spoken in Bengal; Marathi in ombay and the country to its south and east; Gujarati in ıjarat, north of Bombay; and Panjabi in the Punjab. All these e literatures which began in our Middle Ages and are often y beautiful, embodying some of the greatest poetry that has d its birth in Asia.

After the last Indo-Aryan migration the language of those ans who were left behind in Persia continued to develop on own lines, and, just as Italian developed from Latin, finally me the delightful modern Persian. This, as it is not an Indian uage, does not immediately concern us, but mention must be e of other Aryan movements in the direction of India which of dates later than those of the earlier migration already ribed. Not long after the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans had sed through Afghanistan on their way to India, and when the guage in Persia had just begun to develop towards its modern n—when that was, so to speak, *in statu nascendi*—other rms took a more north-easterly direction, and ultimately d themselves on the Pamirs. From this inhospitable roof of world they attempted to find their way southwards into the ns of the Punjab. Some of them got as far as the Indus valley, re they met and mixed with their cousins who had previously ved *viâ* Afghanistan. Others remained in the mountainous ntry of Dardistan, below the Pamirs on the Indian side, and me the parents of the uncivilised Kafirs of Kafiristan and of

the people of Chitral and Gilgit—names familiar to our fronti officers. Some of these last settled in the lovely valley of Kashm and the language of their descendants is the modern Kashmiri.

Still later colonies from Persia, when, by this time, t general lines of modern Persian had become fairly fixed, settl in Afghanistan itself, and brought with them the language whi has become the Pashto, now spoken by the Pathan tribes, wi whom we have lately had a good deal of fighting. Pashto is a ve complete and flexible language, but is most inharmonious Western ears. Let me therefore round up this survey of t languages of India with an episode in the history of what, if occurred, must have been the first linguistic survey ever unde taken. It is said in Afghanistan that King Solomon sent for his vizier, Asaf, to bring him specimens of all the tongues spok on the earth. The official returned with his task accomplishe In full durbar he recited passages in every speech until he car to Pashto. Here he halted and produced a pot in which he rattl a stone. 'That,' said he, 'is the nearest approach that I ca make to the language of the Afghans.' And yet Pashto is a fir cousin of the beautiful language of Sadi and of Omar Khayyam

I think that it will be admitted that the foregoing summa justifies my claim that India offers an unequalled field for t study of the methods by which mankind has solved the probler of speech. Here we find languages whose phonetic rules prohil the existence of more than a few hundred words, and which c

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istoric Indian Teucer dared to lead his companions across the iengal Bay to Indonesia, thence to wander east and people the 'acific; and perhaps when there existed the Lemurian continent 'here now sweep the restless waves of the Indian Ocean. Aryan, 'ibeto-Burman, Austric, or Dravidian, each represents a different riginal home, a different culture, and a different stage of develop-ient, and each has ultimately solved the problem of intercourse y speech in some different fashion.

Speech is the mirror of thought—nay, the very order of words ı a sentence is a mirror of the order of the thoughts of the ›eaker—and in India we find a series of pictures of the human ıind in many stages of civilisation, pictures that illustrate its ıarvellous power, under the most unfavourable conditions, of find-ıg means for expressing new demands. The mind of the head-unting savage of the Irrawaddy sources may be two-dimensional ad unable to conceive anything but concrete ideas. Yet even it capable of progress. When occasion demands, it invents means ır rising to the conception of the third dimension, and learns to nagine and express an abstract thought. It takes the first step hich leads from savagery to civilisation, and has set its foot on ıe road from crude animism to the philosophies of the ancient ıd the modern world. Examples of all these language problems ıd of all these stages of mental evolution are ready to our hand India.

George A Grierson.

seriously and sometimes even passionately, finding out what the problems are, and not being content with a sceptic solution which they believe to be no solution at all.

Akin to these are those who would call themselves modernists in theology. They think and talk as seriously as the others, but they believe that it is better to think and talk inside an institution than outside it. The Church, in spite of all its difficulties, does represent to them something which they value, and they are inspired by the thought that, if Christianity is true, free thinking by those who call themselves Christians cannot harm it but will rather strengthen it. A year ago this attitude was fairly widespread in Oxford, but it seems as if to-day there is among undergraduates a desire for a more orthodox position. It is only a change of emphasis from the truth of truth to the truth of Christianity.

Many of those who take up this position are members of the Student Christian Movement (S.C.M.), which is undoubtedly the strongest religious organisation in Oxford. Up to this year the emphasis of the S.C.M. has been on the intellectual side of religion. It has organised—and still does—study groups on every conceivable subject from Buddhism to birth control. Indeed, the [illegible] feature of the S.C.M. to the external observer would be [illegible] groups, but this is not all. There is a very considerable [illegible] among the S.C.M. leaders and members that study by [illegible] nowhere. The problem, as they themselves would put [illegible] language, is how to increase the devotional side of [illegible] is a difficult task to provide services for an inter- [illegible] body. Perhaps the most interesting sign of this [illegible] affiliation of the Oxford University Bible Union [illegible] the S.C.M. The O.U.B.U. represented the strong [illegible] ent in Oxford, famous for their piety in the best [illegible] ord. The desire for affiliation came from the [illegible], and is designed to help the work of reunion in [illegible] this affiliation is not yet working in practice—it was [illegible] both bodies in February of this year—but it is felt [illegible] materially strengthen both parties to the agreement. [illegible] B.U., which is henceforth to be called the Devotional [illegible] is to be a society inside the larger organisation of the [illegible]. This movement is a fair indication of the increasing strength of the Liberal Evangelicals and the passing away of the older die-hard Evangelicals.

It is hoped that the Devotional Union will be able—again to use S.C.M. language—to enrich the spiritual life of the S.C.M. There is a growing reaction against the S.C.M. type of man, who has a *dilettante* knowledge of many subjects connected with religion—what is known as an international mind and a keen soci

conscience. These are felt to be all very well in a way, but religion means something more than this. The emphasis must again be laid on the value of the good life and not exclusively on wide ideals. This thought is reflected by the position which certain intelligent men are beginning to take up towards C.O.P.E.C. hey felt at first that it was a first-rate thing, but now, possibly fluenced by the vehement pronouncements of certain leading nurchmen, they are coming to the conclusion that C.O.P.E.C. an attempt to save men's bodies rather than their souls, and iat in a material age the Church, instead of following everybody se, must raise its voice in protest, or else cease to fulfil its mission the world.

The third large religious organisation is the Oxford University hurch Union (O.U.C.U.). It is meant to be a fellowship of all keen embers of the Church of England, but it has a tendency to be presentative of the Anglo-Catholic party. It is only fair to say iat some of its leaders realise the defect of making it one-sided id are doing their best to counteract it, but the Anglo-Catholic irty is strong. A year ago it looked as if Anglo-Catholicism were sing its hold upon the undergraduate, but to-day there would em to be a considerable revival. An average undergraduate's pinion of the Anglo-Catholics is that they are a neurotic sort eople who take no interest in anything but vestments, for inners, and incense. It is true that there is noth' He lious as 'the bright young spike'; 'the bright younkind of his finitely preferable. The 'spike' is not interested ady that now interested in its trimmings. At the same time a young intel- iny Anglo-Catholics a very genuine devotion tion of its new d a very real piety, but all of them seem to the young man ought heterodox by the rest. An eminent thd being the wiser the position of the three large religious orga ch words as these: 'The S.C.M. is intellectu the young man e; the O.U.C.U. is æsthetic and nothing els and he becomes nnot possibly be called intellectual, and certainlrevolt from all that there is probably some real religion in it.' a cry of 'Back

There is a great deal of tasting different varietiSavile Row Oxford. Men go to the Cowley Fathers' Church on and not id the next to Mansfield Chapel or Manchester. There pasty any people in Oxford that one wants to hear, and, besidesses is, there are constant visitors to Oxford who are of the fr to nk in preaching. This is true not only of religious meetings, but all kinds of societies. 'Big men' seem to think it worth while come and air their views in Oxford, so that there are so many stractions that it is difficult to make a choice, and generally very tle choice is made. In a world of distractions it is difficult to ep a fixed and settled purpose.

Among most serious-thinking people there would seem to be tendency to react against the anti-institutionalist attitude. ıis is only a recent development. The Church is charged with any sins. It is regarded with a sort of tender affection which is lt for people who are very old. Associated with recollections of mily life and school tradition, the Church is venerated as a ıgnified and stately institution. On the other hand, it is felt to e antiquated and obsolete. When it tries to move forward it ıoves to a social and international gospel, and not to an individual ıessage. People really do want a corporate organisation, and ıave a belief in a body organised for active service. This accounts or the strength of the Anglo-Catholic party in Oxford—at any rate, to some extent. But the Church is either, as has been said, concerned with politics or else with domestic differences. If it is an article of faith that somehow the universe must be a harmony in spite of all the appearance of evil, misery, and ugliness in the world, it is felt that in the Church it ought to be possible to arrive at an outward form of harmony. There is still a passionate desire for free thought, but it is honestly felt that free thought can only lead to acceptance, and not rejection, of religion Shaw's play *St. Joan* has probably had a good deal of influence in this direction. s he attitude is expressed by the phrase ' Personally I believe in se ı ...cism.' This is, as a matter of fact, a Protestant position. .ds a language the right of the individual to take his own reason or o tea i is a d as the authority by which he decides the truth of ny con body. There is belief, on the other hand, in the ideal of college, affiliation g Church and a dislike of tests devised, as it is kly sum e S.C.M. people out. People inside the Church thinking large ar ent in Oxfo kely to arrive at truth than outside it. There is anisati ord. The de working together and supporting each other, th a d s, and is des's may not be the same. Great harm is done by ut th his affiliation one of some Church leaders in addressing univer- all on both bodies ins. Nearly every sermon by a bishop deals with materially stren dinands, either directly or indirectly. The appe .B.U., which is he strictly rational; the speakers seem so frightene to be a societion that they discard all emotion. It is felt that th This movem to secure candidates for ordination is not by dwell of the Liber horrible possibility of the supply of candidates st hard Evang r and involving the ruin of the Church, as this loped that the ith, but by preaching a courageous ind l. language—t fire men's souls and compel them to g a growing reaction *ttante* knowledge dual gospel must not lay stress on wha at is known as an in man must do, but upon how to be the go ow to quicken spiritual life. This, it is felt, ca 'e a body which unites all sorts and condition

side the fre etings, but worth while are so many generally very it is difficult to

men and challenges them to take part in a glorious adventure . which others are engaged.

This attitude, which is becoming fairly general, might be illed a sort of Catholic Protestantism. How these two positions re to be reconciled in a harmony, which will work in practice, it , hard to see. But it is a genuine desire, and it can only come 'om inspiration and from the faith of young men in the truth of ruth and in the truth of Christianity.

ARREEN GRUNDY.

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THE RELIGION OF THE UNDERGRADUATE

II. By a Cambridge Undergraduate

An Oxford Don had been brought in to dine at Trinity high table, and, not unnaturally, the conversation turned to a comparison of the vices and virtues of the two universities. With a smile of triumph the Oxford ecclesiastic was expecting to have concluded the contest in favour of his own university with the remark that 'while it was true that the coats of arms of both universities included a Bible in a central position, the Cambridge Bible was always shut and the Oxford Bible always open,' when Bishop Lightfoot instantly rejoined, 'Yes, but open always at the same place!'

No comparison, however, is made in this essay between the two ...sities. The attempt is made to outline the prevailing ten... religious thought and the general attitude of the ...graduate to God, Religion, and the Church.

... be such a thing as 'the Oxford manner'—Cam... ...at there is—and perhaps the appearance of not ... whom the world belongs may denote the Cam... an infinite variety of objects may be tarred with ... and the tarring will not make them similar. In ... undergraduate has not yet occurred. Certainly ... cteristics which are associated with different ... a general view of Cambridge it would be safe ... is far more ...iformity in the eccentricity of ... dress than ... religious belief.

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... largest class).
Atheism on a large scale and
... a serious disease, but at a

versity, atheism is only an ailment comparable to measles or mps at school. One has to go through it, and it probably will happen again. Indeed, it is a sign that the mind is growing

For until a boy comes to the university his mind has had the chance of being independent, even if it were capable becoming so. The public school system (which still provides r half the members of the university) is that of the City State Greece at its most parochial epoch. The boy exists for the ool: he must do as the others do, think as the others think, as the others are. Nonconformity is a crime, and is punished such. It is almost impossible that a good public school boy—at is, 'good with the excellence of' the public school—should ve an independent mind when he comes to the university. In sequence, when he becomes a member of a college where the rounding hedges of regulation no longer stifle his growth (or tect him either), where almost the only rules are those that vail *unwritten in ordinary society*, where he may walk advenously across the grass of the court and pay a mere shilling fine, ereas before such iniquity could only be beaten out by the rod, is no wonder that the contrast turns his head. Now that he is e, never again will he eat the bread and drink the water that s his prison diet, and as he shuffles off the coils of his public ool he often skips gladly from the last ties of religion also. For he not now a man? Of whom, then, need he be afraid? He a 'gyp' of his own, a cheque-book of his own, a mind of his n, and a colour-scheme of his own, adorning a body that now become his own. As if shot from a catapult, the young intel- flies onward and upward till it finds conviction of its new centric theory of the universe. Presently the young man es down to earth again, feeling the better and being the wiser his flight.

Occasionally, having returned from the stars, the young man ks them that now he is not as other men are; and he becomes intellectual.' He therefore continues to revolt from all ers, and the world and society as it is, and with a cry of 'Back Nature!' lets his hair grow long and invests in a Savile Row n-tight coat. If 'the intellectual' would be a poet—and not frequently that is his desire—he acquires a pallid look of pasty elancholia, 'the priceless heritage of youth,' and addresses ntrospective balderdash to a pedestrian muse. He is too selfish to llow a greater god.

Less creative, and much to be pitied, is 'the intellectual' who, inding new fields and pasturage for his restless mind, indulges a ew taste for 'sexual' psychology.

But, as was said before, university atheism is but a passing hase, longer and shorter in individual cases. There are, of course,

some serious atheists, men who have sadly wrestled with a dying faith, and often sadly find that they have won; but they are few.

The Agnostics.—It might reasonably be supposed by anyone not closely acquainted with modern undergraduates that agnosticism would be prevalent among them. It would be argued that their minds are in the melting-pot at the age which covers a university course, and that their views on the religion which they held as children and schoolboys would be sure to undergo a highly critical examination, that 'authority' would cease to hold them, that a process of refinement would take place and for their childish anthropomorphism substitute a deep and spiritual religion evoking an intenser and a lasting loyalty. To some extent this process does indeed take place. But in the majority of cases, even the critical examination, apart from the process of refinement, is hardly consciously made, so often does the schoolboy religion just sink back into a remote corner of the mind which is filled up with more exciting diversions. For the class of 'the otherwise engaged' is probably as large as the agnostics, the Christians, and the atheists together.

A 'working' agnostic, that is to say an agnostic who is still engaged in the search for truth, can only be sincerely admired. Most of the agnostics at Cambridge are not content to let the all-important problem of God and religion meet with no solution other than 'I do not know'; they are usually active thinkers, and spend hours of an evening talking and arguing about the eternal verities. They are honestly thinking, in an endeavour to satisfy the intellect's claim in a rational being that no belief should depend on any external authority, but on reason alone. The 'probable' is not enough—they would not gamble their lives on it; as for faith, it is a coward's refuge.

That the conflict between natural sciences and religion is at an end would not be denied by the average developed intellect; but to a young, growing mind there is such a conflict. The trouble is that with the jettisoning of the mythological and allegorical elements in Scripture the young thinker is apt to cast away all the beliefs that as a child and a schoolboy he may have cherished and found worth cherishing, as if there had been no truth, admittedly in nursery garb, in anything that until now he had been taught. The years at the university are, of course, precisely those in a man's life when extreme views and temporary enthusiasms are most readily accepted, held whole-heartedly, for a moment, and discarded, but not necessarily without a veritable agony of mental conflict! And then a second disturbing factor is that immense intellectual pride which, by the natural reaction seen in the case of the atheist 'intellectual,' and in the rapid develop-

t of body and mind in the early 'twenties, easily upsets nce of thought. Reason and Logic win his worship: they are gods of his universe and his mankind: anything therefore is not comprehensible in the light of his two gods the mind venty-one rejects. There are no bounds to the young mind:

> Beyond the visible world it soars to seek
> (For what delights the sense is false and weak)
> Ideal form, the universal mould.

finds, to its momentary satisfaction, not ideal form, but a l urge or an Anaxagorean cosmic Νοῦς, with no problems to l it such as beset the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection or the nement. Of making cosmogonies there is no end, for their ufacture is simple at the age of twenty-one, when one is happy ding castles, *sub specie æternitatis*, upon sand.

Probably it is the Christian Church itself, its history, and n its performance, which has been a stumbling-block to many are now agnostics more than they would care to admit. They have a horror of its ritual, or of the people who direct it. can a true judgment be given on a religion from observation of its adherents, or its ministers? If many of the latter do black coats that have gone green with age, the fact does not e that their religion is also outworn; but it is human nature hink so, apparently.

The Heretics,' a society composed largely of agnostics, at its dly Sunday evening meetings has done much to enlarge the s of many. One of the conditions of membership is a refusal ccept 'authority' for religious belief.

he agnostics, though not numerically a large class, are rtant, honest, and interesting, and much can be learnt in ssion with them. It would be reassuring to know that Chris- of the age of twenty-five had been through a course of rsity agnosticism!

he Christians.—When in the middle of the night the clocks of bridge strike the hour, there is dinned into the mind the painful ation of the number of churches and chapels which the town esses. Every shade of religious opinion, from the brightest let to the most funereal black, seems to have its shrine and its ock. Variety is found equally among undergraduate Chris- ans. But in a doctrinal examination there would be a large per- ntage of failures, though the examinees would be the last to ire that they were doctrinally at sea. Correctness of belief, a ut-and-dried gnosticism, acceptance of 'authority'—these are ardly the virtues calculated to appeal to the undergraduate hristian. He sees, at least he usually sees, that there are innu- erable problems to befog him, but he does not on that account

throw up a religion which he loves for other reasons than becaus his pastors and masters taught it to him. For this very reason that Christianity is not an easy thing, he clings the more closel to it; and the undergraduate who has come up to Cambridg a schoolboy Christian, flown to the stars on elementary material istic, rationalistic or atheist wings, come down to earth an crawled in agnostic humility, when he ends up a Christian, i usually not a passive one.

If a mediæval bishop arose from his dusty grave and went t call upon the college chapels on a Sunday morning, he would sa that since his day Cambridge had gone to the dogs; and from th point of view which sees in Sunday corporate worship, or rathe in church attendance, a barometer of religious feeling, the bisho would be right. The college chapels are not full; most of then are empty. Attendance is not compulsory, though the Dean inform a man if he is particularly delinquent; but in not man colleges would this information be given to anyone who had bee to chapel twice in a term. Why should anyone go to chapel t worship God *viâ* the bulls of Basan or Moab and the washpot The beauty of Hebrew poetry cannot be expected to appeal i comparison with the fresh air of the Gog-Magog hills. But it i not in every college chapel that at eleven o'clock on Sunda mornings they cast out their shoes over Philistia or let the run agates continue in scarceness, for at the most convenient hour beautiful choral Eucharists are sung in several colleges. Th college authorities complain that those who profess and call them selves Christians and should, if anyone, support the chapel ser vices, often prefer to go to a church in the town or to one of th unofficial religious societies' meetings which are such a remarkabl feature of Cambridge Christianity. But even if all these men di support their college chapel from a feeling of loyalty to the college the chapels would still be very sadly empty.

There is some deeper cause than æsthetic dissatisfaction wit the forms of worship provided which keeps not only the Cambridge college chapels, but the churches of the country at large, free from the necessity of enlarging their premises. Is it a modern form o the disease which Pindar and Æschylus diagnosed? Has man kind, flushed with success, become arrogant? It seems to be a case of the old Æschylean quartet over again: ὄλβος, ὕβρις, κόρος . . . and ἄτη?

When, however, the mediæval bishop walked through the streets on his way to the chapels, he would be amazed at the lavish advertisements of Christian activities. The Student Christian Movement would be holding a meeting to be addressed by some eminent visitor in the largest hall available: the Inter-Collegiate Christian Union in one of the big churches; the European Student

ef Fund would be launching a campaign, and so forth. On his to the Guildhall he might walk through the market-place hear an undergraduate, using the back of a motor lorry, which hares with a piano, pouring out his soul to an audience, usually ownspeople, who hang upon his words. Deep can call to deep in the market square hallowed by 'rags' from immemorial s. Oxford would agree, perhaps readily, that Cambridge stianity is of a less academic and more evangelistic kind than r own.

There are three campaigns held every year in the Long Vaca-. 'The Fruiting Campaign' brings active Christianity and lness and practical help to the London fruit-pickers, their s and babies, who go up *en masse* for the Wisbeach 'season.' women-students look after the babies; the 'medicals' are in tant demand; other men run canteens, concerts, and anything elp the fruit-picker physically, mentally, and spiritually. elaborate 'rag' recently illustrated in the daily Press, at h Eros was unveiled, was held for the purpose of raising funds his 'Fruiting Campaign.'

The Evangelistic Campaign takes forty or fifty Cambridge men women students to one of the big industrial towns to preach Gospel at street corners and in factories. Last year they went erby; this year they go to St. Helen's, Liverpool; and the and to go out into the highways and byways is literally ed. For ten evenings crowds gather round the 'pitches,' , question, and listen again. The campaign is strictly inter-minational; and on the two Sundays the campaigners occupy pulpits in churches of their own denomination. All that they t to do, and what in fact they do achieve, is to communicate at first hand they themselves know of God as revealed in Christ, and to tell the people 'the good news.'

The Missionary Campaign is on a larger scale, but its members of the Church of England only. Every year it, too, visits one e large centres of population, for instance Liverpool, Brad-, Greenwich, Plymouth, Bolton, and this year, at the end of ember, Croydon. In this campaign the message proclaimed o addresses in the course of ten days in churches, schools, and ic halls is that there is 'one God and Father of us all,' black d white, brown and yellow.

More than once an old Cambridge man has remarked when he s heard of these campaigns, 'We did not do that sort of thing en I was up.' But modern Cambridge is far from proud of its igious achievements. The enthusiasts are few, and though two ars ago after a mission to the university, before breakfast on a nday morning, the largest Holy Communion service ever held Cambridge history took place in King's Chapel, and 750 men

and women witnessed to their faith, it must not be forgotten th
there are 5,000 members of the university.

'The Otherwise Engaged' (*the largest class*).—When it is frank stated that the majority of undergraduates are 'otherwise engage are not interested in religion, and very little concerned about the relation with God, there is no implication that they are eith anti-religious or irreligious, but that they are unreligious.

The agnostics, most of the Christians, and the few serio atheists are men who have thought out, and yet are still thinki out, their position ; but with 'the otherwise engaged,' as the name suggests, the thinking has yet to be done ; at present th have no time for such thoughts, and it is probably thoughtlessne that makes them unreligious. Not that the mass of the universi do not think ; but there is so much to fill the mind. If a man h a personal interest in music, art, games, religion, science, literatu dancing, motoring, drinking, in anything at all, at the universi he will find the like-minded in abundance, and such scope for t gratification of his desires, legitimate and illegitimate, as never had before and perhaps will never have again. The te dency, therefore, is to become wholly absorbed in that interes which becomes an idol, and receives much genuine worship. F one man athletic distinction (more than athletic ability ?) a admittance to the Hawk's Club will be the end of life. He w not understand that even a Hawk's tie wears out, and the pleasu with it. Another will spend from 1.30 p.m. to 6.30 'down at t river' coaching, day after day, incessantly ; he will be unco scious of the transition from heroic altruism to stupid waste precious time. A third, a hermit in a tobacco-laden cell, w
...nd work, and work for his examination, missing half
...y can give him, and yet cooling a fevered bra
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man may have to wait for his mother's death or till he finds a before he sees beyond his nose.

Let the critic have mercy upon the undergraduate. He is at ge when either he is too busy to give his God a thought, or, if as the time and the will to think, he is sure of everything, or lly sure of nothing, and when it seems but an intellectual k to say with Tennyson:

> I cannot argue, I can only feel

A. G. G. C. PENTREATH.

MARX OR CHRIST?

In the February number of *The Nineteenth Century and A*
Lord Salisbury dealt with the teaching of Christianity on subjects of property and industry.[1] He pointed out that priv property is not condemned in the New Testament, and t inequalities of reward are recognised therein. Private ownersl indeed, is equitable, and even necessary, if self-sacrifice is to free. The ideal motive is the principle of voluntary serv This implies certain duties on the part of owners of prope Lord Salisbury applied this principle to various problems social reform. His contention may be summed up in the st ment that without self-sacrifice there is no redemption

It is the object of the present article, which was writ independently, to set out the statements made in recent author tive Communist books as to the teaching of Christ on property industry, to examine the real teaching of Christ on these subje and to explain the antagonism which present-day Commun shows towards Christianity.

Attention is also called to the activity of Communist teac among school-children.

What is the reason for the violent hostility which the advo of social revolution always evinces towards Christianity, b its precepts and its practice? First let me give some insta of this hostility, taken from authoritative sources.

The French Revolution, which began in 1789, went thro a phase of strong opposition to Christianity. Laws were pa against the clergy, and personal violence was shown to indivi priests. The condition of France in 1799 is thus described b ...r in the *Cambridge Modern History* (vol. viii., p. 666):

> the State, neutral in name and profession, was in reality hostil ... of worship. A petty but effective persecution succeeded all forms ... of violence. No church could summon its congregation ... priest nor bishop could publish an ecclesiastical charge, or ... a bell; no p... al raiment outside the sacred edifice. To bear a cruc his ecclesiastic... was a crime, and a priest was sent to prison for attend in a village stree... urplice hidden under his great-coat. All kinds of p a funeral with a ...

[1] 'An Outline of Christian Anti-Socialism.'

ıies were connected with the *Culte décadaire* (the observance of the ɟf ten days). All work was to cease on the *décadi*, save such as was ınced urgent by an administrative authority. No shops might be l on the *décadi*, no shops shut on Sunday.

ınces could easily be given of the desecration of churches, ion of altars, and blasphemous enthronement of the Goddess ason.

ıviet Russia has declared war on Christianity, and on those ɔrofess this faith. In the Russian villages to-day Bolsheviks down the crucifix at the cross-roads with sacrilege and . They crown the image of Judas Iscariot, and commit abominations of the same kind.

ut let us turn to teaching published in our own country. ɔte from the *A.B.C. of Communism*, by N. Buharin and reobrazhensky, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul, and shed by the Communist Party of Great Britain.

ıapter XI. of this book, which was published in 1924, and ɣ in a second edition, is entitled 'Communism and Religion.'[1] gins with the inquiry, 'Why are religion and Communism ıpatible?' and, quoting Karl Marx's statement 'Religion : opium of the people,' proceeds to say that it is the task of ;ommunist Party to make this truth comprehensible to the t possible circles of the labouring classes:

ligion has been in the past, and still is to-day, one of the most ful means at the disposal of the oppressors for the maintenance of ılity and exploitation, and slavish obedience on the part of the ; . . . A Communist who rejects the commandments of religion, ɛts in accordance with the directions of his party, ceases to be one ; faithful On the other hand, one who, while calling himself a ınist, continues to cling to his religious faith, one who in the name gious commandments infringes the prescriptions of the party, ceases ɣ to be a Communist.

ɔr the Communist, the Church is a society of persons who ɑnded together to keep the proletariat poor and ignorant. Church assists the State in the oppression of the workers, ·eceives from the State help in the business of oppression. lemand for the separation of Church and State was originally by the liberal *bourgeoisie* and the *bourgeois* democracy. ·eal basis of the demand was a desire for the transfer to the *eoisie* of the revenues allotted by the State to the Church. when it was realised that the struggle of the working class st the capitalists was growing more intense, it seemed ·edient to the *bourgeoisie* to break up the alliance between ·ch and State. The capitalists thought it would be more rantageous to come to terms with the Church, to buy its

[1] Pages 256, etc.

prayers on behalf of the struggle with Socialism, thus keepi alive in the masses the sentiment of slavish submissiveness the exploiting State.

The work which the *bourgeoisie* had left unfinished w carried to an end by the proletarian State. One of the fi decrees of the Soviet power in Russia was the decree concerni the separation of Church from State. All the landed estat of the Church were taken away, and handed over to the worki population :

> Religion has become the private affair of every citizen. The Sov Power rejects all thoughts of using the Church in any way whatever as means of strengthening the proletarian State.[3]

Moreover, in the past the maintenance of religious fanaticis was fostered by the schools, which thus diffused ' religious poiso among the young :

> We must not remain content with the expulsion of religious propagan from the school. We must see to it that the school assumes the offensi against religious propaganda in the home, so that, from the very outs the children's minds shall be rendered immune to all those religious fa tales which many grown-ups continue to regard as truth.[4]

After the separation of the Church from the State, and t school from the Church, there remains a long struggle demandi much steadfastness and great patience—the struggle again the religious prejudices of the masses. But the mere fact of t organisation of the Socialist system will deal religion ' an ir coverable blow.'

> The transition from Socialism to Communism, from the society whi makes an end of capitalism to the society which is completely freed fr all traces of class division and class struggle, will bring about the natu death of all religion and all superstition.

But judgment must be shown in the conduct of the war agai religion :

> The credulous crowd is extremely sensitive to anything which hurts feelings If the Church were to be persecuted, it would win sympat among the masses, for persecution would remind them of the alm forgotten days, when there was an association between religion and t defence of national freedom.[5]

The book gives statistics purporting to show how the Chur was directly supported in Russia by the common people, w drained their slender purses for the support of a ' parasitic cast of priests, monks and nuns. The Socialist State will introdu labour service for the clergy, as for all unproductive classes, that they will have to become workers or peasants.

The ' literature ' quoted at the end of this chapter[6] of t

[3] Page 259.
[4] Page 262.
[5] Pages 264, 265.
[6] Page 267.

k in question contains a number of works with such titles as *Clergy: Its Income, Its Prayers, and its Curses; The Black* *y; The Myth of the Immaculate Conception.*

Communism and Christianism is the title of a work published the Bradford-Brown Educational Company, of Galion, Ohio, written by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D.D., of m a portrait (in lawn sleeves) is given as a frontispiece. Here author is described as 'Fifth Bishop of Arkansas, resigned, ber of the House of Bishops, Protestant Episcopal Church, time Archdeacon of Ohio, now *Episcopus in partibus Bolkium et Infidelium.*'

he contents of the book may be estimated from the motto appears on the title-page: 'Banish the Gods from the and Capitalists from the Earth, and make the World safe for trial Communism.' It is claimed that 125,000 copies of the have been sold between 1920 and 1923.

re again Karl Marx is quoted: 'Religion is the opium of ople; the suppression of religion as the happiness of the is the revindication of its real happiness.'[7] The official esto of the Socialist Party of Great Britain lays down, est of admission to a Socialist party, the acceptance of a r of working principles, one of which is 'that the party working class emancipation must be hostile to every other ' 'No man can be consistently both a Socialist and a ian. The entry of Socialism is the exodus of religion.' ew extracts from 'Bishop' Brown's work may be of interest:

> istianism as a religion has collapsed It promised to secure to the eace and goodwill, but it has never had more of strife and hate.

s illustrated by the European war, and by the 'slavery' American negro. Again, 'cannibalism is the basis of our ent of the Holy Communion of bread and wine.'[8] In t days the victorious ate the vanquished; then animal ice was substituted for human victims. Our service is a f those barbarous times.

> us was nothing if he was not a revolutionist. Anyhow, his alleged er is authoritatively represented as believing him to have been foreed as a revolutionist, for this song is put into her mouth:
> He hath showed strength with His arm: He hath scattered the proud imagination of their hearts.
> He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the ble and meek.'[9]

> ntil the Reformation Christianity was dominated by monks—ites who lived by begging, lying and persecuting; and since then by alists—parasites who live by robbing, lying and warring.[10]

[7] Page 5

[8] Page 22.

[9] Page 24.

[10] Page 32.

> Christian Socialism is essentially imperialistic in its character; Marxian Socialism is essentially democratic.[11]

> The Christian Socialist is a contradiction in terms. His policy is the conciliation of classes. He is, in fact, an anti-Socialist.[12]

> Both the Old and New Testaments are utterly worthless as history. . . Jehovah is the Sun-myth, rewritten to fit in with the ideals and hopes of the owning, master class of the Jews, Jesus is the Sun-myth, rewritten to fit in with the ideals and hopes of the owning, master class of the Christians. . . . Jesus serves Christians as the God of slavery. When the capitalists have appropriated all the means and machines of production, they reconcile the propertyless to a terrestrial hell of toil, want, sorrow and slavery by preaching the Jesuine Gospel of hope for a celestial heaven of eternal rest, joy, plenty and freedom[13]

In the second part of the book, much use is made of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* as proving 'the surrender which Christianity has made to the forces of rationalism.' No confidence, it is said, can be placed in the reliability of the Gospels as historical narratives. None of St. Paul's Epistles were writen by him. The whole dogmatic framework of Divine revelation has been surrendered.[14]

It is alleged that, on the disappearance of capitalism, human nature will improve so as to fit the new conditions. A classless world will be born and live on a co-operative[15] instead of a competitive basis, in a heaven instead of a hell. Russia points the way. She is now one huge corporation; every man, woman and child is an equal shareholder The ideal of a human brotherhood is, it is true, not yet realised in Russia. She has had great difficulties to face, and the time since the change has been short. But she is already past the most difficult period of transition from a capitalist State to a Communist State.[16]

To avoid misapprehension, 'Bishop' Brown disclaims any intention of violating the law as laid down in the statutes of Ohio; and he does not advocate the duty, necessity, or propriety of violence as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. His object is 'not to promote class hatred and strife. Far from it. It is to persuade to the banishment of gods from skies and capitalists from earth.'[17] It will be seen that Jesus is regarded now as a Sun-myth, now as a revolutionary whom (by some curious process) his followers have converted into the most rigid of Conservatives.

It would no doubt be easy to quote from other books similarly inspired by the teaching of Marx, the author of *Das Kapital* (1867). Marx was a German Jew; he was expelled from one country

[11] Page 72.
[12] Page 88.
[13] Pages [illegible]
[14] Pages 92, etc.
[15] Page 201.
[16] Page 205
[17] Page 215.

after another, and, finally, settled in England. Stirred to write by his own grievances, he found a ready audience among the newly emancipated serfs of Russia, a backward and illiterate population chafing under the wrongs from which they had long suffered. Serfdom in Russia dates from about 1600, and lasted until 1861; then twenty-three million serfs were emancipated. The teaching of Marx was conveyed to Russia by German immigrants.

The Bolshevist revolution of 1917 was ultimately due to German activity; the opportunity was afforded by the Great War, and by the breakdown of Tsarism in the face of an unprecedented strain.

My immediate object in this paper is to consider whether the teaching of Christianity in regard to industry is what is represented by the authors whom I have quoted above. Is Christ on the side of the master against the worker, or on the side of the worker against the master?

So far the statements of modern Communists have been quoted.

The evidence of Christ's teaching is to be found in the Gospels. What do they prove in regard to respect for authority, to the relations of master and servant, to the use of riches?

In the first place, Jesus recognised the principle of authority, the natural control exercised by one man, or group of men, over others. This control is obtained by superior gifts of brain or character. It is usually directed to the common good in civil or religious matters. Let me give examples.

Christ said: 'The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.'[18] The Syro-Phœnician woman who submitted to His authority, and accepted the religious superiority of the Jewish nation, was approved and rewarded.[19] Christ agreed to the payment of tribute to the secular ruler, even when the ruler was a usurper: 'Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.'[20] In His own person Christ accepted a position of authority: 'Ye call Me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am.'[21] He compared His Church to a State or kingdom which, by means of organised authority, cultivates the virtues of justice and honesty. He also accepted the comparison of His Church to an army, which, by means of organised authority, cultivates the virtues of courage and subordination. For example, He approved the centurion who sent to Him to entreat His help for a sick servant and, when Christ promised to exert His power in person, deprecated an honour which seemed to him subversive of the distinctions of rank: 'For I also am a man set under authority,

[18] Matt. x. 24.
[19] Matt. xv 28
[20] Mark xii. 17.
[21] John xiii. 13.

having under me soldiers: and I say to one man, Go, and he goeth, and to another, Come, and he cometh, and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.' [22]

In approving these words Christ was approving the conception of society as a graduated State, in which some must rule and others must needs obey. It is a conception in which every member can take a proper pride, neither desiring to rise above his place nor consenting to fall below it.

Thus, in regard to social inequalities, Christ recognised the distinctions which He found. He mentions several times the distinction between master and servant, and never with disapproval, though servant in those days included slave as well as hired freeman.

But, besides recognising authority, He also recognised the duty of mutual service between employer and employed alike in the great households with large numbers of slaves and in the occupations in which hired service was the rule. The principle in all cases is the same. Men are bound together by the common obligation of assisting each other. The duty of the master to his servant is one of patience, kindness, forgiveness. When the servant who owed his master ten thousand talents asked for patience that he might pay his debt, the lord of that servant was moved with compassion, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt [23]

The duty of the servant to his master is often emphasised as a type of the Christian's duty to God. It is watchfulness, rectitude, activity. The loins must be girded, the lamps kept brightly burning.[24] The talents which are entrusted to the servants—to some more, to others fewer—must in all cases be wisely and profitably used, for the good of others as well as the master.[25] The servant who does what he is bidden, but no more, is unprofitable.[26]

The servant, in his turn, has duties to others who are inferior to him in the social scale. He should be compassionate to them if he wishes to deserve his master's forgiveness.[27]

In the mind of Christ no indignity was attached to service, whether manual or intellectual. He washed the feet of His disciples. From His life as a carpenter, manual labour was familiar and natural to Him. His earliest followers were fishermen. He drew lessons from the sower, the ploughman, the reaper. He spent most of His life among people who had to work for their living. In the Gospels there are several references to the freeborn labourer who worked for a wage. This is specially

[22] Luke vii. 8; compare Seeley, *Ecce Homo*, 5th edition, p. xv.
[23] Matt. xviii. 27.
[24] Luke xii 35.
[25] Matt. xxv. 14-30.
[26] Luke xvii. 10.
[27] Matt. xviii. 28.

the case in vineyards, which required a number of labourers, both regular and casual.

The regular labourer is bound to work in the interest of his employer and to remain faithful to him in his absence. Some labourers combine against the rights of the owner, with the view of ultimately securing the property for themselves. They are treated patiently, and have full opportunity of amending their ways. Finally, after continued insubordination and personal violence, they receive punishment.[28]

The casual labourer is hired, as a rule, in the morning to do a full day's work. But circumstances may make it necessary to engage other labourers as the day wears on. In each case a definite engagement is made. If those who work for only part of a day receive a full day's wage, it is a proof of the generosity of the employer. To some the engagement will appear less advantageous than others; nevertheless, all are bound by its terms, master and men alike. Christ puts in the mouth of the employer, apparently with full approval, the words 'Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eye evil because I am good?'

The conditions of the New Testament times were nearer to those of to-day than is sometimes allowed Commerce had made great strides in the period before New Testament times; the products of the fertile soil of Palestine, such as oil, grain, wine and flax, were exchanged for the products of Egypt and the Mediterranean lands. Both priests and teachers of the law engaged in trade. Jesus borrows a parable from commercial life when He refers to the merchant who found a pearl of great price and sold all that he had and bought it.[29] The law of creditor and debtor was theoretically harsh, and debtors could be put in prison till the debt was discharged. But the rigour of this rule was tempered by mercy, and we gather that debts even of a considerable size were often forgiven.

Where Christ likens Himself to an unkind or unjust master, and especially to a hard and usurious one, the gist of the parable in each case is, 'If ye do so, and are thus faithful to hard and cruel masters, in earthly things, how much more should ye be faithful to a merciful Master in heavenly things.' We receive from Him the order not to lay up for ourselves treasures upon earth, but to sell that we have and give alms.

The general attitude of Christ towards riches is perfectly plain. Wealth was regarded by Him as dangerous: 'How hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of heaven.' More than a small measure of material wealth is a hindrance rather than a help to the Christian life. On the other hand,

[28] Matt. xxi 33-41 [29] Matt. xiii 45.

hose who possess riches are bound to regard them not as a property, which they may use for their own satisfaction, but as a stewardship, which they must justify by administering it for the good of the community. His teaching favours the co-operative rather than the competitive view of society. By the multiplication of luxuries material success is wrongly glorified: 'What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' [30]

The rich man is responsible for Lazarus,[31] his poor and unfortunate neighbour. He has no excuse. Lazarus lies at his very door, where the rich man cannot avoid seeing him. Such instances of great wealth contrasted with grinding poverty were perhaps rare in Palestine, where, in spite of heavy taxation, the condition of the majority of the population was not unfavourable.

The right use of moderate wealth is illustrated by the story of the good Samaritan. The Jewish traveller who had fallen among thieves is rescued, placed in safety, and his bodily wants attended to by a member of a nation which the Jews despised.[32]

This duty of rich towards poor, of the whole towards the sick, of the happy towards the unhappy, is part of the general lesson of humanity, the gospel of brotherhood.

> To love one's neighbour as oneself is the first and great law, a point of duty In the Sermon on the Mount, Christ includes in this rule the duty of loving those whom we have most reason to hate—our enemies and those who maliciously hurt us He delivers an imperative precept: 'Love your enemies.' [33]

Christ is therefore not static; He is dynamic. The Sermon on the Mount is not a mere acceptance of the present order, nor an *apologia* on behalf of the ruling powers. It is a programme of reform, first of the individual, then, through the individual, of society. It shows us in the clearest and most practical way, by illustrations which are intelligible to the youngest and the dullest, how we may rise to a higher conception of our duty to ourselves, to our neighbour and to God. It is concerned with moral and spiritual development; but if it is followed consistently, it will invariably lead to material progress, to improved conditions of life. An employer who acts, however imperfectly, in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, will assist his workpeople (not his 'hands') to secure those better conditions. For the central core of the teaching is unselfishness, beneficence.[34] When struck upon the cheek, we strike not again; when compelled to go one mile, we go two miles; when our coat is taken, we give the cloak as

[30] Mark viii. 36.
[31] Luke xvi. 19.
[32] Luke x. 29.
[33] See Seeley, *Ecce Homo*, chap. xiv.
[34] See article by Lord Salisbury in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, February 1925.

well. These are paradoxical illustrations of the great truth that all true progress is wrought by love of man, which in turn is inspired by love of God.

When Christ spoke (in apparent contradiction of the Sermon on the Mount) of bringing not peace, but a sword, He was speaking of the clash of two ideals, the non-Christian ideal against the Christian. The non-Christian ideal is not necessarily bad, but it is inferior to the Christian, and a struggle for supremacy follows in which the good is the enemy of the better. But violent methods of settling disputes are not approved in the Gospels. 'He that draws the sword shall perish by the sword' (this is not a menace, but a statement of the inevitable result of violence). The individual conscience is first stirred, and it in turn stirs the conscience of others Thus action on a large scale becomes possible. It is in this way that great changes have gradually been wrought by the infiltration of Christian ideals. A conspicuous instance is that of slavery. Jesus Christ did not lead a movement for emancipation, nor did His disciples conceive that to be their duty. But the effect of Christianity was to modify and undermine slavery. The relation between the Christian master and the slave was gradually transformed, till eventually the influence of great Christians, such as Clarkson and Wilberforce, caused the abolition of British slavery, and led the way for the general movement of abolition The process might have worked itself out more quickly if society had been more truly Christian during the nineteen centuries which elapsed between the beginning and the end of this movement.

The quotations which have been made in the course of this paper have shown that there are two conceptions of society which divide men's allegiance to-day: the Christian and the Marxian. Between these two conceptions there is fundamental hostility. One has for twenty centuries, not without success, advocated and practised duty, as a means to amelioration. It calls into play the nobler qualities of contentment, mutual help, self-abnegation. The other advocates violence, as a means to revolution. It calls into play the baser qualities of discontent, greed and selfishness.

I have before me as I write a list of some twenty publications through which Marxian Communism is disseminated from well-known bookshops. In one of these publications [35] I read: 'Boys and girls are not so afraid of anything of a revolutionary nature as grown-up people. It is ten times as easy to make a convert of fifteen as a convert of fifty.' I also read that 'the Boy Scouts is an organisation which teaches the children to fight

[35] The *Young Comrade* for February 1925.

gainst the workers and for the bosses.' In another [26] there is catechism which begins:

'Did Jesus come from heaven?' 'No.'
'Was his mother a virgin?' 'No.'
'Is the story about him true?' 'No'
'Who was his father?' 'Joseph, just in the ordinary way.'
'Thus the story is a legend?' 'Of that there is no doubt.'

As one who has long been engaged in the education of boys, I denounce, in the strongest terms, these attempts to set boys of one class against those of another class, fostering hatred where love should reign, and preaching atheism instead of faith. Under the guise of social progress, the Communist Party is attempting to corrupt the youth of the nation, and I shall feel proud if this article helps to arouse general indignation against those who are steadily doing the devil's work. Let us remember our Lord, who took a little child and set him in the midst of them, and said: 'Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in Me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.'

J. A. NAIRN.

[26] *Proletcult* for October 1923

AS A BIOLOGIST SEES IT

THERE is no world but one world, and every man is its prophet. Yet as each of us can be but the prophet of the small part of which he has experience, in effect we are in the position that each man has a world of his own. The natural insistence of man upon his own point of view must be my excuse for obtruding here a biologist's outlook.

In speaking of the world, whether that of the poet, the biologist, or of the philosopher, I am of course speaking of that symbolical world which exists in thought: of the peculiar propaganda which each of us feels called upon to push in order to escape the charge of stultifying his own existence. And as most of us are probably agreed that thought is a function of man, the understanding of the human material is a matter of some importance. For not only does thought emanate from this material, but, through percolation, it reacts upon it to produce what is generally termed progress. But whether as concerned with the production of thought or of its reactions towards thought, it is with the nature of the material that we have to do. That this material is in a marked degree heterogeneous was probably recognised long before human records existed. There has always been the question as to how far this heterogeneity was dependent upon surrounding circumstances, and how far upon the inherent nature of the material itself. The recent outburst of experimental work upon heredity has led the biologist to lay increasing stress upon the latter factor, and to emphasise the importance of nature as opposed to nurture. New methods have enabled us to analyse the living thing in a way undreamt of a few years ago. The most distinguished of American geneticists has told us that the problem of heredity is solved; and though some of us deem the statement over-sanguine, it must be conceded that it may nevertheless be true. A few years' more work are necessary to tell us whether certain apparently unconformable cases are in reality essentially different, or whether they will ultimately fall into line with those already worked out in such detail.

If such should prove to be the case, what exactly does this 'solution' mean? Neither more nor less than a clear conception

f the mechanism by which the qualities of one generation are passed over to the next. It does not necessarily entail any understanding of these qualities in respect of their chemical or physical basis. Nevertheless our conception of their nature must of necessity be limited by our knowledge of the mechanism through which they are transmitted. The more precise our knowledge of the machinery, the more clearly can we envisage the nature of the material with which it can adequately deal. If, with the majority of biologists to-day, we look upon the chromosomes contained in the cell as the physical basis of heredity, and if we regard the peculiar phenomena presented by these bodies in the formation of the germ-cells as expressive of the mechanism by which are distributed the factors corresponding to definite qualities, then we are led to draw certain inferences as to the nature of these factors.

In the first place they must be very small. The chromosomes themselves are minute. They vary, of course, very much in size. The larger are naturally more comfortable to work with, and the cytologist would probably consider himself fortunate if he had to work with those of such magnitude that only a million went to the millionth part of a cubic inch. Small as are the chromosomes, the transmissible factors must be very much smaller. The American school has brought forward evidence for supposing that more than fifty may be contained in a single chromosome, and there is little doubt that, with further analysis, this number will be added to. That a limit will eventually be reached is indicated by the fact that more factors have been identified with the larger than with the smaller chromosomes.

We may take it then that the factor, the something that in the germ-cell corresponds to a given quality in the individual, is ultra-microscopic in size, and perhaps of the order of the larger chemical molecules. Minute, however, as it must be, the facts of transmission force us to believe that it is a perfectly definite thing; for in its passage through the mechanism it preserves its integrity. The factor that in a rabbit gives rise to black as opposed to white will continue to be transmitted in its entirety, no matter how often the black is crossed with white. It goes through the mechanism again and again, and again and again it gives rise to the same result, viz., black. There is no reason for supposing that it undergoes alteration as the result of repeated distribution.

Lastly, these postulated factors must be capable of reproduction of their like. A single sperm of a black buck mated to a white doe contains the factor that brings about the development of his son's black coat. And not only is his son's coat black, but

factor. Hence we must suppose that the black factor augments in quantity with each successive cell division in which the chromosome containing it takes part. It is living matter in so far as it possesses the property of continuous growth.

To sum up, our factors must be regarded as exceedingly minute but definite bodies, having relative permanence, and with the capacity for reproducing their like. It may be remarked that, after all, they are not so very different from the 'physiological units' of Spencer, the 'gemmules' of Darwin, or the 'biophors' of Weismann. This is true. Nevertheless the discovery of the nature of the hereditary mechanism gives to the conception of such particles a higher validity than heretofore.

Given our factors, then, there are two questions that force themselves upon us: What is their nature? and How far can they be held accountable for the qualities of the living thing? In the former we are asking whether we can identify our factor with anything in the experience of the chemist, and ultimately of the physicist. Though we cannot say that much progress has been made in this direction, there are indications of a close relation between the factor and the chemist's enzyme, a relationship in some cases so close as to suggest identity. In the disease known as alkaptonuria the urine becomes dark after exposure to air, owing to the arrest of the normal breaking down of the nitrogenous products at a stage precedent to the formation of urea. It is the oxidation of this antecedent to urea—homogentisic acid—that leads to the darkening of the urine in alkaptonuric patients. Now the transition from homogentisic acid to urea is dependent upon the action of a specific enzyme. The natural inference is that alkaptonuric people lack this enzyme. But the alkaptonuric state behaves as a Mendelian recessive to the normal, and we therefore suppose that the normal contains a factor which the former lacks. The genetic evidence, taken with the chemical, clearly points to the identity of a hereditary factor with an enzyme-producing substance, if not with the enzyme itself. Moreover, we are now acquainted with other examples, both in plants and animals, which point to an equally close connection between the factor and the enzyme.

It is not suggested that a living organism is merely a collection of enzymes. Clearly there must be some stuff for these to work upon. But it is possible that the waste products elaborated by one enzyme may be the stuff upon which another enzyme works later on in the sequence of life changes. Stuff, it is true, we must have in the beginning, but this may be provided by the original substance of the ovum, inert of itself, but under a series of enzyme reactions, initiated either by a spermatozoon, or by some other stimulus as in artificial parthenogenesis, producing in orderly

sequence the various products that go to make the living body. What that sequence is we can readily see, but the manner of its control is at present beyond us. It may be that the by-products of one enzyme reaction give, as it were, the signal to the next to come into action—that the life of the individual is a series of chemical reactions, preordained when the ovum was fertilised by the sperm. Or it may be that some other form of control dictates the manner in which the hereditary factors eventually find expression in the qualities of the organism. But whatever light future research may throw upon the mechanism of development, we have at any rate some knowledge of the mechanism of heredity For we have established a genetic relation between the beginning and the end terms—between the factor as it exists in the germ-cell and the character as it manifests itself in the individual.

And this brings us to our second question—How far are all qualities dependent upon genetic factors? It is to try and answer this question that most of the genetic work of the past twenty years has been carried out. Anyone surveying the field from the early days of Mendelian research, when only the very simple cases were capable of analysis, cannot fail to be struck with the enormous progress that has been made. The rapid growth in the technique of analysis enables us to-day to attack problems which ten or fifteen years ago seemed almost insoluble. Given comparatively few facts, the geneticist can often suggest at once a reasonable and plausible interpretation, in much the same way as the older anatomists were able to make an approximate reconstruction of a whole animal from a few odd bones. Such interpretations are naturally put to the test of experiment before being admitted into the corpus of genetic knowledge.

We may, however, to-day claim that, in view of the variety and number of qualities proved to be inherited on a factorial basis, there are good grounds for supposing that *all* hereditary qualities are on the same basis, and are capable of interpretation in terms of genetic factors. A given quality of course cannot always be interpreted in terms of a single factor, and the fact that such cases bulk largely in the text-books is due to the ease with which they can be analysed, and the facility with which they lend themselves to purposes of demonstration. But careful analysis has already been made of qualities of which the manifestation is dependent upon the interaction of two, three, or even four factors, and there is little doubt that as time goes on even more complex cases will be expressed in terms of hereditary factors. But, whatever the number of factors concerned, the principle remains the same, and we have yet to find heritable qualities which cannot be expressed in terms of relatively few genetic factors.

The world of the biologist, therefore, is a world to be inter-

preted in terms of genetic factors, much as the world of the chemist is one of atoms and molecules, and that of the physicist is a world of electrons. And as the atom is now being resolved into electrons, so we anticipate a day when the factor will be resolved into the molecule, and biology will become a branch of chemistry and so of physics. But, after all, it is not a static world with which we are dealing. The conception of evolutionary change must find a place in it. There are two ways in which we may attempt to reconcile our ideas of the factor with the changes in the form of the protoplasmic scum that intermittently covers the globe. We may assume either changes in the constitution of the factors themselves, or we may suppose that the factors remain the same in organic evolutionary time, and that the varied qualities of organisms are due to differences of factorial arrangement—to the varied permutations and combinations conceivable among a very considerable number of factors. The latter view is compatible with much that is known of the origin of new forms among cultivated plants and animals. For the fresh variation in most cases behaves as recessive to the form from which it sprang, and so can readily be interpreted as having arisen through the loss of a factor.

Evolution on this view is a process of degradation brought about through the gradual unpacking of the original complex, and accompanied by the successive loss of definite factors. Where the new form appears as a dominant its origin can at times be traced to hybridisation between nearly allied species, and the subsequent process of segregation or resorting of the factors. There are, however, other cases in which this explanation is unsatisfactory, where it is more logical to assume that a definite and specific change has taken place in the factor itself. Probably we must regard evolutionary change as dependent upon both processes : sometimes upon the loss of a factor, or complex of factors ; at others on some definite change in the factor itself. The matter is, however, one upon which further research may be expected to throw more light.

Such then, in crude form, is the picture of the biologist's world. He is tending to think less in terms of genera and species; more in terms of hereditary factors—of what are for him to-day the ultimate entities upon which the qualities of living things are based. He has discarded the conception of complete continuity in the gradation of living forms, or rather he has replaced it by a continuity of discontinuity. The change of view may be illustrated by the change in the meaning attaching to the term *species*. In the days when the business of the naturalist was the construction of a catalogue of the forms of life it was a convenient term to use for purposes of that catalogue. Few inquired, and

even then with little insistence, as to the manner in which one species differed from another. God had made them different, and there was an end of it. Variations within the species there were of course, and they were apt to become troublesome as classification became more refined. However, they were best regarded as due to the debasing influence of a sinful world upon the species as it had been struck from the mint of the Creator. The rise of evolutionary thought towards the close of the eighteenth century naturally directed attention to the nature of these species that had been so elaborately catalogued by Linnæus and others. The eventual outcome, as we all know, was Darwin's *Origin of Species*, an acceptance of which doctrine was the negation of species altogether. For on the view of a complete and imperceptibly grading continuity between living forms none could say where one species ended and another began. Species became merely a time concept, different according to the point of time at which we may elect to view it. There was nothing fixed about it, for it was one thing to-day and another to-morrow. But, as Bateson has pointed out, the doctrine of continuity never conquered the systematist. Though troubled by variations he nevertheless felt that species were real things; that in spite of variation they possessed hard, sharp outlines which were not transgressed. And if we accept the factorial conception the systematist has been justified of his refractory attitude.

On the factorial conception, a species is a collection of individuals containing a similar, or nearly similar, aggregation of factors. If the individuals comprising the species showed no variation of heritable nature, every individual would have to be regarded as containing the same aggregation of factors. Variation exists within the species in so far as this or that factor, out of the complete collection found within the species, may be absent. In a variable species there will be a certain number of factors common to every individual, and there will be other factors which may or may not be present. According as individuals differ in one or more of these 'voluntary' factors, as we may figuratively term them, so do they present variation within the species.

One species differs from another in presenting a different aggregation of factors among the individuals of which it is composed. The more nearly species are allied, the greater the number of factors common to the two aggregations. Moreover, what we have termed the voluntary factors may also occur in different species. There is, for example, every reason for supposing that the black, blue, and chocolate coat-colours in the mouse depend upon the same factors as the corresponding colours in the rabbit; or that the purple, red, and white colours in the sweet-pea and the stock are based upon the same factors.

In most cases these factorial aggregations, which are conveniently termed 'species,' are characterised by the phenomenon of sterility towards one another. But this, though widespread, is by no means universal. Sterility may occur between members of the same family, while on the other hand complete fertility may occur among what are regarded by the systematist as very distinct species. Sterility doubtless depends upon definite factors, just as other qualities do, and cannot of itself be regarded as an absolute criterion of species, as has been urged from the time of Ray onwards.

The factorial interpretation of living organisms has been founded for the most part on investigations dealing with definite physical characters, such as flower colour, seed shape, coat pattern, feather structure, and so forth. It rests to-day upon the experimental analysis of a host of most diverse characters, both in animals and plants. But in the minds of some there appears to be a sharp distinction drawn between physical and mental qualities. There are those who, while readily granting the validity of a factorial interpretation of physical qualities, are inclined to question it for mental ones. It may be of interest, therefore, to ask how far such evidence as has been accumulated can be regarded as justifying the drawing of any such distinction. Since the mentality of animals is, from the genetical standpoint, a field unexplored, we must search for scraps of evidence in man. It may, however, be mentioned that the wild, nervous temperament characteristic of some breeds of fowl appears to segregate, as one would expect it to do if it is dependent upon some factor or factors; and the same may be said of the brooding instinct. On general grounds there is some presumption for supposing mental qualities to possess a factorial basis That ability, and often ability of a special kind, tends to run in families is well known. We have only to recall the Bach family among musicians, or certain modern families where histrionic capacity is unusually marked. Moreover, the evidence collected by Galton some years ago points strongly to the hereditary nature of general intellectual ability. And if it is hereditary, it is likely that it will, with adequate analysis, be shown to conform to the only scheme of hereditary transmission of which we have certain knowledge. Though in general we have far less genetic knowledge of man than of the rabbit or of the domestic fowl, there are on record a few instances where the facts of transmission of mental qualities clearly conform to the idea that they, like physical qualities, are based upon definite factors. This is brought out in the pedigrees collected by Hurst in connection with musical sense. Careful investigation of the population of a small village near Leicester, where all of the inhabitants were known to the investigator,

showed that the quality was clearly defined, and that it could be readily interpreted as a simple recessive to the definitely non-musical type. More recent researches by Drinkwater have served to confirm Hurst's deduction, and have also shown that a certain form of artistic ability appears to be inherited in the same way. But the best known and most extensively investigated case in man is that of feeble-mindedness. Doubtless the classification of this condition is at present imperfect, and cases of inherently different nature are sometimes grouped together. Nevertheless there can be little doubt that the great majority of cases fall into the same category. Nor can anyone who has studied the numerous pedigrees collected by Goddard and others fail to draw the conclusion that this mental state behaves as a simple recessive to the normal. In other words, a definite factor is concerned, and when this factor is not present the feeble-minded condition results. The eugenic workers in America, where more interest is taken in these matters, claim that a simple factorial explanation can be applied to other mental features, *e.g.*, lack of control over temper, the nomadic instinct, etc. Sound pedigree data, however, especially for mental traits, are hard to come by, and it cannot be said that the evidence for any other mental trait is so strong as that for feeble-mindedness. Still, the small amount of work yet accomplished tells strongly in favour of a factorial, and therefore material, basis for mental qualities as well as for physical ones. Progress must necessarily be slow, for the pedigree method is here the only one available; and where we have, as is probable in most mental qualities, to take account of the interaction of several factors, a very large amount of accurately sifted material is necessary before we can arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. If, however, we grant that mental qualities, like physical ones, rest on a factorial basis, the admission carries with it certain definite views as to the nature of a population.

On this subject a brief but fundamental contribution was made some years ago by G. H. Hardy. Considering the conditions of equilibrium in a mixed population of a pair of characters of which one was dominant and the other recessive, he showed that
a population will normally remain in equilibrium. In other
the population will continue to exhibit the same proportion
nts and recessives provided that mating is at random,
minant and recessive forms are equally viable and
the condition of equilibrium be upset, the
djust itself, and fall into a new position
on as the disturbing cause is removed.
ering the distribution of a single factor
f individual—viz., the pure dominants, the
hich carry the recessive character, and the

recessives. The whole of our population, in respect of these characters, falls into one or other of these three classes. If we suppose that the number of pure dominants is p, the number of recessives r, and the number of impure dominants $2q$, then the population is in stable equilibrium when the equation $pr = q^2$ is satisfied. It is of interest to note that a population with a small proportion of dominants is just as stable as one with a small proportion of recessives.

As an illustration of the working of this principle we may take the case of the feeble-minded. The data come from America, where the problem would seem to be more pressing. Statistics have shown that the proportion of feeble-minded in New York State is about three per thousand. Assuming that feeble-mindedness is a recessive character, and that the population is in a state of stable equilibrium, we are in a position to calculate from Hardy's formula the proportion of pure dominants, *i.e.*, of normals that cannot transmit feeble-mindedness, and of impure dominants, *i.e.*, normals that transmit it because half of their germ-cells are 'feeble-minded.' This calculation has been made and shows that more than 10 per cent. of the normals are carriers of feeble-mindedness. When such normals mate together, approximately one-quarter of their offspring will be feeble-minded, while half of their normal offspring will transmit this mental quality. It has been urged in some quarters that immediate steps should be taken to segregate the feeble-minded into asylums and prevent their propagation, thereby purifying the population from the taint. The method sounds attractively simple, and a few years ago I enlisted Professor Hardy's help in calculating the time it would require in order to reduce the proportion of feeble-minded by its means. The answer was as follows. To reduce the proportion of feeble-minded from

1 per	1,000 to 1 per	10,000 would require	68 generations.
1 ,,	10,000 to 1 ,,	100,000 ,,	216 ,,
1 ,,	100,000 to 1 ,,	1,000,000 ,,	684 ,,

Though the method is a sure one, it is slow, very slow; and it is doubtful whether a sense of obligation to an exceedingly remote posterity will persuade a country to incur the very great expense it would necessarily entail. The real position is of course much more obvious if we regard our population, not from the standpoint of the number of individuals exhibiting a certain quality, but from the standpoint of the various germ-plasms contained by the members of that population. If a census could be taken of all the germ-cells of the population with respect to the factor that makes the difference between a normal and a feeble-minded person we should find that about 94 per cent. would be normal germ-cells

and the remaining 6 per cent. would be 'feeble-minded' ones. The great bulk of the 'feeble-minded' ones live in the bodies of normal people, and consequently the greater part of the feeble-minded will continue to arise from matings between normal people, unless it should come about that more than 25 per cent. of the population were feeble-minded.

I have dwelt upon this question of the feeble-minded because it offers what the biologist regards as a typical example of the distribution of a quality in a mixed population. If we turn to what from the social standpoint is commonly regarded as a more desirable departure from the normal, viz., unusually high mental ability of some sort or another, we shall probably find that most of these at any rate are of the nature of recessive characters. Such men are very much rarer than the feeble-minded. Nevertheless the principle involved is the same. The germ-cells of the necessary factorial constitution which go to the making of such men may form but a minute fraction of 1 per cent of the total population of germ-cells. Nevertheless the population is just as much in a state of equilibrium as in the case where the recessive appears in a much higher proportion. In a population where the supremely great intellect occurs once in 100,000,000 we may confidently look for its reappearance from time to time. For, although the individual type is so scarce, the germ-cells that are properly constituted for the quality he represents occur in individuals who, though scarce themselves, are proportionately very much more numerous. Though the outstanding individual may disappear untimely through some accident, the factors that go to his making are spread about in the germ-plasm of a number of other individuals, and these will preserve the quality for the race.

Probably there will come a time when we shall be able to apply direct chemical tests to determine whether this or that factor is present in an individual, and to decide in a few minutes whether a normal carries 'feeble-minded' germ-cells or germ-cells with factors for marked ability of one kind or another. At present we have only the cumbrous test of breeding, which, though applicable
generally for animals and plants, is for man out of the question.
-t there are already some observations on record which fore-
what is to come. We know that blood transfusion in
-s may sometimes be successful and at other times
-k has shown that human bloods may be divided
that these four classes exhibit a specific
-ther. When any two are mixed there is
leading to the formation of a precipitin,
absent. In the latter case transfusion
ough not in the former. There is evidence
depend upon the presence or absence of two

definite factors showing the usual Mendelian scheme of heredity. It is possible by the use of standard serums to take a drop of blood from a man and to decide in a few minutes what his constitution is in respect of the two factors in question. As this line of research develops (and at present it has barely started) there is little doubt that it will enable us to analyse the individual with an accuracy that is to-day beyond us.

For the biologist, then, man is a species with the various implications embodied in that word. His qualities, physical and mental, depend upon definite factors transmitted according to a definite scheme. He is polymorphic to a high degree, though probably not more so than many another beast. This polymorphism merely means that there are many factors which can be either present or absent in the constitution of the individual without affecting his humanity—factors for which we used the term 'voluntary' in contradistinction to those factors which, being present in all men, are in a sense 'obligatory.' It is upon the various permutations and combinations of these voluntary factors that the differences among mankind depend: upon the rarity or frequence of this or that combination will depend the rarity or frequence of this or that quality. And in so far as the factors are stable entities, so far will this stability appear in the qualities that they connote. Moreover, there is an element of stability, not only in the factors themselves, but in the proportions in which they occur in the germ-plasm of a population. When the character is recessive, even stringent measures of elimination would only produce an appreciable effect after many generations. Lamentable as this may appear in the case of the feeble-minded, the position is not without its consolations when one reflects that the majority of the qualities which we consider desirable are probably of this nature. Russia may recover from the slaughter of her professional classes more rapidly than most people imagine. Recessive characters in a population are only diminished with great difficulty owing to their enormous reserves among the impure dominants. The general character of a population is a very stable thing, highly resistant to external influences, and marked changes in its inherent nature are to be measured only in terms of centuries or tens of centuries. But it may be objected that progress is rapid, and its effects are striking in periods far shorter than the span of a man's life. To which the biologist would reply that such progress is not dependent upon any change in the constitution of the population itself, but to the appearance in it of a few individuals endowed with exceptional qualities. Those who want more progress must see to it that more of these exceptional minds are produced and given their opportunities.

R. C. Punnett.

THE CHARM OF THE WOODLARK

THE most recent authorities say that the woodlark is decreasing, and is not found in places where it was formerly known. But in one district of the West of England the converse is the case, for it is certainly commoner there than it was ten or twelve years ago.

When first I heard the song, one bright September morning on the way to a meet of hounds, I was quite at a loss as to the identity of the singer. But for the season, certain notes and phrases in its song would have suggested a nightingale; others resembled the desultory cadence of the tree pipit. I failed then to get a near view of the bird, and it remained a mystery to me, living, as I then was, in a county where it is unknown; twice afterwards, on visits to the West, I heard the song again, but both times under circumstances which forbade my tracking down the songster and so solving the mystery.

At last one May morning I heard once more the unknown yet familiar cadences. We were walking up a deep Devonshire lane, whose high banks were topped with beech hedges; from somewhere on our right, where fields, whose gorsey patches hinted that at no distant period they had been moorland, sloped gently upwards, the elusive, mysterious melody came, but whether from heaven or earth it was impossible to distinguish. The strain was broken, intermittent. ''Tis here! 'Tis here! 'Tis gone!' Now a few notes, faint, far off, like the tiny bells rung by heavy raindrops falling upon water; then silence; and then again, quite near, the throbbing, nightingale-like phrase. It was as though some delicate Ariel, in shape unseen, were mocking us. We ...etched ourselves at length beneath the sheltering shade of a ... and listened. And then at last the riddle answered itself. ...ost invisible against the dazzling radiance of a May ... swam into our ken across unfathomable depths of ... could only be a woodlark; the difference ...r circles and the spirals of the skylark ...in, 'a privacy of glorious light' was his; ...r uplifted eyes were momentarily almost ...pses he made his winged ascent into the ...d downwards, and then, with a few swift

wing beats, rose again. Both song and flight were wayward, impulsive; he was 'Nature's child, warbling his native wood-notes wild.' A sudden dive to earth ended our Ariel's melody. Carefully we stalked him and found him quite tame and not averse from our making his closer acquaintance. We could mark his short tail, pale yellow eye-stripe, continued round the back of the head, his almost black crest, the small black-and-white mark on the 'shoulder' of the wing, and his pretty pink legs and feet. His identity was clearly established.

Since then I have had many opportunities of becoming familiar with this delightful bird, for I now live in a district where woodlarks are common. They seem to prefer low-lying country, and are rarely seen on open moorland, though both in and out of the breeding season I have come across them in rough pasture bordering the moors at an altitude of 1000 to 1200 feet. For months they haunted the land round my house, and at length, to my great joy, a pair built a nest in rough grass not many yards from the edge of my lawn.

The lovely song deserves more detailed comment. Both in quality, as well as in the actual notes, it is entirely distinct from that of the skylark, who pours out his

> silver chain of sound
> Of many links without a break.

The woodlark's *vers libres* are more meditative, as though he paused betweenwhiles to take pleasure himself in their beauty. Were his song not so artless, one might hazard the guess that he had studied the technique of metrical pauses to some purpose. The same difference in mood is apparent in the songs of blackbird and thrush; the throstle, like the skylark, has the robustious exuberance of a *prima donna*; both merle and woodlark are, to my mind, truer artists, because they exercise more restraint.

The woodlark's song may be heard in any month of the year, except, perhaps, in August. Last year they went up with a merry noise all through the dismally wet autumn and winter whenever the sun came out in the morning. One bright, warm day in January they sang perpetually, almost without a pause. Perhaps the music reaches its highest perfection in April and early May. At this time, singing as often as not from tree or post, the woodlark's flow of melody may be for a short period almost as continuous as the skylark's 'silver chain,' though always more varied. The finest passage is the trill, descending chromatically with infinitely small gradations, which recalls to mind a well-known phrase in the nightingale's song; there are, indeed, in the woodlark's, delicate *nuances* of tone-colour, of *piano* and *forte*, which are not, so far as I am aware, attained by any other British songster except

Philomela. These *piano* phrases occur even when the bird is singing from a perch, and thus cannot be due to its nearness to, or remoteness from, the listener. While singing, the woodlark turns his head from side to side, but for a bar or two he will sometimes drop his voice; it is this trick which imparts the contemplative character to certain passages, as though he were singing to himself. And then, again, the sudden silences heighten the listener's expectation. When he is singing in the air these unconscious, innocent *ruses* clothe the song with that faërie elusiveness which is so well expressed in the late Father Hopkins' little-known poem·

> So tiny a trickle of song strain;
> And all round not to be found
> For brier, bough, furrow or green ground
> Before or behind or far or at hand
> Either left either right
> Anywhere in the sunlight

He will go on to execute a series of shakes, first on one note and then on another a little higher; this will be followed by a single note often repeated; in fact, he improvises on notes pitched now high, now low, in a scale whose infinitesimal modulations are imperceptible even to the musically trained human ear. I have heard the song at night, at dawn, and at dusk; when snow lies thick upon the ground he will still sing, if the sun comes out, or in warm rain when it is cloudy. He will soar into a strong wind, progressing by means of little leaps upward with half-folded wings, and still pour out trills of gusty melody.

Courtship, with its attendant combats, begins early in the year. Owing to the similarity in the appearance of male and female, it is difficult to distinguish the sexes. True, the hen is said by one authority to be 'usually smaller, duller in plumage, more flecked, and shorter in the wing.' But it is practically impossible to note these distinctions in the field. At first I thought that I could see a slight difference in the colour of the pair which I had under close observation during last summer, but I was eventually driven to the conclusion that there was no real dissimilarity. In ...me lights the cock looked paler than the hen; in others the ... was the case; in size they appeared practically the same. ...ity sometimes made it extremely difficult to decide ...ular piece of behaviour was referable to courtship ...ntest between two males. In mid-January ...l party of eight woodlarks on my land. ...g from a perch in the hedge, and also ...y written 'too-lui-ie'), to which one of ...ith two soft notes, 'wee-ou,' the first ... other. I have no doubt that the answering

call came from the hen, as, later on, when watching a nesting pair, I frequently heard the male's 'too-lui-ie' answered in this manner by the female. The cock then flew down to the ground, bobbing and ducking his head and spreading his tail to display the whitish outer feathers. Nothing further ensued on this occasion, but I believe that this was an early experiment in courtship. February was a cold month, with bitter east wind, but early in March I noticed woodlarks in pairs on our land, the male being in full song.

In April I witnessed a combat between two males which was, I think, a struggle to decide territorial rights, and perhaps also a combat for possession of a female. They were perched on two posts in a fence, which, significantly, turned out later to be the boundary between the territories of two different pairs. One called 'too-lui-ie,' and the other answered defiantly in song and then attacked the first one; both of them lowered their heads, slightly raised their wings, spread their tails, and raised their crests. A third woodlark, which I took to be the female, though quite near, seemed indifferent to their rivalry. It was interesting to note that the same attitudes and actions were adopted by the male both in courtship and in fighting. Three times within the ensuing week I witnessed similar struggles. Evidently these excursions and alarums had a happy ending, for two, at any rate, of the parties concerned, for a week or so later I saw two woodlarks in the act of pairing. The hen, at the conclusion of a dust bath, gave a low call, and shivered her wings; the male flew down to her at once. Early in June two adult woodlarks were feeding four fully fledged young near our house. For weeks I had searched for the nest, but without success. I suspect it was in an adjoining field, but as it was sown with oats I was unable to investigate.

Soon after this it became obvious that there were now two pairs of woodlarks engaged in courtship near our house, the boundary of their respective territories being our fence. As a result it was sometimes impossible to say which pair one was watching. One was, no doubt, the couple who shortly afterwards nested just off our lawn; the other, I believe, raised a brood in a field some fifty yards away, but as it was covered with growing corn, I never found this nest. These courtships were more complete affairs than the preliminary bouts which I had seen in January. I will describe one of them. Both parties perched on posts in our fence a yard or two apart. The cock's passion declared itself in snatches of song, mingled with the usual call-note, to which the hen replied, sometimes with a low warble, sometimes with a short single note Both birds ducked and bobbed their heads and opened and shut their tail feathers. Gradually the cock came nearer, sharpening his beak on a stump between-

whiles; but when he arrived opposite the lady she attacked him, and both sprang into the air, sparring at each other; they came down in growing oats, which concealed the *dénouement.* Some time later I saw both birds on the ground, facing each other, with heads depressed, but quite motionless. The male does not discontinue these delicate attentions even after he has won his mate—a hint which might be taken by other than avian couples. The day after the hen had begun to sit on the nest I saw the cock fly down near her; she came off the eggs, and both birds began bowing to each other; the male then fluttered in the air over his mate for some seconds, opening and shutting his tail feathers. He afterwards sang to her for some time from an adjacent stump, and the little love passage concluded with a joint dust bath.

One day in mid-June my wife saw one of the woodlarks carrying nesting material; six days later I found a nest with three eggs, in rough grass, about a dozen yards from the further end of the lawn, and only about forty yards from our house. Woodlarks certainly have two broods in a season; some allege that they rear three. If the latter statement is correct, then this nest was probably the third effort of the birds whom I had seen feeding young a few weeks previously. The eggs had a whitish background, with greyish-brown spots. The nest was but partly covered with grass and thistles, which afforded very slight concealment. It was built of bents and dead grass, but neither now nor on careful examination afterwards could I find the hair lining which is usual. The less open side was slightly raised. This peculiarity has been noted by other observers; in fact, nests have been found with a superstructure of grass and bents which almost amounted to a dome. While the hen was sitting the cock was constantly in attendance; his usual perch was one of the stakes supporting a young crab-apple tree, about five yards from the nest. From this vantage point he poured forth frequent song, a challenge to all intruders, and an aubade and serenade to his mate. During this period he almost invariably sang from a perch, but rarely or never in the air.

The couple maintained a constant conversation, the meaning of ...ich I was able, partially at any rate, to interpret by means of ... attention to their various and varied call-notes. Besides ...wn call 'too-lui-ie' (also described as 'tloo-ee-et' and ...are several others. The cock from his perch ...' to the hen, and she would answer with ...reted these remarks as 'two-to-me,' ...ght that 'too-lui-ie' was exclusively ...wee-ou' the feminine answer, but even- ...use each note; 'wee-ou' was sometimes ...he answer. When the young were out of

the nest it served, with a preliminary short guttural sound, as an alarm signal to them. It is a call of very beautiful musical quality (as, indeed, all woodlarks' notes are, though in varying degrees), with something of a croon in it. Often the cock used 'two-to-me' to call the hen off the nest; usually she responded with 'me-too,' and they both flew off a little distance to feed and take dust baths together.

Another call note, 'tscheeta-tscheeta,' is not employed as frequently as the others. I think it is either an alarm note or an ejaculation evincing great emotion. The first time I heard it the cock was, from his actions, evidently in a state of great excitement about something. It was also used once when he was driving the hen back to her domestic duties, and also when both were, I regret to say, having a bout of sparring near the nest, but in the *mêlée* I could not distinguish whether on this occasion it came from one or both birds. There is also another series of notes which appears to be purely conversational. One evening, after the young were hatched, we saw both the old birds tripping delicately on their small, pink feet down the garden path from the direction of the nest towards the house. As they ran they called continuously to each other, a low, sweet, melodious twitter, evidently of a confidential and confiding nature. Subsequently in the autumn I heard a similar conversation while two birds were feeding together one fine morning, but now the cock was so full of beans and *bonhomie* that he ever and again drew himself up to his full height and broke into snatches of song.

The hen woodlark is an excellent mother. Once she remained off the eggs for three-quarters of an hour, but the sun was shining brightly during the whole of her absence, and evidently she knew that her treasures would not suffer. Usually she was not absent for more than a few minutes. On these occasions she fed ravenously, sometimes from crumbs below our bird-table; she would tear a bit of bread in pieces and gobble them up in a great hurry, sometimes flying back to the nest with a fragment in her beak to consume there at her leisure. When the young were hatched and almost full-fledged she was not so assiduous. Once she left them unbrooded in heavy rain; but twice when it was raining she ignored the cock's suggestion that she should come off the eggs to feed, no doubt with a feminine contempt for male stupidity. On the other hand, I more than once saw him drive her back to the nest when she had left it; at any rate, there was first a battle, and then she returned, so that this seems a reasonable explanation. He was a good lover and a good hater. He defended his territory vigorously. One, and at times both birds of the pair whose territory adjoined our land, occasionally trespassed upon his domain; he at once attacked the interloper with lowered head and spread

tail: the contest was continued in the air until the intruder was ejected. One of the most charming traits of this pair of woodlarks was their sociability; the devoted couple seemed to do everything together, and usually in perfect harmony and delight in each other. True, there were occasionally small matrimonial differences of opinion, but they were not sufficient permanently to mar their connubial happiness.

Some authorities state that the incubation period is twelve to thirteen days, but these eggs hatched out on the fifteenth day. I believe that only the hen sits. The cock was in song from his adjacent perch almost continuously while she was sitting, and though I watched carefully on many occasions, there was no sign of his changing places with his mate. Whenever I saw her leave the nest the cock went off with her, and I invariably found the eggs uncovered. I examined the nestlings just after they had emerged. They were partially covered with long, silky down, which from above seemed lavender grey, but closer examination showed that it was really yellowish; there are purplish-blue patches on portions of the skin which make the down appear grey when one is looking down at it, but this is an optical illusion. There was no sign of the egg-shells in or near the nest. It has been observed that the beaks of young skylarks are not sensitive to touch, as the food is placed by the parents on the tongue. I touched the beaks of the young woodlarks lightly with my pencil point, but there was no response. It seems, therefore, that woodlarks adopt the same method of feeding. Later I noticed the three curious black spots at the tip and sides of the nestlings' tongues which are said to guide the parents when introducing food.

The rapid development of the young of birds always fills one with amazement. On the third day the eyes were open, the wing quills were showing in a greyish sheath, and small feathers were apparent at the top of the spinal tract. On the fifth day the wing feathers were well grown, and also those on the head, body, and tail. By the eighth day the youngsters were quite lively and looked as if they might soon be out of the nest; the tail feathers were half an inch long, and the wing and body feathers well developed. If one had not noted from day to day the almost uncanny swiftness of their growth, it would have been difficult to believe that little more than a week ago they were but naked, blind, helpless, sprawling squabs, less than two inches long. On the morning of the thirteenth day they were still in the nest, or rather two were in, but bulging out of it, and the third was sitting partly on the top of them and partly on the flattened side of the structure. In the evening they had disappeared, and I could not find any trace of them, but as the old ones were about, the young were

probably not far off. It has been stated that the young leave the nest before they can fly, and one observer found that the parents, perhaps in order to discountenance this dangerous precocity, refused to give food except at the nest. But the day after they had left their birthplace I put up a young one about thirty yards away from his deserted nursery, and he flew quite well. I doubt if this youngster had strayed from home before he could use his wings.

For rather more than a fortnight after this, both old and young were often in evidence in the vicinity of our house and garden. Woodlarks love dust baths; it was amusing to see them indulge in this salutary pastime *en famille;* they would all, to use a West Country word, 'crump' themselves down with their bodies, heads and bills in the dust, and scrabble up against each other, scuffling round and round, and fluttering their wings in evident enjoyment. They would walk in procession along the paths and across the flower-beds, which were only three or four yards from our windows. While in the nest the parents sometimes fed their tender offspring with currants from our bird-table, and I saw cheese and boiled green peas taken to them from the same source. The authorities state that the young are fed on diptera and caterpillars; a more varied diet apparently agreed with these, for they thrived amazingly.

There was much of interest in the behaviour of the pair at the nest and while feeding the young. On occasion, both before and after the brood had hatched, one or both birds would fly directly down to and up from the nest; but usually they would alight a few yards away from its site and run up to it; there were two runs through the grass distinctly visible by the time the young were ready to leave. The hen on these occasions kept lower down in the herbage than the cock, and this method of progression is also adopted by the fledged young, who can run with rapidity. The cock constantly went to the nest when the hen was sitting, but I could never be sure whether he fed her, though I suspect that such a devoted husband did not neglect to do so. I once saw him offer her food after incubation was over, but it was refused. At first I was doubtful whether the cock assisted the hen in feeding the family, but when the nestlings were a week old, and afterwards, both parents certainly brought food to them. Possibly in the early stages the provision of the proper sustenance is too dainty an operation for any but feminine attention. Both birds removed the excreta from the nest.

I have several times wondered whether the female woodlark does not sometimes sing as well as the male. In describing the courtship above, I have mentioned that the hen responded with a low warble to the song of the cock Later, when the hen had

come off the nest to feed on crumbs below our windows, I heard her warble a few notes between mouthfuls shortly before she returned. It has lately been ascertained by a patient observer that female robins sometimes sing. Such scanty evidence does not permit one to dogmatise, but the question deserves investigation. Owing to the close resemblance between the sexes, the point can only be decided by very careful watching.

Our pair of woodlarks was delightfully tame, and this, of course, made it much easier to watch them. My observations of the young or eggs were always made at times when I had seen the bird leave the nest. I was careful never to frighten her by putting her off it, and kept the grass all round it uncut. Woodlarks had haunted our land ever since the preceding autumn, and before they nested had become accustomed to feed on crumbs spilled from our bird-table by greedy and quarrelsome chaffinches. They were accustomed to our presence. The cock would not trouble to move from his adjacent perch when I approached the vicinity of the nest or was working near by in my garden, and after the first occasion they did not seem to resent my examining the nestling young. I only once saw a woodlark perch actually on our bird-table. He stayed ten minutes. Perching on the low parapet which surrounds the board, his long yellow hind claw stretched down its whole length, like a long yellow thread, he ate potato and butter ravenously, but cleaned his bill very carefully afterwards. At the end of his repast he sang a short grace and retired with a piece of potato, perhaps as a tit-bit for one of his family. Early in May I twice noticed woodlarks pulling off blades of green grass and swallowing them. Possibly there were grubs concealed in the shoots. I at first supposed that they were collecting material for their nest, but I am quite certain that they did not carry the grass away.

The song certainly continued after the young were hatched, but it was not so frequent, nor was its volume so great. It ceased altogether at the end of July, and I did not hear it again until the middle of September ; in fact, for about a month from the second week in August I saw no woodlarks on our land. At this time most of them retire to the cornfields, where I have several times put up small family parties.

Though the woodlark's music probably reaches its highest pitch of beauty in the spring, yet there are times when the autumn song seems, after so long a silence, richer even than the April melody ; it certainly has some new phrases, and some of them, particularly a throbbing shake upon one note, recall the nightingale even more vividly than the spring-time ecstasies. Listening to the song again quite recently, I felt less surprise at my having wondered whether I was not listening to some late singing Philomel

when I heard the song first, some fourteen years ago. This bird, pranked out in beautifully fresh and clean plumage after his autumn moult, sang almost on end for a quarter of an hour one September morning from a heap of dead grass not more than twenty yards from my bedroom window. I was amazed and thrilled by the wonderful sweetness and endless variety of the song. At this time of year so much melody cannot have any relation to mating, nor, since woodlarks remain in small parties throughout the autumn, can it well be attributed to territorial arrogance. It must surely be pure *joie de vivre*

What is it that endears one bird to us more than another? We admire the nightingale, not only for its moonlight melodies, but for the romance which poets and lovers have woven around it. We wonder at the peregrine's amazing mastery of the air and courage in pursuit and attack. The crow tribe intrigue us by their cleverness and spice of devilry. But it is rarely that one gets the opportunity of becoming intimate with any of these birds in a wild state, and it is only under these conditions that one can be sure of knowing the real bird. It is his confidingness that has made the robin the most popular of our English birds, and it is this trait, too, which has now given the woodlark a special niche in my affections, true, his song, which cheers us often when all other birds are silent, makes a special appeal as well; but when one has given attention to a bird almost daily all the year round, and has learned to know him in all his moods, his loves, his hates, his fears, and his feuds, when one has watched with solicitude over his domestic adventures, he becomes a friend. We grow to learn a little, perhaps a very little, of—

> The secrets held by creatures nearer than we
> To earth . . . and the link of their life with ours;
> And where alike we are, unlike where, and the veined
> Division, veined parallel, of a blood that flows
> In them, in us, from the source by man unattained
> Save marks he well what the mystical woods disclose.

Watching and learning thus, one may avoid the errors both of the dry-as-dust to whom a bird is nothing but a stuffed mummy in a glass case, or a cured skin in a specimen cabinet, and of the sentimentalist who attributes to the feathered people his own neurotic sensibilities. The complete Nature-lover should endeavour to deserve the epitaph:

> He saw life steadily, and saw it whole.

E. W. Hendy
(Ernest Blake).

MAYERS, MAYINGS, AND MAYPOLES

'In the month of May, namely on Mayday in the morning,' says an old writer, 'every man, except impediment, would walke into the sweet meddowes and green woods, there to rejoyce their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers and with the harmonie of birds praising God in their kinde.'

And very charming are some of the glimpses one gets of 'maying' in olden days, as when one reads how the young King, Henry VIII, a prince most gay and *debonnaire*, and his girl wife Katharine—no ugly clouds on the horizon, no grossness yet in evidence—rode with their lords and ladies from Greenwich to Shooters Hill 'to bring in the May' On the way they fell in with 200 archers, clad all in green, with bows and arrows (doubtless a planned fantasy), whose chieftain was called Robin Hood, and who begged the courtly cavalcade to halt and see his men shoot. Then at his whistle the archers all loosed together, and yet a second time did they shoot, and their arrows flying overhead made a noise, says the chronicler, that was 'strange and loud, which greatly delighted the King, Queen, and their company.' Queen Elizabeth, too, loved her Maydays, and even in the last spring of her life, as an old woman, went a-maying to Sir Richard Buckley's at Lewisham. But 'maying' by the Court was no new thing in Tudor days; it was but the keeping up of an ancient custom, for a couple of centuries earlier Chaucer tells how on a Mayday morning

> Forth goeth al the courte both moste and leste
> To fetche the floures freshe and braunche and blome.

Officialdom was no whit behind the Court in its observance of Mayday. In the reign of Henry VI. the Aldermen and Sheriffs of London spent one, at least, of their Mayday mornings at the Bishop of London's Wood, in the parish of Stebunheath, where their celebration took the very characteristic form of a 'worshipfull dinner for themselves and other commers,' though a touch of idealism was added by the poet Lydgate, a monk of Bury, sending to them 'a joyfull commendation of that season containing six-[illegible] in meeter royall' One wonders whether they delayed

dinner to read it or heard it in the satisfaction of repletion afterwards. On another occasion we read of them going out to join the King (Henry VIII.) and his Court in their maying at Shooters Hill.

Then, again, from time immemorial the first day of May would seem to have been the great countryside festival, when young men and maidens of all degrees went out into the woods long before dawn and came home in the very early morning, laden with flowers and branches of greenery of every kind, accompanied by the beating of drums, the blowing of horns, and other 'May music.' These branches were put up over the doorways of the houses, so that the whole village or township became a bower of fresh green Herrick's well-known verses to Corinna on Mayday refer to this pretty custom :

> Come, my Corinna, come, and coming mark
> How each field turns a street and each street a park
> Made green and trimmed with trees , see how
> Devotion gives each house a bough
> Or branch ; each porch, each door ere this
> An ark or tabernacle is,
> Made up of whitethorn neatly interwove.

Sir Henry Piers, writing somewhat later (1682), records, in his *Description of Wastmeath*, that each family used to set before their door a green bush to celebrate the May, while in some parts, *e.g.*, Northamptonshire, tall, slender trees were erected, one before each house, and flowers thrown about them.

The origin of this Mayday festival is generally derived from the Floralia, or floral games, of the Romans, which used to take place at this season in honour of Flora, goddess of flowers ; but without doubt the idea underlying it is still more remote and subtle, and must be referred back to the dim ages of antiquity when tree worship was practised and every tree was believed to be the home of a beneficent tree-spirit So 'bringing in the May' was not, in the beginning, merely the ebullition of high spirits natural to the season, but a religious ceremony, a survival of tree worship, and performed with the intention of bringing this beneficent spirit to the homes of the people. In the course of time the custom lost its beautiful meaning, and, with the loss of meaning, degradation inevitably followed.

Before one goes on to look more closely into these Mayday celebrations of our forefathers one very material fact must be called to mind. Prior to the revision of the calendar in 1752, when eleven days were dropped out of it, May the 1st—Mayday—was really our May the 12th. This means much at this season of bursting leaf and flower, and Maydays before the revision had a far better chance of being idyllic both as to sunshine and blossom than had those after it. The hawthorn, for instance, has always

been definitely associated with Mayday—indeed, it is 'may' to the countryfolk—and Chaucer particularly mentions that it was specially brought back by both 'page and groom' when the Court went a-maying. Yet to-day the hawthorn is not in full bloom at Mayday; and one really *wants* the hawthorn in its complete bridal dress over the countryside if one is to capture the true May spirit, when the sense of joy is at its zenith, the zest of life at its keenest. For, as Swinburne so truly says:

> The coming of the Hawthorn brings on earth Heaven.
> All the Spring speaks out in one sweet word,
> And Heaven grows gladder, knowing that Earth has heard

May revellers in addition to being accompanied by musicians often had with them various other figures dressed to represent Flora, Robin Hood, Little John and the rest of that band, 'lords' and 'ladies,' and so on. These took part in the revels afterwards. Spenser, in his delightful description of 'The Shepherd's Maying,' speaks of

> Lady Flora on whom did attend
> A fair flock of fairies and a fresh bend
> Of lovely nymphs

as being among the mayers

Flora, represented by the prettiest girl, later became the 'Queen of the May,' crowned with flowers and throned aside in a flowery bower, but taking no part in the actual games, the honour compensating for what must have been rather a dull part.

Further, in Tudor times at any rate, in addition to the branches carried by all, a great maytree or maypole was brought in to be the centre of the revels Phillip Stubbes, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, published in 1584, gives an excellent description of how this was done, though he sternly disapproved of the whole proceedings. 'They have,' he wrote, 'twenty or thirty yoke of oxen, every oxe having a sweet nosegay of flowers placed on the tip of his hornes and these oxen drawe home this Maypole' (here, I regret to say, he refers to it as 'this stinkyng ydol!'), 'which is covered all over with flowers and hearbs, bound round with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometime painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children following it with great devotion. And thus being reared up, with handkercheefs and flags hovering on the top, they straw the ground ronde about, binde green boughs about it, set up sommer haules, bowers and arbors hard by it. And then fall they to daunce about it' (and here his bitterness once more breaks out) 'like as the heathen people did at the dedication of the idols, whereof this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing itself.' He was firmly convinced that the 'Lord over their pastimes and sportes' was 'Sathan, prince of hel,' and he explains his abhor-

rence by a reference to the gross misdeeds that were current during the night of merrymaking, 'so that scarce a third of the maides returned home again undefiled.' No doubt there was licence on the *fête* days of the sixteenth century, as there still is on the bank holidays of the twentieth.

In the earlier days a fresh maytree was cut and brought in every year, but later it was found not practicable to have a new one each May; nor, indeed, as the idea of its being a living, fructifying spirit had long been forgotten, was it considered at all necessary, so there came to be permanent and more or less stereotyped maypoles which served as the centre of the games on the village green or in the city streets, and on which yearly decorative renewals of flowers and ribbons took the place of the old living greenery.

> The Maypole is up,
> Now give me the cup,
> I'll drink to the garlands around it—
> But first unto those
> Whose hands did compose
> The glory of flowers that crowned it.
>
> HERRICK.

The earliest representation of one of these is said to be in the *Variorum* Shakespeare, taken from one portrayed on a window at Betley, Staffordshire, probably in the reign of Henry VIII Some of these maypoles have become of historic interest, as, for instance, that which gave the name to St Andrew Undershaft in the City of London, the 'shaft' being the maypole which was set up every Mayday in the middle of the street opposite the south door of the church. It was a particularly fine one, overtopping even the church steeple—hence the church's subsidiary name 'undershaft.' Between Maydays the shaft hung on iron hooks under the eaves of the adjacent houses and across Shaft Alley, but after 'Evill Mayday' (1517), when there was a great riot of apprentices and servants, the City fathers discouraged May games, and it hung unmolested for thirty-two years, until, in fact, a fanatical sermon preached at Paul's Cross by the curate of St. Katherine's against this 'idoll' roused his hearers to such a frenzy of religious zeal that, gathering more assistance and dining, we are told, 'to make themselves strong,' they, with great labour, raised it from its hooks and cut it into pieces. Each house claimed the portion that lay along it, and the inhabitants of Shaft Alley shared the bit over their gateway. Thus, says the chronicler, 'was his idol (as he termed it) mangled and after burnt'—though it seems difficult to understand what harm it was doing as it lay reposefully under the eaves.

Another notable City maypole was that in Fenchurch parish, 'as goodly maypole as you have seene; it was painted whyte and

greene,' proudly boasts an Elizabethan writer. A third, a fir forty feet high, graced Basing Lane, near St. Paul's Cathedral, and was fabled to be the jousting staff of Gerard the Giant. It was kept, when not in use, close by in the inn known as 'Gerard's Hall.'

When the Puritans came into power under Cromwell such frivolities as May games were abolished, and constables and churchwardens were ordered, under penalty of a five-shilling fine, to do away with all maypoles, which the new Government characterised as 'heathenish vanities generally abused to superstition and wickedness,' and among those which disappeared was a well-known one in the Strand. But the very first Mayday after the Restoration, namely, in 1661, a worthy successor was put up with much ceremony. It was 'a most choice and remarkable piece,' we are told, a cedar, 134 feet high, a maypole which 'in all our land, no city, towne nor street can parallel' Made 'below bridge' and brought in two parts up to Scotland Yard, it was eventually carried before a great company to its destined place just opposite Somerset House, flags flying, bands playing, and twelve seamen 'off a boord' being sent by the Lord High Admiral of England to raise it, no mere landsmen being thought capable of such a feat. After four hours' effort it stood erect in all its glory of crowns and garlands. It remained *in situ* until 1717, when, being old and decayed, it was bought by Sir Isaac Newton and sent by him to Wanstead, in Essex, to help in the support of a great new telescope there.

A maypole, interesting from its associations, was set up in Drury Lane after the Restoration by one John Clarges to commemorate his daughter's good fortune. She had married as her second husband a certain George Monk, and he became General Monk and ultimately Duke of Albemarle, so she ended as a duchess. As her first husband had been a farrier, her ascent in the social scale seemed to merit a maypole.

The maypole that stood longest near the metropolis was the one on Kennington Green, beloved of milkmaids. It was not taken down until about 1795 Some old maypoles still survive in remote villages in various parts of the country, but they are now few and far between.

It is interesting to review the different forms that Mayday celebrations took in course of time up and down the land. For instance, a letter written from Hitchin just about a century ago describes the mayers—here all men and youths, no women allowed—coming home soon after 3 a.m. singing a May carol and bearing leafy branches, one of which they affixed to each house; the more honourable the house was esteemed, the larger was the branch attached. Should any of the household have offended the mayers during the past year, a piece of elder with a bunch of

nettles took the place of the usual branch. This was considered a great disgrace, and doubting maids came down extra early for an anxious look. All the houses were decked by 4 a.m. During the day the mayers went round playing clownish games. One was Mad Moll, and another was her husband with a broom. There were also a 'lord' and a 'lady' and other fantastic folk, and Mad Moll's husband created great amusement by continually and furiously sweeping away the accompanying crowd of revellers. The May carol they had sung at daybreak was one version of a carol that was chanted in many parts of England. It began:

> Remember us poor Mayers,
>   And thus we do begin
> To lead our lives in righteousness,
>   Or else we die in sin.
>
> We have been rambling all this night
>   And almost all the day,
> And now returnéd back again
>   We have brought you a bunch of May.
>
> A bunch of May we have brought you,
>   And at your door it stands—
>   It is but a sprout,
>   But it is well budded out
> By the work of our Lord's hands

Other verses follow, concluding with:

> The moon shines bright and the stars give a light
>   A little before it is day
> So God bless you all, both great and small,
>   And send you a joyful May.

In Northamptonshire, about the same date, the mayers were girls, dressed in their best, who carried round a may garland composed of two hoops crossed vertically and decorated with flowers and ribbons and having dolls in the apertures. Doubtless the doll was a now unmeaning survival of Flora. In the carol they sang, it is very apparent, Puritan sentiment had been grafted on to some older form, making a most curious patchwork. It begins much as the Hitchin one did:

> Here come up poor players all, and thus we do begin
> To lead our lives in righteousness for fear we die in sin,

but goes on with puritanical unction:

> To die in sin is dreadful, to go where sinners mourn,
> 'Twould have been better for our souls if we had n'er been born.

Then crops up the older form:

> Good morning, lords and ladies, it is the first of May,
> I hope you'll view our garland, for it looks so very gay.
> The cuckoo sings in April, the cuckoo sings in May,
> The cuckoo sings in June, in July it flies away,

concluding with a Puritan patch piece:

> Now take a Bible in your hand and read a chapter through,
> And when the day of judgement comes the Lord will think of you.

In Penzance the custom was for young men and maidens to assemble at midnight and then perambulate the farmhouses for four or five miles round, receiving junket, cream and 'heavy-cake.' As it grew light some 'gathered in the may' while others made the 'May-music.' The latter was done by cutting a circle through the bark at a suitable distance above the end of the branch. By tapping and coaxing, the tube of bark was then slipped off and a hole cut towards one end, thus turning it into a whistle. Then at about 5 a.m or 6 a.m. the whole band started to bring home the may to the accompaniment of much 'May-music.' After dancing round the town the revellers returned to their respective employments Here, it is obvious, the primitive form had been retained almost unchanged.

At Padstow and other places a great feature of Mayday revels was a hobby horse, that is, a man with a framework intended to represent a horse. Its grotesque appearance and its prancings and caracolings were the delight of all, while its attendants fired pistols, happily charged with powder only, in all directions.

In many parts up to within living memory children would go about dressed in white and decked with flowers, singing a May ditty and carrying a garland and hoping for small money presents from all those they met Sometimes they carried a doll which was known as the May Lady.

A part of all true mayings was 'gathering the May-dew,' for May-dew, especially that of Mayday, had a wonderful reputation as a cosmetic and for preserving perpetual youth. Thus Pepys noted in his *Diary* one May eve: 'My wife away to Woolwich in order to a little ayre, and to lie there tonight and so gather May-dew tomorrow morning which Mrs. Turner hath taught her is the only thing in the world to wash her face with'; and the *Morning Post*, more than a century later (May 2, 1791), records that the day before, according to annual superstitious custom, a number of persons went into the fields and bathed their faces with the dew in the grass under the idea that it would render them beautiful.' The innuendo that they were not beautiful already was hardly worthy of the *Morning Post!*

An Edinburgh writer in 1827 describes the custom of 'gathering the May-dew' as followed in the metropolis of Scotland. About 4 in the morning, he tells us, there was an unusual stir, a great opening of gates, ringing of bells and gathering of folks of all sorts on Arthur's Seat, so that in half an hour the whole hill was a moving mass with bakers and other craftsmen in [illegible] round a maypole. The scene was picturesque

enough, save that some, alas! gathered 'Mountain dew' from itinerant vendors rather than May-dew from the grass, and soon their prostrate bodies strewed the path. At 6 a.m. came the gentry, 'toiling and pechin' up the path, and the servants and craftsmen got them home to their duties.' By 9 a.m. all was over, the place deserted, and only the drunkards left to stagger home.

Two very different sets of people eventually came to have special celebrations of their own on Mayday—the milkmaids and the sweeps. The milkmaids used to fill their pails with garlands and dance carrying them. Thus the observant Mr. Pepys set down in his *Diary* for Mayday, 1667, that as he was going to Westminster he saw a number of them thus dancing, a fiddle playing, and pretty Nel Gwyn in her smock sleeves and bodice watching them from the door of her lodgings in Drury Lane. In the eighteenth century sometimes a milkmaid, gaily dressed, would lead a garlanded cow, at other times there was a milkmaids' pageant, which consisted of musicians with drums, tabors or fiddles, followed by milkmaids in their best adorned with flowers, who, in their turn, preceded the 'garland,' carried by two men on a 'horse' or stretcher. More milkmaids, the staider ones, brought up the rear. The 'garland' of the milkmaids was no ordinary one, but consisted of a high pyramidal frame covered with damask, each side being decked with silver-plate and ribbons and flowers. This plate had replaced the show of milkmaids' humble utensils in earlier days, and being of considerable value was usually hired from recognised vendors. The pageant stopped before the respective customers' houses, and dancing took place, rewarded, no doubt, by gifts of money on the part of the customers. 'Ah, *those* were the days,' as a sententious contemporary remarked.

The Sweeps' Mayday is in the memory of many now living, and indeed is yet observed in certain places. The blackened faces, fantastic dresses, and above all the characteristic 'Jack-in-the-green,' made the little procession notable. A 'Jack-in-the-green,' or bush-carrier, was a man enclosed in a wooden framework in the shape of a cone, which was covered with leaves and branches and topped with a crown formed by tying two hoops together at right angles and covering them with flowers. Every little while the procession halted, when the rest of the sweeps solemnly danced round the 'Jack,' while one of the band played on a tin whistle, sometimes supplemented by a fiddle. The Oxford 'Sweeps' Procession,' still existing, or existing until quite recently, included also a lord carrying a frying pan, a lady with a ladle (both occupied in collecting gifts), a fool with a bladder, and a man with a shovel and poker—out of which the 'music' (save

the mark !) was produced. An odd rhyme is sometimes sung in these processions :

> The first of May is Garland day,
> And chimney sweepers' dancing day.
> Curl your locks as I do mine,
> One before and one behind.

The study of these ancient Mayday customs and ideas (of which this paper can be but a fragmentary bird's-eye view) has something more behind it than mere archæological interest. The spirit of to-day, though proclaiming itself loudly as progressive and even revolutionary, has yet a curious undercurrent within it leading it to hark back to the old ways of the old days. In every direction it is trying to recapture and embody in its progression all that was best and most full of meaning in those distant times of Chaucer, Spenser, and Elizabeth, when life was less complex, less congested ; when man could live more spaciously and nearer to Nature, when England was beautiful in her woodlands and her countryside as a whole, instead of, as to-day, in mere patches between vast areas of mean dwellings and paved streets. This tendency to blend the old and the new is seen in our latest houses, designed of an old-time aspect, but 'replete with every modern convenience' ; in the rescue of ancient country dances from oblivion, by much painstaking effort, that they may be taught in our most modern schools ; in the unearthing, after eager and diligent search, of songs and music from mediæval MSS. that they may grace the most musically advanced London concert.

So with these Mayday customs. In the effort to bring home some idea of the beauty of Nature, some realisation of the beneficence of the spirit of the trees and the true inwardness of the flowers, to the children of a land that man is daily pushing further and further from the Creator's first conception of earth as a garden, it is suggested that Mayday revivals may yet play a happy and not unimportant part. Hence up and down the country such revivals are being fostered, and, if the leading of them be judicious and spontaneity can be evoked, our boys and girls, even of the city, may learn of such simple joys as Chaucer found in the daisies, and of which he wrote :

> To them have I so great affection,
> As I said erst, when comen is the May,
> That in my bed there daweth me no day
> That I nam up and walking in the mead
> To see this flow'r against the sunné spread,
> When it upriseth early by the morrow ;
> That blissful sight softeneth all my sorrow ;
> So glad am I when that I have presénce
> Of it, to doen it all reverence.

G. Clarke Nuttall.

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RUGBY FOOTBALL TO-DAY

The recent visit of a team from New Zealand, together with their excellent record, served to bring the game of Rugby more to the notice of the public than ever. This is, on the whole, a good thing for Rugby football, though there are many and serious dangers attendant upon too large a public support of a purely amateur game. But it hardly needed a visit from the All Blacks to make the game widely known. Since 1919-20, the popularity of the game has increased by leaps and bounds, and it is no exaggeration to say that there must be at least four times the number of clubs playing regularly nowadays that there were in 1913-14. The spectators, of course, have increased in numbers too, but far more important than this is the number of healthy young fellows who regularly indulge in this splendid winter game. Watching matches up and down the country as I do, I often still see, with much regret, huge numbers of young men looking on instead of playing. There comes a time—too soon, alas !—when we are unable to play this vigorous and exacting game, but until that time comes we should do our very best to get into a club where we can be sure of a match in one of the many sides that clubs of to-day run. With the increase in the number of Old Boys' clubs there will be greater facilities for young fellows who are really keen on using their youth ' youthfully,' and not as men past the ' Rugger ' age. This question is closely allied with that of grounds, the lack of which is a great hindrance to the further development of existing clubs and the creation of new ones. The influential committee formed recently may do some good in this direction.

When the ' 1905 ' All Blacks came here the game was not nearly so widespread in its appeal as it was when C. G. Porter and his team arrived in September last I had the good fortune to play my first game for England against the New Zealanders in that memorable match at the Crystal Palace in 1905, so that I have been more than usually interested in ' thinking back ' to twenty years ago when watching our recent visitors, and pondering over what has happened in the meanwhile. It will be remembered by keen followers of the game that when David Gallaher's team came here English football, except in the West

Country, was undoubtedly at a low ebb. We had one of those lean times that all countries have in their turn, a time when high-class players are notably lacking. This was aggravated by the fact that the Rugby public in England was somewhat apathetic, and in this respect, at all events, the visitors did us a lot of good We needed stirring up, and the overwhelming defeats sustained by our clubs and our international team had the desired effect of making us look into things a little. The fact that England did not win the International Championship between 1892 and 1910 illustrates my point.

Round about the time in question the Championship honours used to go, as a rule, to Wales or Scotland, with Ireland sharing them in 1906 It was the heyday of Welsh football. E. T. Morgan, Gwyn Nicholls, R. T. Gabe, and W. M. Llewellyn formed a line of three-quarters that has not been matched in Wales or surpassed in any other country, whilst they were fed by R. M. Owen—an inside half without an equal, in my opinion, purely as a 'feeder.' This side it was that inflicted the only defeat upon New Zealand. I wonder how many times E T. Morgan, now in practice at Swansea, had to show people last season just how his famous try was scored ! Whenever I saw him he seemed to be trying to avoid folk who wished to know exactly what happened. Both Scotland and Ireland had magnificent sides as well. K. G. and L. M. McLeod, 'Pat' Munro, E. D Simson, Louis Greig, D R. Bedell Sivright, W. P. Scott, J. C. McCallum, Basil Maclear, H. Thrift, C. E Allen, Arthur Tedford, George Hamlet—these were just some of the stalwarts of those days, and that the New Zealanders crossed their line three times more than did either Ireland or Scotland is ample testimony to the fact that R. G. Deans, G. W. Smith, W. J. Wallace, J. Hunter, W. J. Stead, C. Seeling, D. Gallaher, and F Roberts were members of one of the greatest sides of all time, even though they lost a match, which their successors did not do. Amongst other things that we learned from the 1905 visit were the value of fine physique, an increased knowledge of tactics (in a good sense), the importance of straight running, and the great assistance any visiting side has from the combination which the men are bound to develop by playing together and living together.

Things were different when the New Zealand team landed last year. England had been concerned in the Championship honours four times in the past five years, winning them outright three times out of the four. In addition, England had won the Championship in both seasons that immediately preceded the Great War. A. D. Stoop, John Birkett, Ronald Poulton, W. R. Johnson, F. E. Chapman, R. Dibble, Charles Pillman, C. N. Lowe, J. A. King, E. R. Mobbs, and W. J. A. Davies were some of the

players who took a leading part in this great change. The game was improved considerably by the careful attention given to offensive tactics by A. D. Stoop and his Harlequins. There is no doubt that the game had got rather stodgy in this country: it needed brightening, and the skilful use of pace and passing, together with a policy of 'attack whenever possible,' supplied this brightening. The first tangible result of this change of policy was seen when the Twickenham ground was opened in January 1910 with the match against Wales. England had not won this match since 1898, though the 1904 game at Leicester had been drawn. In the opening match at Twickenham England won, and restarted a winning sequence which has been unbroken as far as home matches are concerned. It was my good fortune to play in this memorable match too, partnering Stoop at half. Our defence was very shaky, but the prearranged policy of Stoop, captaining the side, enabled us to attack sufficiently to win by a small margin, though the whistle for 'no-side' came none too soon as far as we were concerned. This attacking policy was helped considerably by our putting it into practice right from the kick-off. Wales started the game. The ball reached Stoop, who, instead of kicking to touch, which was the orthodox thing to do, started a bout of passing from which we scored. England won the Championship that year, the first time since 1892.

After that, English football predominated for most of the time. Stoop was succeeded by W J. A. Davies; C. N Lowe came along; Ronald Poulton developed into one of the game's greatest geniuses; Charles Pillman became a most effective winger, and W. R. Johnston was as reliable a full-back as England has ever had. Welsh football continued to be good for a year or two, but with the withdrawal of the famous line referred to above the standard gradually deteriorated, though the continued presence of Owen and W. J. Trew among the backs tended to make mediocre players into moderately good ones. Things did not go too well with Scotland either. There were no really worthy successors to Munro, Simson, Greig, and the McLeods, which was not surprising, and for some time Scotland had to rely mainly upon her forwards, though in 1912 there came along one of the prettiest wings that Scotland ever had, viz., John Will. Ireland missed Maclear badly, but R. A. Lloyd's advent at outside half in 1910 served to give the backs a good player on whom to pivot. The mainstay of the Irish team, however, continued to be the forwards—the traditional strength of an Irish side.

Rugby paid a very heavy toll in the war, and many of the glorious players named above played their last game for their side in something more serious than Rugby football. Thus things were very much unsettled when the threads of the game were taken

hold of by the various clubs in 1919. The five years that had elapsed had meant the death or retirement of most of our great players of 1914, and new blood was badly needed. Fortunately for England, W. J. A. Davies was still fit and well, even though his delightful partner, F. E. Oakeley, one of the most effective and likeable inside halves I ever played against, had gone down with his ship. The question of finding a worthy partner to Davies was of urgent importance to English football, and I well remember early in the 1919-20 season talking over this matter with Engineer-Commander E W. Roberts, R.N. I was rather pessimistic, for in that short time I had not seen an English inside half of any class at all. Roberts, however, cheered me up by speaking more than hopefully of a youngster he had seen at Portsmouth. The youngster was C. A. Kershaw, who got into the English side that very season and began a partnership with Davies that will form an important part of Rugby history. Kershaw's great qualities were his ability to give long and swift passes (a quality, though, that he was inclined to over-indulge), his magnificent dashes 'on his own' instead of feeding his partner, his defence, and his backing up of Davies, whilst his pace and weight made him as difficult to stop when on the run as a centre three-quarter.

Then what can one say of Davies that has not been said before? He ranks with Basil Maclear and Ronald Poulton as one of the greatest match winners of my time—that is going back to about 1900, the date at which I could take a critical interest in the game. No side that was not too far behind need despair if Davies was playing, and more than once since 1919 have England and the Navy won their matches solely through the individual brilliance of this great player. A wonderfully safe pair of hands, a superb faculty for drop-kicking and screw-kicking to touch, an uncanny instinct for spotting an opening through the defence that no other man on his side could see for certain, and great speed for a short distance were (and are still) just a few of his qualities. The memory of Davies fielding a bad pass, 'nosing' his opening, and going hard for the line with his head well back and with his long strides, is as abiding as that of one of his many glorious dropped goals.

The chief limitation in connection with Davies's play was that it was so individualistic in its nature that few, if any, three-quarters could show their very best form in playing with him. Centres must inevitably be perturbed in playing with an outside half who will leave them 'in the air' at any moment whilst he is winding his tortuous way through a defence in such a manner that it is well-nigh impossible for a three-quarter to follow in support. The result was that English three-quarter play tended to become, until latterly, individualistic too. The passing was not

well timed, and the machinery rarely seemed to run well. But England did have one three-quarter of the very highest class; in fact, I have stated on more than one occasion that I consider C. N. Lowe the best wing three-quarter I have ever seen play. Small, but superbly made, with a perfect poise (anybody who has seen him play can see him now, with that unusual lean forward—on his toes all the time), he was fast, resourceful, could kick, and had no superior as a tackler all the time he was playing. Lowe played in twenty-five consecutive games for England, and was first choice every time. This, for a man who was less than ten stone in weight and who never shirked the hardest tackle or the ugliest rush, is an amazing record. With him on one wing and Will on the other, Cambridge were indeed well blessed in 1911, 1912, and 1913

With Davies, Kershaw, and Lowe as the nucleus of the backs, England has been fortunate in finding six or eight men of outstanding ability as forwards, and they have played so often together as to combine like clubmates. Foremost among these has been W. W. Wakefield, who first came into prominence in the Inter-Services Tournament for the King's Cup in 1918-19. But before Wakefield we had J. E. Greenwood, the old Cambridge captain, and L. G. Brown, the old Oxford captain, to link up the old with the new, which they did admirably. Wakefield, however, has been the most potent factor in the success of English forward play since 1919. Himself a great forward, very fast, full of dash, and skilful with his hands and feet, he is also a keen student of forward tactics, and there is little doubt that England has done so remarkably well in recent years largely because of the tactics of the forwards, alone or in combination with the backs. Never has a team brought this 'whole-team' combination to such a fine pitch as the English side since 1920, unless it be the New Zealand team that has just left us, and this was a different sort of combination, though this is too technical a subject to deal with here. Great though Wakefield is, he could never have done his work had he not had some superb forwards to help him. A. T. Voyce will go down as one of the game's greatest wing forwards, though many enthusiastic but ignorant folk have for long looked upon the fair-haired Gloucestrian as a man who 'lived' offside. I consider Tom Voyce at his best—in 1922-23, say—as a genius of the same class as Davies or Lowe. Then A. F. Blakiston was also a splendid player, so were G. S. Conway and H. L. Price, and R. Cove Smith and W. G. Luddington.

These men became brilliant in their work in the loose, carrying out Wakefield's ideas and their own, though both were probably derived from the superlative excellence of L. G. Brown's play in

the open. More than once has England scored after the ball has gone through ten pairs of hands, travelled half the length of the field, and from one side of it to the other. I can imagine no finer illustration of this point than the try that H. P. Jacob scored against Wales at Swansea last year. This movement began within inches of the Welsh line and near the corner flag. Jacob started it with a defensive kick (and a mighty bad one, too !). The ball nearly went into touch on the opposite side of the field before it came across again, the English forwards passing admirably, and the movement ended by Jacob coming up in support of these forwards to score between the posts. Only a side all of whose players looked upon themselves as an integral part of every movement could have brought about a score like this. This combination has been as noticeable on the defence as in the attack What could be finer than the tackling, rush-stopping, and wheeling to the touch-line of the English forwards against Ireland at Twickenham and against Scotland at Murrayfield this season ? In both these matches England were defending for four-fifths of the game, and yet in one case they drew and in the other only just lost

This inter-combination of backs and forwards has made the game more complicated than it used to be Up to about fifteen years ago the backs and forwards were looked upon as distinct parts of the team, roughly speaking ; the backs did the open work, the forwards the close work. Nowadays you have forwards able to handle almost as surely and as cleanly as backs, and taking part in all, or nearly all, outside movements. I am not quite sure that all this has improved the game. At all events, it has brought great difficulties in its train. Foremost among these is the question of refereeing. The game has become so fast and so involved that it is rarely one sees nowadays a referee capable of handling an important game. Why is it that the retired player does not take up refereeing ? This question is asked frequently. Certainly too few do ; but, after all, to referee a modern game of Rugby, especially in an atmosphere of tension, is no easy task for a man whose Rugby fitness is a thing of the past. *Experto credite !* In its mental and physical strain it is a task for a young man, though there are a few older referees who can control adequately a fast game with the minimum of running about. An old player will generally not need to do the running about that a theoretical student of the game will, because he will know instinctively, in many cases, what is going to happen, and so can look ahead a move or two.

Then the prevalence of ' winging ' is a perfect nuisance to the game. There *is* a *rôle* for the natural ' winger ' to fill, and when it is filled by men like W. Spiers, Ivor Morgan, Charles Pillman,

A. T. Voyce, and H. L. Price, to confine myself to moderns only, the game is helped considerably. But these players have had so many imitators that the game is being seriously affected. These imitators have no instinct for this particular phase of the game, and their play consists all too often of an orgy of offside and obstruction, especially the latter. Many old players must feel as strongly as I do on this matter, for the 'wing' forward has so morally helped the game down the hill that I often wish 'winging' had never been born. The '1905' All Blacks are often credited with the introduction of this phase of the game. But it was here before they came, though their style of play intensified the practice, whilst the 'winging' done by the side that has just left us was of such a nature as to help the side very little intrinsically, and not at all morally. Strong referees do check this nuisance, but, as I have said, strong referees are rare, and even they seem averse from inflicting the severest penalty on the alleged 'winger,' who revels in these obstructionist tactics Clubs must take a hand in eliminating this nuisance by discouraging the 'winger'—in other words, by dropping him.

The mention of obstruction, which is, I think, the worst offence in the game, reminds me of another phase—viz, the increase of ultra-vigorous play. The ordering off of a New Zealander in the match against England was a deplorable necessity, but the best referee we have had lately was perfectly justified in his action. Although the actual sending off of a player is fortunately rare, very many players have almost deserved the same punishment during the past season. There was at least one ugly incident in the England-Scotland match at Murrayfield that made most Englishmen blush. 'Tension is great, Rugby is a vigorous game.' Yes, we know all that, but a player who cannot restrain himself from abusing the vigour of healthy manhood, whatever the tension, should not figure in an international side, nor any side for that matter. One other grievance, and I have done with this aspect. In my opinion, the 'advantage rule' operates to the detriment of the game. Ethically it is quite sound: the transgressing of the rules, intentionally or otherwise, by one side should be used, if possible, to the advantage of their opponents. But in practice it works out badly, for often an appreciable length of time elapses between the transgression and the point of time at which it is proved that the other side can make no use of their opponents' error. During that time the game is in a state of almost suspended animation, which is decidedly unsatisfactory. The difficulty of getting the ball into the scrummage is another nuisance, but as the Rugby Union have recently appointed a sub-committee to go into this matter, it is more than likely that this difficulty will be removed. These are just a few dangers

and difficulties that are militating against the complete enjoyment of the game by spectators and players alike.

I do not belittle the splendid achievement of the New Zealand team that was here a few months ago in having two regrets in connection with their visit. One is that they were not here two or three seasons ago, when the English team was at its best. Then W. J. A. Davies, C. A. Kershaw, and C. N. Lowe were at their zenith, as were some of this season's players, who are now decidedly past it. Great though the historic match at Twickenham was on January 3, and wonderful though the rally was that our fellows put in during the last quarter of an hour, I think the English side of 1922–23 would have done better still—and, to be quite frank, I believe they would have won. But the losers were not without a lot of the honours. The other regret is that it was not possible for the New Zealanders to meet Scotland. It was ironical that the only country that our guests did not meet was the one that beat all the other countries. The New Zealanders made no secret of the fact that the hardest game they had was against Oxford University at Oxford, when the pace and skill of the backs, admirably led by the best centre playing this season, viz., G. P. S. Macpherson, were too much for them. Had the Oxford defence been even moderate instead of really poor, the Dark Blues might well have besmirched the New Zealanders' record. The Scottish international team had much the same backs, with a very much strengthened defence fore and aft. Though idle to speculate, it is interesting to do so, and I have a strong idea that Macpherson would have engineered a victory had he led the same team against New Zealand as he did against England at Murrayfield.

With very rare exceptions the New Zealanders met poor attacking sides, and the result was that their own defence was hardly ever tested severely. I saw it at odd times under heavy pressure, and I must say that it struck me as being decidedly shaky. The individual tackling was not particularly good, judging by the highest standard, whilst the team as a whole were inclined to get rattled when hard pressed. I am a great believer in the need of a strong defence, and I look upon hard tackling as one of the glories of the game. For this reason no team satisfies me fully unless it combines sterling tackling qualities with those of skill and pace in attack.

The brilliance of our visitors lay in their combined attack, when all the backs and one or two forwards seemed to be bunched up in support of each other in such a way as to beat almost any defence. There were always at least a couple of men handy to carry on a bout of passing at full speed when the man in possession was about to give the ball up. These efforts—and they figured in

every match played on a dry ground—were perfect, and Rugby football at its very best. A fact that has helped them in the developing of this short, sharp passing idea is that kicking to touch is not allowed under New Zealand Rugby Union rules—at least, only under certain conditions. Thus, with punting to touch out of the question, immediate passing on receiving the ball has become their order of the day. This is a lesson they have taught us, for our kicking is surely overdone. One does not wish the rules tampered with, least of all 'brought up-to-date'; but when watching some of the orgies of kicking, one has sometimes wished this rule were brought in here. Again, the direct running—that is, the straight run through the middle—of A. E. Cooke and H. W. Nicholls was altogether admirable. Never did you see them force their wings or centres to the touch-line. Short, sharp passing as a basis of combined attack, the elimination of kicking, straight running, and 'mass' attack were the things that impressed me most, and the play of Cooke, Nicholls, J. H. Parker, J. Mills, and J. Richardson I shall remember for many a long day.

Even this short article must not end without a slight tribute to the English selectors, and especially the chairman, James Baxter. The old Cheshire and England forward took on this work in 1919, and, except when a serious illness prevented his doing so for the greater part of the 1923–24 season, he has directed affairs on the Selection Committee ever since, to everyone's admiration. England's international record is ample reward for the efforts of the selectors. As colleagues Mr. Baxter has had Messrs. John Daniell, A. D. Stoop, B. C. Hartley, G. C. Robinson, E. W. Roberts, and R. V. Stanley at different times, the selectors for the past two years being Messrs. Baxter, Stoop, Daniell, Robinson, and Hartley, all famous old players. A well-merited compliment has been paid to Mr. Baxter by his fellow-members of the Rugby Union Committee in electing him senior Vice-President for the coming season, which means that he will be President of the Rugby Union in 1926–27, even though this means disturbing a practice that has prevailed for many seasons, viz., the appointment of Presidents by virtue of seniority only as members of the Committee.

The task of the selectors is going to be extremely difficult soon—next season probably—for the young players are not of the same standard as the old. At least half the present English side will be almost certain to drop out of international football owing to age or football staleness. Many of them would have been supplanted by youngsters during the past season, had men of the right calibre been found. But there were none to be found, and these comparative veterans have had one more season.

Everything points to our having a lean time whilst a process of team-building is going on. This will be all to our good. We have had the lion's share of honours and luck since 1919; it will do us a world of good now to have a period of adversity whilst the luck and the honours go elsewhere.

D. R. GENT.

VISITORS TO ENGLAND IN OLDEN DAYS

The recorded impressions of visitors to our shores are generally interesting reading, and more especially when they refer to days long past when 'John Bull and his island' were indeed 'insular' in the fullest sense of the word. Many picturesque details belonging to English life in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reward the student of old travellers' tales, thought the sidelights they throw on the national characteristics are not always flattering. In those periods, when commercial expansion was becoming a dominant feature in our politics, such slights and indignities as foreigners received appear to have been largely due to the fear that their influx would interfere with trade. The impressions, favourable and unfavourable, of their visits have been written down by many of them either as an inducement to their fellow-countrymen to cross the Channel or with the intention of telling them about manners and customs in England. Englishmen then paid little heed to the criticisms contained in the narratives of these travellers, nor did they modify their behaviour in consequence of them It must be owned that when we glance through the reminiscences of these visitors—envoys, scholars, nobles and travellers—we often turn away from them with a feeling of boredom. There is a lack of thrilling incident, a wearisome repetition of the same criticism and an almost total absence of romance. The narrow circles in which each man moved limited and cramped his outlook. They came for a variety of reasons: the envoys on missions of peace or to propose a matrimonial alliance, the scholars to see their colleagues and the English seats of learning, and the travellers and adventurers for pleasure or by necessity, while many took refuge in England from religious or political persecution. And yet the difficulties and hardships they endured and the uncommon things they noticed deserve to be recorded, while the gradual progress of the country is abundantly made manifest by a perusal of these relations.

The most important early visitors were the ambassadors and envoys who brought messages of friendship. Their reports on England and English manners contain a few general remarks about the people, but are chiefly concerned with the Court, the King, or

the Queen. It is difficult to gather how they spent their days, for apart from receptions, feasting and sport, their visits were devoid of enlivening episodes. They nearly all mention the quantity and quality of the food set before them, the greed and meat-eating propensities of their hosts and the benevolent and courteous behaviour of the ruling classes. The secretary of the Duke of Wurtemberg (1592)—the Duke of Jamaine of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*—relates how his master was received by the Queen, and alludes with evident admiration to the stately and noble bearing of the lords and ladies, but he has hardly a good word to say for the common people, whose behaviour he condemns as proud and overbearing, and whose love of beer and bull-baiting in the Garden at Southwark and elsewhere he thinks barbarous. 'One dare not oppose them, else the streetboys and apprentices collect together in immense crowds and strike to the right and left unmercifully without regard to person.'

There is a general concurrence of opinion in this and other narratives that English women enjoyed a great deal of liberty and knew well how to use it. Fear of the consequences of bad behaviour may have produced a salutary effect on their conduct. A century later a French refugee named Misson, seeking a home in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, describes the way of punishing scolding women as 'pleasant enough.' A woman was suspended in a chair over a pond or river and plunged into the water as often as her sentence directed 'in order to cool her immoderate heat.'

The cattle of England were described as beautiful and abundant. Horses were so highly valued that no one was allowed to export them without a licence, sheep were reared in great quantities, and cows were sleek and well grown. Shepherds, according to one writer, would not allow their sheep to drink anything but dew.

There are occasional references in the reminiscences to the peasantry, but they are few and far between; their huts were small and often hidden by the field produce which the farmer stacked high in front of his farm dwellings.

Along the river banks as well as on the sea-coast fishing was common. Two writers mention the method of catching fish from the rivers by means of cormorants trained for the purpose. Hans Warmsser von Vendenkeym, who accompanied Louis, Prince of Wurtemberg, to England in 1610, says he saw 'cormorants plunge into the water and catch eels and other fish and at a sign give them up and disgorge them alive, a thing very marvellous to behold.' The process is related in Willoughby's *Ornithology* (1678), and Mr. Rye in his *England as Seen by the Foreigner* (1865) makes various references to it. A leather thong was tied round the lower

part of the cormorant's neck to prevent him from swallowing the fish he caught. The birds were then thrown into the river, and diving under water, pursued the fish. On rising the keepers called them and made them deliver up their prey, a part of which was given them as a reward. This mode of fishing still obtains, it is said, in China. 'Fish ponds,' Rye says, 'and houses were made in 1618 for the cormorants within the Vine Garden at Westminster.'

The narrations of the envoys or their secretaries were, however, chiefly confined to the Court and to towns. In the former they and many other travellers, even as late as the eighteenth century, ran great risks from the mob, who could not bear the sight of a foreigner—a Frenchman in particular—with tranquillity. Don Pedro de Zuñiga, a Spanish Ambassador, had an unpleasant experience in July 1612. As he was riding in his carriage, with six mules, over Holborn Bridge, a fellow on horseback snatched his hat, which was adorned with a rich jewel, and rode away with it up the street as fast as he could, the mob laughing heartily at the rider's audacious conduct. Such being the temper of the populace, the thief escaped, and no more was heard of him.

Innumerable stories are told of street brawls. The Duke of Sully, deputed by Henry IV. to congratulate James on his accession to the crown of England in 1603, found himself in a very awkward predicament on the first night of his arrival in London. Some of his party got mixed up in one of these riots, a young officer of his suite killing an Englishman. The fight became so serious that the French were driven to take shelter in a neighbouring house. When the culprit had been identified nothing would satisfy the Duke short of delivering him up for immediate execution, but the Lord Mayor, who was familiar with the manners and ways of the London mob, was averse from acting so drastically, and after a very short time gave the young man his liberty. The action of Sully was so popular with the crowd that he became a universal favourite.

In other instances the spirit of comedy prevailed, as when Marshal Saxe (who paid a visit incognito to London in 1724) became embroiled in a dispute with a scavenger while strolling on foot through the town. 'He let the man come upon him, then seized him by the neck and made him fly up into the air, in such a direction that he fell into the middle of his cart, which was brimful of dirt,' the spectators greeting the Marshal with shouts of applause.

Readers of Boswell will readily recall the serious trouble in which Johnson's friend and teacher, Baretti, found himself, having stabbed a man in a drunken brawl in the Haymarket. Baretti was tried in October 1769 at the Old Bailey, and though

finally acquitted, cost his friends Burke, Garrick, Johnsc Goldsmith many anxious hours before the trial.

'Anything that looks like fighting,' says Misson—the] *emigré* already mentioned—'is delicious to an Englishma two boys quarrel, the passers-by stop and make a ring rounc in a moment and set them against one another that they ma to fisticuffs.' It was a common occurrence for two box cudgel-players to go about the streets sounding a drum to a spectators, and when a sufficient number had been ga together the combatants would retire to Southwark or some vacant ground and fight for the amusement of their pa This kind of entertainment fell into disuse in the re William III.

In early days travelling was not entirely limited tc There were also adventurous spirits among women One most extraordinary visitors of the sixteenth century was P Cecilia daughter of Gustavus Vasa of Sweden and sis Eric, who was one of the many suitors for the hand of Eliz Swedish writers say that Princess Cecilia was fairer than V that her complexion was beautiful, her hair golden and he dazzling. At the age of nineteen she fell in love with a of Friesland, who was twenty-one, but unfortunately her was opposed to the marriage. The Count had come to Swe attendance on his brother, who was to marry Gustavus' daughter, Catherine. During the wedding ceremonies he a Princess were thrown together, and, disregarding all injun roamed the neighbouring woods Secret meetings took pl night in the castle of Wadstena, the Count climbing up lady's chamber by means of a ladder. Their stolen happin not last long, for the Princess's brothers, Eric and M having surprised their secret, laid a plot to capture the with the result that the Count was thrown into prison. scandal caused by this episode had been so widely noised a by Eric that the old King was compelled, for the sake of a ances, to exercise the greatest severity, but we need not foll Count's subsequent career. Through the intervention of G princes, he was at last set at liberty, and returned home, end life as a confirmed misogynist. Princess Cecilia, on the hand, being very rich, soon found other suitors, among who the Russian emperor John the Terrible, but she finally ga hand to the Margrave of Baden. Restless in spirit an satisfied with the dull conditions of her life at home, the P made up her mind to travel. Lured by the praises of E sung by her brother John, she made preparations for the jo and after ten months' wandering to and fro arrived at Dc September 1565, Queen Elizabeth having commanded Sir

Crispes, Lord Cobham and others to attend on her. A few days later she and her husband reached London and took up their residence in Bedford House. The Margrave, with the help of his wayward and eccentric wife, lived a life of gaiety, and quickly contracted innumerable debts. When his credit was nearing its end, he decided to leave the country, trusting to his high position to enable him to evade his creditors, but, to his surprise and chagrin, he was arrested, by order of the Mayor of Rochester, on his way to Dover. History does not record how much he owed nor how long he was kept in a debtors' prison. Through the intercession of the Princess Cecilia, the Queen seems to have come to his aid, and being released after a short delay, he reached home without further molestation. The Cecil MSS contain many particulars of this extravagant and improvident lady and her companions, who loved good living. She pledged her dowry ; petitions were even presented by butchers and poulterers praying to be paid for goods supplied to her household (*Calendars of State Papers*) ; her chamberlain was detained for a petty debt of ten shillings, and her gentlewomen sought the help of money-lenders to enable them to purchase the bare necessities of life. After getting deeper and deeper into debt and having recourse to underhand ways of raising loans, the Princess left England after a sojourn, it seems, of less than twelve months, and ended her rambling and disorderly life in Germany, in the utmost poverty, at the age of eighty-seven (1627)

Even more unfortunate than the Princess Cecilia in his relations with creditors in England was the Italian Da Ponte, who wrote the librettos of *Figaro* and *Don Juan* for Mozart. He had already led a chequered life in Venice, Dresden and elsewhere but on his arrival in London in 1792, whither he had come for peace and quiet, one misfortune after another befell him. No sooner was he settled in his lodgings than he was arrested for debt through his own stupidity and ignorance in signing some bills for an English theatrical friend, a Mr. Taylor, the proprietor of the King's Theatre (1793), where Italian opera was given. Da Ponte tells the story himself. Between six and seven on a morning in March, while lying peacefully in bed, the door of his room suddenly opened. A man entered, and without a word of explanation approached the bed and commanded Da Ponte to get up, dress himself and accompany him. Da Ponte, seizing his pistol, with an oath ordered the man to leave the room. When he had made his toilet a warrant for non-payment of a debt due by Taylor was read to him, and he was led away to prison. There, for the first time in his life, he found himself forced to occupy a room with other unfortunates behind prison bars. Taylor, far from coming to his aid, was deaf to every appeal. Sureties were found, however and poor Da Ponte was set free. But he was no sooner released

than another summons was presented to him, and a third on reaching his lodgings. In the following three months the law pursued him so maliciously that he did not dare to show his face in public except on Sundays, when it could not harm him. Taylor, much troubled by Da Ponte's demands for justice, tried to arrange for his expulsion from London, but, to the honour of the higher officials of that day, the order was cancelled on their hearing from Da Ponte the true details of his circumstances. Taylor himself ended his days in prison.

While visitors were occasionally involved in trouble owing to extravagance and recklessness, others came to grief by mingling politics and romance The best illustration of this is the visit of Louise Renée de Keroualle, who crossed the Channel at the command of Louis of France to further his schemes. Louise had already been to England in the suite of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, when brother and sister met in conference at Dover, and had been introduced to Charles, whose susceptibilities were so greatly stirred that he prolonged the meeting to enjoy her company the longer. Shortly after, when relations between the English and French Courts grew strained, Louis bethought him of the bewitching Louise, and in 1670 sent her across expressly to captivate and win Charles over to his side. She set forth accordingly, and at Dieppe the King's yacht was in waiting to bring her over with a retinue of servants and pages. The story of her attitude of aloofness towards Charles (whether due to coquetry or no, historians have not decided), of the intrigues of her rivals, and of the King's passion, is long. Her behaviour puzzled and perturbed the French king and his ambassador lest her mission should prove a failure, but it had the effect of fascinating Charles and keeping him a fervent suitor. She repudiated every suggestion that did not involve a marriage ceremony—which did in fact finally take place. It is recorded that the King married her by virtue of his royal prerogative in Lord Arlington's house at Newmarket. Louise's influence, however, at last began to wane about 1675, when Nell Gwynne's gay laughter and ready wit made triumphant inroads on the King's affections. Madame de Sévigné tells us that Louise had not the power to detach the young actress from Charles for an instant. Little by little prejudice grew up against the French woman who had come in the interests of her own king, and who was filling her pockets with English gold. Her religion also made her disliked, and in 1680, during the Titus Oates conspiracy and the so-called ''Prentices' plot, she received warnings of her unpopularity which she could not ignore. When Charles died in 1685 she was forced to flee to the house of the French Ambassador prior to leaving England. Her reign was ended, and she returned to her native country,

having paid a unique and profitable visit. She had been created Duchess of Portsmouth, she had amassed a fortune, she had gained the favour of the English monarch, and her son had been ennobled as Duke of Richmond.

Absolutely dissimilar in all respects and with a very different purpose were the visits of the scholars. From Louise de Keroualle we learn nothing except of her activities at court and of her life of pleasure and luxury. The case of the learned men was different. They were anxious to make the acquaintance of those of their own calling; they wished to discuss questions which perplexed them. Erasmus (1497), one of the most notable of these, made Oxford and Cambridge his headquarters, though the presence of Sir T. More and others in London also kept him chained in the metropolis for long periods. He ingratiated himself with the dons at Oxford and Cambridge, and entered into their discussions with pleasure. When these became too animated he would change the conversation by telling a story. Country houses opened their doors to him, and his hosts even provided him with horses to ride. He had a good seat and rode well to hounds. The beauty of English girls, in particular, attracted him so much that he held out their attractions as an inducement to his French friends to come over and behold these phenomena for themselves. Everyone was kind and hospitable, and he was fêted wherever he went. The only untoward incident which marred his visit, and which might have turned an inferior personality into an enemy, occurred when embarking at Dover on his return journey. There the customs house officials deprived him of his money, for the law forbade anyone to export specie, and Erasmus was sent on penniless to Paris. The reason of his departure, which was sudden, the historians say, is a mystery; but there is no mystery without a woman. Is it possible that this great man fled the country for fear of being entrapped by some fair English lady?

Casaubon, driven to find a refuge from the theological storms then raging on the Continent, followed close on Erasmus. Braving the winds and waves of the Channel, he sailed into Dover harbour after a perilous voyage in 1610. Invited and welcomed by archbishops and bishops, it was not long before he found favour with the King, who treated him with singular kindness. Petted by his royal patron, he became absorbed and surrounded by the Court and Court officials to such an extent that Mark Patterson tells us that 'learning ceased to occupy his mind.' The King loved to talk to the scholar, and the theologians in Oxford and elsewhere were delighted to discuss points of doctrine and exegesis with him. So, flattered and beloved by his friends, Casaubon forgot at times that he was only the guest of a small and privileged circle, but he very soon found out his mistake. The wits of 'The Mermaid,'

that famous tavern, the resort of Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, 'were jealous of the foreign pensioner, and the 'prentices thought it meritorious to "'eave 'alf a brick" at the Frenchman. His windows were more than once broken by stones. The streets were not safe for him to walk in, and his children were beaten by roughs.' On one occasion he even received a black eye on his way to obey the King's summons. His house also was burgled. Knowing no English, Casaubon and his wife were severely handicapped; they found it exceedingly difficult to accommodate themselves to English ways and to English servants, and even to learn the value of the coinage. The tradesmen imposed on them. His diary is full of complaints and expressions of distress. In short, his everyday life was full of petty annoyances which soured his spirit, added to which the English weather depressed him.

Giordano Bruno (1583), the Italian philosopher, makes the same complaints when writing: 'The British were as many wolves and bears who put on the malevolent look of a pig when you take away his trough.' For days he shut himself up in his house and did not venture to be seen in public.

We must not omit two eighteenth century travellers from this sketch: Carl Phillipp Moritz, a German clergyman (1782), and Kalm, a Swedish scientist (1748). Moritz was an ordinary tourist desirous of seeing English life for himself. Rather more adventurous than most of those who preceded him, he set out, after seeing London, on a walking tour through England, but the people, unaccustomed to foreigners tramping along the roads and village lanes, looked on the wandering, badly dressed German with suspicion, they were rude and rough; they turned him away from their doors, and often refused him a bed and even bread to eat. He tells us himself that 'a traveller on foot seems to be considered as a sort of wild man or an out-of-the-way being who is stoned at, pitied and suspected and shunned by everyone who meets him.' At Eton, worn out by a long march, Moritz was only offered a bedroom that 'resembled a prison for malefactors,' and on requesting a better room the innkeeper told him that he had no intention of lodging him, as he had no room for such guests. Discouraged and dismayed by continual ill-treatment, he abandoned his walking tour and returned to London by coach.

Kalm, a Swedish professor and member of the Swedish Academy, interested in agriculture, natural history and botany, was a man of a different type. He was granted permission in 1747 to leave his duties and was given a licence to travel abroad 'on the errands' of the Academy of Sciences. His book about England deals chiefly with the natural phenomena, the plant and animal life, he observed. Among the many things which attracted

his attention, perhaps the most unusual to us nowadays were the seagulls kept to clear the gardens of earthworms, caterpillars, frogs and snails. 'These birds were so tame,' he says, 'that even if they were at the farthest end of the garden they would come in response to a call and diligently follow the gardeners when they were digging.'

The usual method of travelling in England was on horseback. Coaches were very expensive Those who were desirous of seeing the entire kingdom hired interpreters, of whom there were many, but they were not always satisfactory, and complaints were often lodged against them.

In spite of these and many other drawbacks, it is remarkable to note that Baretti, the Italian, who had had his full share of annoyances, could still sum up the English people of the eighteenth century by saying that 'there are no better people in the world than true Englishmen, and no one can deny the merit of sincerity to glorious England, mother of a valorous race and of learned, magnanimous and good men.' 'I can declare,' he says, 'that a grateful memory of your honoured sons will remain with me for ever, of men who have helped me in my affairs, encouraged me in my difficulties, comforted me in my disasters and enlightened me with their wisdom while walking through the gloomy roads of ignorance.'

C. HAGBERG WRIGHT.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE DRAMA

THE most pressing need of the drama to-day is a sound basis of criticism. It is the function of the critic not only to instruct and educate the playgoer, to point out excellences and assist the growth of good taste, but also, and more important still, to give help and counsel to the playwright. But in order to perform these duties with success the critic must have criteria; he must be familiar with the fundamental laws of art and be able not only to say that a certain thing is good or bad, but to give his reasons for saying so. Moreover, since these laws are stable and immutable, they will, when once arrived at, prevent all real disagreement among critics.

It would seem, therefore, from a consideration of the criticism of to-day, that these laws are not known; for while the judgments of our critics are often at variance with the verdicts of the general public, they disagree still more often and acutely among themselves. Take, for instance, the good old-fashioned melodrama, the play in which villainy is punished, beauty rescued from danger, and a series of heroic adventures is brought to a close by reconciliation and marriage. From such a play the critic turns wearily away, damning it with faint praise, or if it take him in a petulant mood, pouring drops of envenomed ink upon the acting of its leading lady. 'A bad play!' he yawns. But why bad? And if bad, why so popular?

Or, again, consider the play of the 'intellectual' type, full of problems and complexes. This, perhaps, our critic will praise; he will admire the subtlety of its dialogue, the intricacy of its situations. But from such a play the public, who, in the dramatic world, are the ultimate arbiters of immortality, will fly as from the plague, and no amount of explaining why they ought to like it will lure them to the box-office.

Last, there is the 'moral' play, the play whose aim is to hold up to the public eye a particular scandal, to remedy a particular abuse. This type of play both critic and public unite in condemning, though, beyond explaining that 'it is not the business of the theatre to preach,' they can give no satisfactory reasons for their dislike.

It may be objected that, as every individual is different from all others, it is impossible to lay down any universal principles with regard to criticism, but that this conclusion is unsound is shown by the fact that in certain cases, such as that of Shakespeare, agreement is reached, although the real reasons for this agreement are unknown.

And yet if we can approach the subject with an unprejudiced mind we may be able to arrive at a basis of criticism which will enable us to put all plays in their proper places, set out their goodness and their badness, and arrive at some idea of their degree of perfection.

The drama is an art which engages the attention of the whole range of a human being. Its appeal is first of all through the senses to the emotions. By beauty of scenery and dresses, by music, by the pain or pleasure caused by its situations, by the emotions of the characters themselves, the emotions of the audience are aroused and swayed. To some dramatists this is the only end in view, but in the truly great play it is but one, and in a certain sense the lowest, channel of appeal.

For beside the emotional nature there is what may be termed the volitional, including all that is generally called conscience or moral sense. The appeal to the will, which is made by every play without exception, and, indeed, by every other form of art, is one which is often ignored or overlooked But that it exists and is a very strong factor in the total effect of the play is evident upon a moment's reflection. It is the appeal to the will which causes the villain to be hissed in suburban melodramas, and the same satisfaction is felt, though perhaps not expressed so crudely, by the occupants of West End stalls. Human nature being what it is, no play which is really contrary to the will or conscience of mankind can ever live. The demand for a happy ending is perfectly right and natural It is the universal will of mankind finding expression. And a happy ending of some sort there must be to the perfect play.

The appeal to the will may be of two kinds: either positive, as by the exemplification in the play of right action, or negative, by the holding up of wrong action as an example. But to hold up wrong action as right, or to tamper with justice in a play by giving rewards to the evil-doer, will inevitably doom it, for the will of the audience cannot tolerate such perversion.

Next in order is the intellectual appeal. Every dramatic representation, from a Greek tragedy down to a modern revue, must have some intellectual content. The importance of sound thinking in a play is obvious. The audience, who are themselves capable of thought, become rightly impatient of a play the situations of which do not logically follow one from the other,

or in which the characters act unnaturally, or which, owing to the obviousness of its platitudes, is dull. All these faults and that comprehensive one which includes them all—'weak construction' —cause a play to fail in its intellectual appeal.

Thus it is obvious that the critic is right in condemning the melodrama because it makes little or no appeal to the intellect, while the despised 'general public' are also right in shunning a play which is intellectually brilliant, but does not 'stir' them. Both are right in condemning the 'moral' play in so far as it is neither beautiful nor true, because the will in itself is not so much a force as that which releases the emotional and intellectual forces in any required direction.

A good play, therefore, must have these three appeals: emotional, volitional and intellectual; and inasmuch as the emotions may be controlled by the will, while the will is, or can be, controlled by the intellect, we can formulate, from the point of view of art, a hierarchical order of the three appeals, putting the emotional lowest, the volitional next, and the intellectual highest.

Such a classification will probably not commend itself to critics in general, for two reasons. In the first place, the emotional drama is the only one which has been in modern times brought to anything like perfection, and secondly, because, since all the faculties act together, it is very difficult in practice to analyse the effects of each kind of appeal, and therefore much confusion results.

The ideal play will provide a perfect balance of the three appeals. In the first place, it will have beauty: beauty of scenery, of characters, of dresses, of language, of situations, perhaps of music. This is a requirement which many dramatists have tried to do without, and in so doing have failed If a play opens with ugliness and squalor, it must be in order to enhance by contrast the beauty of its conclusion. No human being will willingly suffer that which is ugly to be brought before his consciousness unless it is in order to bring into being a greater beauty than was before. Grand Guignol plays and the like are definitely bad, and doomed to failure, because their appeal is to the perversion of this desire for beauty. The appeal of excitement is not necessarily bad, though it is a lower form of appeal than others, but when the emotions are stirred, not by beauty, but by horror and fear, the drama is being misused and degraded.

Next, the play must be good; that is to say, it must be what we call satisfying and wholesome. There are many misguided playwrights who, with the best intentions, are seeking to reform the world by holding up to its view the enormity of its crimes They deliberately set forth in a series of the gloomiest situations the most painful theme they can think of, and, after sternly

harrowing the feelings of their audience for a space of three hours or so, bring down the curtain on a waste of dead hopes, blasted affections and ruined lives. And they imagine that they are helping to better the world, not realising that by laying stress on these dark aspects of life they are helping to strengthen them The surest and quickest way to combat all such evils is to ignore them as far as possible while holding up to view their antitheses War-plays such as *Tunnel Trench* are not in the least likely to put an end to war , rather, they will be more apt to prolong its existence Those who have experienced war do not need to be reminded of it, while those who have not, if they were so foolish as to witness such plays, would be worse, and not better, for the experience

The fact is that all such plays are aimed (whether consciously or not) at the will through fear, and fear is that which it is the whole purpose of life to eradicate

Therefore a play, to be really good in the true sense, must not deal with the evil or negative side of life except in such a way as to show that all that which is apparently evil and ugly must ultimately contribute to goodness and beauty

Lastly, the play must be true It must contain no flaws which the reason can detect , and not only must it be true, but the truth in it must be made plain to the audience with such force that they cannot fail to see it It must give us something to think about, it must explain life to us, and cause us to see some truth or aspect of truth which we had hitherto overlooked There is no greater pleasure which the human mind can have than that of recognising truth, and the thrill of the pursuit and capture of one idea after another is one before which the excitement of melodrama is sheer *ennui*. Therefore it is by its presentation of truth that any particular play will ultimately stand or fall And it must be noted that it is not sufficient for the dramatist merely to state a case, to propound a problem ; he must give us some hint, at least, of a solution. To say in effect, as so many dramatists do, ' Look at these people, all acting apparently with the best intentions See what a mess they've got themselves into Can you see the way out ? I'm sure I can't,' is to leave the work only half done The object of presenting a play to the public is in order to say something which they have not yet heard ; therefore the dramatist is, whether he admits it or not, the teacher of his audience and has a teacher's responsibilities.

In order to solve a dramatic problem it is not, of course necessary to put the solution into the mouth of one of the characters and fire it off towards the end of the third act In a play that is true to life in the fullest sense, the action itself will imply, more surely than any set speech, the way out. It is because so

many plays are not true, in that they deal with results without relating them to the thoughts or actions which are their causes, that the writers of them find so much difficulty in coming to a satisfactory conclusion.

When in any play the three qualities and the three modes of appeal which have been enumerated are perfectly balanced, there enters into it a fourth quality which is the essence of them all. It is difficult to describe, because it is not a quality which appeals to any one human faculty, but to the human being as a whole. No play whose appeal is unbalanced can have it, no mere melodrama, no purely intellectual piece. It is a quality which constitutes greatness. It cannot be described, only experienced, when in the witnessing of a play the whole being is swept away in the enthralment of the action and the consciousness is lifted up to a plane above its normal one There are few of such plays to-day

We have omitted from consideration what may be termed the sub-human drama, that is to say, so-called plays or dramatic representations whose appeal is merely or mainly to the senses These are, of course, a prostitution of the dramatic art and unworthy of serious criticism.

Having thus established a criterion, it may be of interest to consider particular plays of the day and see how far they approach to our ideal. One of the most modern of recent plays, in the sense of its being a reflection of the spirit of the age, is *The Vortex*, by Noel Coward This is a cleverly written and sincere attempt to find out what is wrong with us We are shown a group of people, more or less typical of a certain class of present-day society, bored, superficial, and living an artificial life of so-called pleasure. The mother neglects her husband and philanders with a young man; the son returns from Paris and announces his engagement to an exceedingly modern young woman who, it turns out, is an old flame of the mother's lover. In the second act the characters, by now almost extinct with boredom, are shown undergoing a house party. It transpires that the son is addicted to drug-taking. The modern young woman breaks off her engagement with the son and returns to her former lover, thereby causing him to quarrel with her previous *fiancé's* mother (the hostess of the house party), whose lover he had been. In the last scene we are shown the effects of the 'Vortex,' where, after mutual recrimination and heart-searching, mother and son agree to turn over a new leaf and start again.

The value of this play is in its sincerity. It is a faithful picture of a certain aspect of life, and so far it is true and logical There is no juggling with values. The results of a frivolous attitude towards life are clearly brought out, and the devastating

effects of certain modern tendencies are fully faced. As far as the appeal to the will goes, the play is satisfying in that it shows the remedial effects of suffering and because it ends on a note of hope Emotionally it moves in the lower reaches rather than the higher ones. None of its characters can fairly be called beautiful, though there is a glimpse of beauty at the end, when the collapse of their illusions brings mother and son to their true selves, and the strength and beauty of real love shines out amid all the hysteria, ugliness and littleness of their lives.

The main criticism that might be made of *The Vortex* is that the action ends just where it ought to begin We know without being told that the world is out of joint, that modern life is a kind of vortex which will suck down the weak and the unwary, and, as Mr. Coward shows us, the first step towards avoiding such a fate is to face the facts and by holding fast to real and true things, such as family affection, take a strong line and work out one's own salvation. But this is not enough we must be told not only what is wrong, but why it is wrong, and how it is to be put right.

To consider another play to which the same criticism might be applied. Mr. Bernard Shaw's *St. Joan.* Here we are shown a conflict between the 'individual revelations' of a country girl received through visions and voices, and the official revelations as embodied in the teachings of the Church. In this play the three appeals might be said to be fairly well balanced, and yet somehow the last act fails to attain the heights which we have been led to expect. And the reason is explained by Mr. Shaw himself in his introduction to the play.

> Thus [he says] it cannot be too clearly understood that there were no villains in the tragedy of Joan's death She was entirely innocent, but her excommunication was a genuine act of faith and piety, and her execution followed inevitably

The fact is that Mr. Shaw leaves his play at a loose end. The epilogue, in which the various characters who have been instrumental in Joan's death come back to pay homage to her, and then, when she offers to come back, make excuses and implore her not to return, does not lift the action out of the realm of human aberration into the world of real values Of the epilogue Mr. Shaw says:

> Without it the play would be only a sensational tale of a girl who was burnt, leaving the spectators plunged in horror, despairing of humanity The true tale of St. Joan is a tale with a glorious ending, and any play that did not make this clear would be an insult to her memory

Granted that any tale of heroism, however blind and misguided, must be inspiring, the point is that the play, as it stands,

does leave us despairing of humanity. The fact that Joan's enemies canonised her after her death makes no difference at all, if, as Mr. Shaw implies, they would have burnt her again had she come back and, moreover, have acted quite rightly in doing so. We are left exactly where we were at the beginning. The tragedy lies in the fact that two persons or bodies of persons, both acting from the best motives, can so come into conflict that it is necessary for one to inflict grievous injury on the other If this were an inevitable part of human life, as Mr Shaw seems to think, we should indeed despair. The most masterly exposition in the first part of the play of the antagonism between the two points of view—of Joan, who knows because her voices tell her, and of the Church, which knows by experience the results of heresy and what we now call spiritualism—is so true and so basic that it needs more than a canonisation to solve it. Must these two points of view—of the individual and the institution—inevitably be in conflict ? Is there no means of reconciling them ? The last sentence of the play—' O God, who madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy saints ? How long, O Lord, how long ? '—raises a question which Mr Shaw leaves completely unanswered.

The secret is that, whereas the play purports to be a conflict between two right motives, it is really a conflict between the wrong actions resulting from two different kinds of ignorance the ignorance of Joan, which did not permit her to reconcile her own judgment with that of the Church, and the ignorance of the priests, which caused them to impose their will on her rather than bring her to their own point of view by reason.

It is interesting to compare the modern tendency of the drama with the phases of Greek tragedy from Æschylus to Euripides For the last fifty years or so plays have become steadily more intellectual. The romantic, emotional plays which held the audiences of a generation ago, such as *The Lyons Mail* and *Trilby*, are not dead, for they will always have an appeal, but in addition there has grown up a type of play the appeal of which is pre-eminently to the mind Now the essence of drama is some kind of action, and this action may be due to the opposition of individual wills and points of view, or it may be the clash or interaction of abstract principles. In proportion as it is more abstract and universal, so the resulting drama will be more sublime. In the romantic play we get usually a drama resulting from the desires of particular individuals, and the conflict which arises when opposition is offered to their fulfilment. In the comedy of manners the same holds good, though the presentation is less emotional In the sociological drama the action turns upon the reaction of the individual to some law or custom, but

in the highest kind of drama the real protagonists are universal and fundamental principles for which the actual characters are but vehicles

In the development of Greek tragedy from Æschylus onwards we see a process which appears to be, from the point of view of time, exactly the reverse of that which is going on to-day. Æschylus deals with principles His plays owe their sublimity to the fact that in them the gods, the eternal principles of all things, are shown taking part in the affairs of mankind. The human characters of Æschylus are not individuals, but types. With Sophocles we come nearer to the personal and particular. The plot of the *Antigone*, for instance, is the conflict of the conscience of the individual with what purports to be the law of the State, but is really the arbitrary ordinance of another individual. With Euripides we are in an atmosphere quite like that of the present day The gods of his plays are little more than human beings; there is the same atmosphere of questioning, of scepticism, of the overthrowing of established beliefs, which has characterised the most serious plays of the last twenty years

Just as the Greek drama arose from the Eleusinian mysteries and progressively lost its sublimity as the mysteries became debased, so we can imagine the modern drama, by a reversal of this process, attaining, when religion and true philosophy once more arise out of scepticism and unbelief, heights greater even than those of Æschylus

We are now, as it were, at the first and lowest point in the development of the intellectual drama, using that term in the best sense as referring to the drama which includes all other appeals, but makes them subsidiary to the appeal to the mind But man has, as it were, a lower and a higher mind the lower mind which deals with concrete facts and particular instances and the higher mind which is concerned with abstract principles and ideas As long as our playwrights remain in the region of the particular they will not rise to the heights of which the drama is capable There are many indications that the trend of thought to-day is breaking away from the particular and the partitive and turning to those principles in which alone is to be found complete satisfaction and the solution of all problems.

The true function of the drama is not only to amuse and interest: it is to hold up a mirror to life, to explain it and make clear its meaning. Therefore the drama is concerned with cause as well as effect, and its purpose is to show the relation of the one to the other. Hence the so-called realistic drama, which merely gives a photographic picture of life from the outside, is the least real of any, for it is concerned exclusively with effects, giving no attention to their causes. This is why a period of actual life

reproduced on the stage would not make a play, and would not be, in the real sense, true to life.

It is because we have been so concerned with the outward and objective, without giving due attention to the inward and subjective, that the drama of to-day is at its present level. It is not enough to discover the immediate causes ; the playwright must set out those that are basic and ultimate

In the absolute sense there is no such thing as tragedy Looked at from below, a certain set of events may arouse emotions of sadness and despair, while looked at from above, the same events will cause happiness and joy. Looking at life from the point of view of the body, we may see pain and misery, but looking at it from the point of view of the soul, we shall see only beauty. It is the business of the dramatist to take into consideration both these points of view and to reconcile them with each other.

The potentialities of the dramatic art have not yet been realised. Its appeal is so direct and so fundamental that it is greater than that of any other art. When the true drama comes to be written and acted, those who witness it will go away more perfect than when they came. It will not preach in the ordinary sense of the word, for there will be no need for it to do so. The moral order, at the improvement of which so many plays are aimed, is but a part of the general scheme. Standards of morality vary in different countries and at different times. There can be no absolute standard of morality in this sense, but there is an absolute goodness, truth, and beauty, and it is the expression of this, within the unities of time and place and action, that the real drama will attempt.

The underlying aim of all drama—comedy, tragedy, or satire—is the greater perfection of humanity, but at present many of our dramatists are defeating their own object. The way to improve a man is not to keep on insisting on the fact that he is a blackguard, which is in effect the message of most plays of the present day, but to present to him some ideal in such a way that he cannot fail to see its goodness. There is no need for a play to 'preach,' and, in any case, it is useless, for the people at whom its preaching is aimed will not come to see it, or if they do, will take its message as referring to someone else. But a play which is good and beautiful, which has, as all true plays must have in the ultimate sense, a happy ending, and which illuminates the mind, cannot fail to elevate and inspire those who see it. Plato was perfectly right when in his ideal state he would not allow his citizens to imitate, on the stage, evil characters or persons carried away by passion. Such representations are not justifiable in the absolute sense, for they tend to perpetuate the negative side of life, and, even when held up as examples, are more productive of evil than good.

The true play will work through love and not through fear; its action will move from goodness to greater goodness. Man is by nature imitative, and the beauty of that which he beholds inevitably tends to be reproduced in his own life. The dramatist therefore has a great responsibility, for he holds up the examples which will mould human life

The working of the Cosmos itself, the succession of the seasons, the flux of the tides, the movements of suns and worlds in space, are one vast perpetual drama of which human life is or should be a reflection In proportion as human drama ceases to concern itself with individual and particular events, and turns its attention to the eternal reasons of all things, of human life no less than of the life of Nature, so it will begin its true work Then will arise a drama such as the world has not yet seen, a drama which is the natural and inevitable expression of the joy of living

G H BONNER.

SOME WRITERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE eighteenth century, tempestuous, turbulent, splendid, cruel, that began with the glory of a Marlborough, that gave us a Burke, a Chatham, and a William Pitt, and ended amidst the exploits of Wellington and Nelson, a century that witnessed the loss of our American Colonies, and saw us proceed on our career of greatness undisturbed, as though nothing had happened, possessed some indescribable virility which inspired thought and stimulated action In literature a mere recital of its great names would cover pages of this Review. Pope, Addison, Defoe, Congreve, Fielding, Richardson, Sheridan, Swift, Johnson, and Gibbon, these were just a few of the intellectual giants that adorned it, while its closing years gave birth to Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, and Scott, whose greatest achievements were given to its successor. In this abounding versatility, this marvellous exhibition of genius, we feel lost and confused A lifetime would hardly suffice to digest the feast of reason and the flow of soul that is offered to us. With so vast a mass of material the student can only explore a few of its endless ramifications He can enjoy the perusal of some of the books from the title-page to the end, in the case of others he may taste of the Pierian spring as the limitations of time and opportunity permit. In truth we who live in the rush and whirl of the present day have not the leisure for either reading or writing that our ancestors enjoyed Historians of the twentieth century dare not indulge in such space as Gibbon allowed himself in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Richardson's *Clarissa* was issued in eight bulky volumes, with an interval of some months between the publication of the first and the second half. But the book was received with a burst of acclamation ; and every word was perused with an intensity of interest in the most fashionable centres of town, and in the most distant and inaccessible country houses The only complaint was that the romance came to an end. Men and women, young and old, would have gone on reading about the woes of Clarissa and the misdeeds of Lovelace for the term of their natural life. *Tempora mutantur, no et mutamur in illis.*

If the eighteenth century may claim the proud distinction of originating the English novel, it must also accept the responsibility for the introduction of newspapers. Defoe incidentally remarks in his *Diary of the Plague in* 1665 that in those days the people had no newspapers We are almost tempted to say

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nôrint !

No boys to shout all the winners and the latest betting !

Who was the originator of the English novel ? That honour is generally accorded to the brilliant contemporaries Richardson and Fielding But I do not see why Defoe, their predecessor by some twenty years, should not receive the credit True it was Richardson and Fielding who almost simultaneously discovered that the ordinary affairs of everyday life afforded rich material for absorbing narratives On a foundation apparently so slender they built up their stories, delineated human nature in its good and bad aspects, designed plots and created characters If Defoe did not proceed so far as these two arch-magicians in their great conception, if his books were lacking in plot, problem, or passion, yet his vivid imagination, and the simplicity and purity of his style, carry us with him wherever he chooses to take us He portrays scenes and adventures, and throws over them all a wonderful appearance of reality. A voluminous writer from his youth upwards on historical, political, and social questions, it was not until he attained the age of fifty-eight that his prolific pen turned to fiction, and one volume after another appeared in rapid succession His first venture, *Robinson Crusoe*, is immortal One of the most dramatic incidents in romance is Crusoe's discovery of the footprint on the sand when he believed that he was the sole inhabitant of his island Hardly less vivid is the dismay of the boy-thief known as Colonel Jacque when he finds that the money which he has stolen and hidden in the hollow trunk of a tree has been appropriated by someone else Defoe, as he tells us himself, wrote many of his romances for the lower classes

Most graphic and convincing is Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year*, 'written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London ' We should most certainly gather that Defoe was giving us his own experiences ; but he was only an infant in the terrible year 1665, and the book did not appear till 1722 ! But the air of verisimilitude is convincing This is our author's gift. He can 'make lying appear like truth.' He talked of 'forging' his stories, and the phrase is apt. Dreadful though the subject be, the book is of enthralling interest

In my walks [he tells us] I had many dismal scenes before my eyes as particularly of persons falling dead in the streets, terrible shrieks and screechings of women, who in their agonies would throw open their chamber

windows and cry out in a dismal surprising manner. It is impossible to describe the variety of postures in which the passions of the poor people would express themselves Passing through Tokenhouse Yard, in Lothbury, of a sudden a casement violently opened just over my head, and a woman gave three frightful screeches, and then cried, 'Oh, death, death, death!' in a most inimitable tone, which struck me with horror and a chillness in my very blood. There was nobody to be seen in the whole street, neither did any of the windows open, for people had no curiosity now in any case, nor could anybody help one another, so I went on to pass into Ball Alley

He tells us of all the remedies and preventatives that were employed, the fires that were kept burning in the streets, the destruction of a prodigious multitude of mice and rats by poison, he records the prescriptions of the physicians, and gives us many religious and philosophic reflections Just two more extracts, while I am tempted to reproduce a hundred passages·

The aspect of the city was frightful The infection raged, and the people were now frighted and terrified to the last degree, so that, as I may say, they gave themselves up, and abandoned themselves to their despair . . This is to be said of people in London, that during the whole time of the pestilence the churches were never wholly shut up Indeed nothing was more strange than to see with what courage the people went to the public service of God even at that time, when they were afraid to stir out of their own houses upon any other occasion, this, I mean, before the time of desperation which I have mentioned already

So entirely authentic did this narrative appear that it was subsequently quoted by a leading physician as an authoritative document on the plague, while even the great Earl of Chatham was taken in by the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, and recommended it as the best account of the Civil Wars!

If *Tom Jones* had appeared now the book would have been advertised with a sufficient number of stars, crosses, and dashes as 'The Novel of the Century' This it undoubtedly was. It was Fielding's masterpiece Byron styled Fielding 'the prose Homer of human nature' Coleridge in his *Table Talk* classed the plot of *Tom Jones* with that of Œdipus Tyrannus, adding, 'How charming, how wholesome, Fielding always is!' Sir Walter Scott asserted that Fielding was pre-eminent in grave irony, a Cervantic species of pleasantry, and Thackeray considered that he was one of the manliest and kindest of human beings. Fielding tells us that his purpose was 'to recommend goodness and innocence.' He delineates ordinary humanity with absolute fidelity. He does not attempt to disguise blemishes. Some of the happenings that he narrates shock us; and the Bellaston episode seriously disturbed Colonel Newcome. Full of humour and subtle sarcasm, *Tom Jones* is the English novel of manners. Fielding has created Squire Western, Miss Bridget Allworthy, and Partridge the barber

schoolmaster, together with Square and Thwackum, whose lively theological disputations are delightfully refreshing. We may remember how in the *Vicar of Wakefield* the good vicar's wife asserts that her daughter Olivia is capable of argument with anyone inasmuch as she is thoroughly acquainted with the duologues of Square and Thwackum!

It may require some courage to dive into what Fielding calls his 'prodigious history' of *Tom Jones* Its bulk is sufficient to terrify an explorer. But the author entices us irresistibly along with him Tom Jones is the hero of the book. We are regaled with a long series of his adventures, some creditable to him, others by no means so He sows his wild oats with a vengeance, but ultimately turns out an exemplary and worthy member of society. He was a foundling, brought up by Squire Allworthy What was his parentage? That is the mystery of the book which the etiquette of reviewers does not permit me to reveal The *dénouement* is certainly startling I am, however, at liberty to say that Tom marries Sophia, the daughter of the immortal breezy, boisterous, hard-riding, hard-drinking Squire Western On an early occasion Tom had saved Sophia's life from a runaway horse, and in doing so had sustained a broken arm. He was laid up in Western's house

Squire Western was seldom out of the sick-room, unless when he was engaged either in the field or over his bottle Nor did he ever lay aside that hulloo with which he entered into all companies, when he visited Jones, without any regard to the sick person's being at that time either awake or asleep 'There, Tom,' he cried one day, 'I have had a battle for thee below stairs with thick Parson Thwackum He hath been a-telling Allworthy before my face that the broken bone was a judgment upon thee. "D——n it," says I, "how can that be? Did he not come by it in defence of a young woman? A judgment, indeed! Zounds, if he never did anything worse, he will go to heaven before all the parsons in the country" '

At the end of the history, when everything is being settled satisfactorily between Tom and Sophia, Western bursts into the room, and with his hunting voice and phrase cries out·

'To her, boy, to her, go to her. That's it, little honeys, that's it! Well, what, is it all over? Hath she appointed the day, boy? What, shall it be to-morrow or next day? It shan't be put off a minute longer than next day, I am resolved.',

Truly a delightful Englishman is Western Just one instance of Fielding's sarcastic touch Captain Blifil had married Miss Bridget Allworthy for her money, and was calculating how soon Allworthy would die, and he and his wife would come in for his whole fortune.

But while the captain was one day busied in deep contemplation of this kind, one of the most unlucky as well as unseasonable accidents happened to him. The utmost malice of Fortune could, indeed, have contrived nothing so cruel, so *mal-à-propos*, so absolutely destructive to all his schemes In short, not to keep the reader in long suspense, just at the very instant when his heart was exulting in meditations on the happiness which would accrue to him by Mr Allworthy's death, he himself —died of an apoplexy!

And to this unprincipled man the guileless Allworthy put up an epitaph crediting him with all the virtues! Fielding heads each of his chapters with a racy little heading 'A very short chapter, in which, however, is a sun, a moon, a star, and an angel' 'Worthy a very serious perusal' 'A whimsical adventure which befel the squire, with the distressed situation of Sophia' Lengthy this narrative may be, but it is extremely captivating and diverting.

History hitherto had been for the most part a dull chronicle of events, often singularly incorrect But now a totally new system was to be adopted David Hume, after writing a number of subtle and original treatises on philosophy and metaphysics, startled the world in the latter part of his literary career by branching out in an entirely new direction I can imagine Hume saying to himself, 'Why should works on this splendid history of ours be so heavy and uninteresting? Let me try to make a record that is both trustworthy and readable.' This is what he did If he does not quite possess the charm of Herodotus, he rivals Thucydides in his lucid description of events and in clarity of judgment. A new spirit was at work, a new atmosphere was created Men lived in his book as they had lived in the historical plays of Shakespeare. Here is his brilliant summary of the character of Queen Elizabeth

So dark a cloud overcast the evening of that day, which had shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe! There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies and the adulation of friends than Queen Elizabeth, yet there is scarcely any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity The unusual length of her administration, the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices, and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invective, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have at last in spite of political factions, and what is more, of religious animosities, produced a uniform judgment with regard to her conduct Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance and address are allowed to merit the highest praise and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne

Hume makes us feel proud of being English as we read his glowing words.

I have been greatly attracted by a predecessor of David Hume, who for a short time was engaged in ploughing the same furrow.

Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, the author of numerous volumes on politics and philosophy, gives us in a letter, 300 pages long, to the Earl of Oxford a vivid sketch of Charles II and James II. and the reason for their religious bias. It was due, he tells us, to their banishment to Roman Catholic countries in their early and impressionable years

> The exile of the Royal family [he says], under Cromwell's usurpation, was the principal cause of all those misfortunes in which Britain has been involved, during more than half a century. The two brothers, Charles and James, became there infected with popery to such degree as their different characters admitted of Charles had parts, and his good understanding served as an antidote to repel the poison James, the simplest man of his time, drank off the whole chalice The poison met, in his composition, with all the fear, all the credulity and all the obstinacy of temper proper to increase its virulence, and to strengthen its effect.

He makes some allowance for Charles, and proceeds

> James, drunk with superstitious and even enthusiastic zeal, ran headlong into his own ruin whilst he endeavoured to precipitate ours . . . Even his good qualities worked against him, and his love of his country went halves with his bigotry How he succeeded we have heard from our fathers The revolution of 1688 saved the nation and ruined the king

He goes on to describe the terrible misfortunes which would follow a restoration of the Stuarts in the person of the Chevalier. The directness and vigour of Bolingbroke's dramatic way of putting things are indeed refreshing

It may seem ungracious to criticise the wonderful eighteenth century, but truth compels us to recognise a blemish The exquisite taste which characterised the picturesque costumes of men and women, their courtly manners, their studied deportment and their wit, the beautiful furniture and refined equipment of their households, had strange limitations. With the airs and graces of the age there was intermingled a vein of coarseness and a want of taste in more than one sphere Richardson's pathetic and delightful *Clarissa* is stained and smirched by the introduction of a degrading episode which was quite unnecessary to the story Swift in his *Gulliver's Travels* revels in indecency, and Smollett's brilliant *Roderick Random* is naked and not ashamed. What would it be thought now if it were proposed to commemorate our gallant soldiers and sailors who fell in the Great War by erecting monuments representing Neptune and other heathen deities in the finest church of Christendom? If we are accustomed to the singularly inappropriate designs which might well cause the builders of Westminster Abbey to turn in their graves, our reflections are subdued by feelings of patriotism and pride in the dead. But the taste that could permit the intrusion of these excrescences must have been gravely vitiated. We glory in

Shakespeare, but there was little appreciation of this poet of a time in the eighteenth century. George III. is credited with th saying that a great deal of Shakespeare is sad bosh. But th criticism was mild in comparison with the prevailing ideas. Th charming old Vicar of Wakefield regarded Shakespeare as pedant and repellent, and not worth the trouble of reading. This is wh was said by Lord Shaftesbury in his *Soliloquy, or Advice to a Author*, published in 1710. Shaftesbury is famous for his mora metaphysical and critical philosophy, and for the loftiness ar purity of his style.

> Our old dramatic poet may witness for our good ear and manly relis Notwithstanding his natural rudeness, his unpolished style, his antiquat phrase and wit, his want of method and coherence, and his deficiency almost all the graces and ornaments of this kind of writings, yet by t justice of his moral, the aptness of many of his descriptions, and the pla and natural truth of several of his characters, he pleases his audience, a often gains their ear, without a single bribe from luxury or vice

Concerning *Hamlet* he continues:

> It has only one character or principal part It contains no adorati or flattery to the sex, no ranting at the gods, no blustering heroine nor anything of the curious mixture of the fierce and tender which mak the hinge of modern tragedy, and nicely varies it between the points love and honour

A century earlier Milton had written:

> Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,
> Warbles his native wood-notes wild.

Milton incurs no less drastic censure from the pen of Shafte bury

> *Paradise Lost* has neither the softness of language nor the fashional turn of wit, but merely solid thought, . we may justly infer that is not so much the public ear, as the ill hand and vicious manners of o poets which needs redress.

There were of course some gifted individuals, who had drur deep of the Pierian spring, capable of appreciating Shakespea and Milton. Addison wrote thus about Milton:

> Whate'er his pen describes I more than see,
> Whilst every verse arrayed in majesty,
> Bold and sublime my whole attention draws
> And seems above the critic's nicer laws.

Thomson and Cowper too express their admiration for the auth of *Paradise Lost*. But 'the play pleased not the million, it wa caviare to the general.' And not to the general only. Goldsmith sweeping condemnation of all blank verse as 'disagreeable instan of poetry' suggests his view.

As an example of Shaftesbury's style I extract a short passage from his philosophical works ·

Since all hopes of this are vain and idle if no Universal Mind presided, since without such a supreme intelligence and providential care, the distracted universe must be condemned to suffer infinite calamities, 'tis here the generous mind labours to discover that healing cause by which the interest of the whole is securely established, the beauty of things, and the universal order happily sustained

The admirable train of thought is expressed in dignified and pleasing language

The art of letter-writing is extinct We live in a perpetual cyclone, and there is no time for the elegant and entertaining correspondence that adorned the Georgian period The modern tourist in Italy writes to a friend at home to say that she has had a 'ripping time' in Rome, and that the shops are 'top-hole' How our ancestors had the leisure to compose the delightful letters that they have happily bequeathed to us is as mysterious as the riddle of the Sphinx One of the most brilliant contributions to the literature of the eighteenth century is the collection of letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. This accomplished lady, the intimate friend of Pope until she treated with derision a half-concealed love-letter that he addressed to her, and so roused his ire, who had to weep over the sorrows of Clarissa, writes in the most fascinating way of places, people, books, in fact of almost everything To Pope she wrote thus from Adrianople

The princesses and great ladies pass their time at their looms, embroidering veils and robes, surrounded by their maids, who are always numerous, in the same manner as we find Andromache and Helen described The description of the belt of Menelaus exactly resembles those that are now worn by the great men, fastened before with huge golden clasps, and embroidered round with rich work The snowy veil that Helen threw over her face is still fashionable, and I never see half a dozen of old Pashas (as I do very often) with their reverend beards, sitting basking in the sun, but I recollect good King Priam and his counsellors Their manner of dancing is certainly the same that Diana is sung to have danced on the banks of the Eurotas. The great lady still leads the dance, and is followed by a troop of young girls, who imitate her steps, and if she sings make up the chorus The tunes are certainly gay and lively, yet with something in them wonderfully soft

Thus to her daughter, the Countess of Bute

It is a saying of Thucydides, ignorance is bold and knowledge reserved Indeed it is impossible to be far advanced in it without being more humbled by a conviction of human ignorance than elated by learning At the same time I recommend books, I neither exclude work nor drawing I think it is as scandalous for a woman not to know how to use a needle, as for a man not to know how to use a sword

We turn with a thrill of enjoyment from one of these fascinating

letters to another. If a title is needed for them one might be borrowed from Jane Austen, and the series headed *Sense and Sensibility*

Lady Mary had scarcely a superior and not many equals One of these was Thomas Gray, whom we remember chiefly for his *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* His letters are full of life and vigour Here is an extract from one written to his mother after a visit to the Grande Chartreuse

> This place St Bruno chose to retire to, and upon its very top founded the aforesaid convent, which is the superior of the whole order When we came there the two fathers who are commissioned to entertain strangers —for the rest must not speak one to another, nor to anyone else—received us very kindly, and set before us a repast of dried fish, eggs, butter and fruits, all excellent in their kind, and extremely neat They pressed us to spend the night there, and to stay some days with them, but this we could not do, so they led us about their house, which is, you must think like a little city, for there are over a hundred fathers, besides three hundred servants, that make their clothes, grind their corn, press their wine, and do everything among themselves The whole is quite orderly and simple, nothing of finery; but a wonderful decency and the strange situation more than supply the place of it In the evening we descended by the same way, passing through many clouds that were then forming themselves on the mountain side

Gray's descriptions of scenery are wonderfully graphic and poetical.

The mind of the century was nothing if not daring Traditional barriers to thought were overleaped. Prejudice was overridden Speculation untrammelled might rise to great heights or at times to strange absurdities. Generally the atmosphere was pregnant with common-sense At the dawn of this era harmless old women were being burnt alive on ridiculous and impossible charges of witchcraft. But freedom of thought asserted itself Wesley might thunder from his pulpit that disbelief in witch craft was nothing less than atheism, but the good sense of th nation rebelled against authority, and this disgrace to the com munity was wiped out An arresting, if not commendable, instanc of the flight of thought is afforded by Mandeville's *Fable of th Bees*, a metrical composition to which is appended a series (prose dialogues bearing the remarkable title *Private Vices Publ Benefits*. This strange philosopher denies that it is the goc qualities natural to man which are the foundations of societ No, it is exactly the opposite

> What we call evil in this world, moral as well as natural, is the gra principle that makes us sociable creatures, the solid basis, the life a support, of all trades and employments without exception; there we m look for the true origin of all arts and science, and the moment evil cea the society must be spoiled, if not totally destroyed

'antastic as this sounds, Mandeville evidently meant it in no pirit of immorality. He gives a number of illustrations in sup- ort of his thesis. One of these is based on the drinking of gin nd other forms of alcohol :

> If we would see in a true light the many advantages, a large catalogue f solid blessings, that accrue from and are owing to the evil I treat of, 'e are to consider the rents that are received, the ground that is tilled, he tools that are made, the cattle that are employed, and above all the iultitude of poor that are maintained by the variety of labour required i husbandry, in malting, in carriage, and distillation, before we can have hat produce of malt which we call Low Wines, and is but the beginning 'om which the various spirits are afterwards to be made

His arguments are prolonged They are weird and fanciful, but ertainly of interest But for the vices of pride, emulation and 'anity which induce people to make lavish purchases in order to ut a better figure than their neighbours, what would become of rade ? It is as possible, he observes, that there may be people levoid of such weaknesses as that cats, instead of killing rats and nice, should feed them, and nurse their young ones ! Mande- 'ille's lucubrations are not all on these lines Much of his writings, hough always original, is sound and sensible , and Adam Smith n his great work, *The Wealth of Nations*, is, it would seem, ndebted to Mandeville for some of his leading ideas

Who was Junius, the famous anonymous writer who in more han seventy letters from 1769 onwards, published in the *Public Advertiser*, assailed all the Government characters of the day vho was familiarly acquainted with State secrets, private scandals ind personal history , who poured forth his invectives with inexampled brilliancy and boldness, and whose English has come o be regarded as a classic ? Macaulay tells us that it was Sir 'hilip Francis I am reminded of the aphorism, ' I wish I were is cock-sure about anything as Tom Macaulay is about every- hing ! ' Junius, whoever he was, wrote to his publisher, ' I am he sole depositary of my secret, and it shall die with me ' The rophecy was fulfilled

Not even the King was sacred Junius addressed this letter o George III :

> Sir, It is the misfortune of your life, and originally the cause of every eproach and distress which has attended your Government that you hould never have been acquainted with the language of truth until you ieard it in the complaints of your people It is not, however, too late to orrect the error of your education We are still inclined to make an ndulgent allowance for the pernicious lessons you received in your youth
>
> The doctrine inculcated by our laws ' that the king can do no wrong ' s admitted without reluctance We separate the amiable good-natured rince from the folly and treachery of his servants, and the private vices f the man from the vices of his Government We cannot long be leluded by nominal distinctions The name of Stuart of itself is only

contemptible, armed with the sovereign authority, this principle is formidable The prince who imitates their conduct should be warned by example; and while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the Crown, should remember that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another.

How we should rejoice, even after the lapse of time, to identify this Man in the Iron Mask!

I have the most cordial sympathy with Byron launching his thunderbolt against his critics in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.* The *Modern Critics of Eighteenth Century Poets* excite my indignation If I were to accept their conclusions I should in most cases be put off from reading the books that they deal with. Here is an example:

> His style is radically an affected and false one; and of what force it seems to possess, the greater part is the result not of any real principle of life within it, but of mere strutting and straining

Obviously then the book should go to the scrap-heap But who is the offender? It is Dr Edward Young, the author of the *Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality* I for my part find in this beautiful poem exalted, nay sublime, thoughts No one is called upon to read the book right through Each of the nine books that comprise it (was Young thinking of the nine books of Sappho and her flower from each of the nine Muses?) is more or less independent of the others. There is no special scheme or continuity of design. But there are innumerable passages that appeal to the heart as well as to the intellect I may select the following.

> How poor, how rich, how abject, how august,
> How complicate, how wonderful is man!
> How passing wonder He who made him such!
> Who centred in one make such strong extremes!
> From different natures marvellously mixt,
> Connexion exquisite of distant worlds!
> Distinguished link in being's endless chain,
> Midway from nothing to the Deity,
> A beam etherial, sullied and absorpt,
> Though sullied and dishonoured, still divine!
> Dim miniature of greatness absolute,
> An heir of glory, and frail child of dust—
> Helpless, immortal, insect, infinite,
> A worm! a God!
> Even silent night proclaims my soul immortal

And this our critic terms 'strutting and straining.' I find it very eloquent, very real, and infinitely more convincing than Addison's cold lines:

> It must be so,—Plato thou reasonest well—
> Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
> This longing after immortality?

. is comforting to find an admirer of the *Night Thoughts* in /ordsworth, who writes in his *Prelude*:

> The Bard
> Whose genius spangled o'er a gloomy theme
> With fancies thick as his inspiring stars.

His fondest admirers would hardly claim that James Thomson 'as a great poet. Horace's ' Sublimi feriam sidera vertice ' is not pplicable. But there is much in his *Seasons* and his *Castle of ndolence* that we can read with real pleasure Other poets have iade a background of rural scenery for the characters of their ieme They have used it as a frame to their picture. But in the *easons* it is the beginning and the end. Thomson writes of life i the country, on the farm, the field and the copse, the blos-oms of spring, the luxuriant foliage of June, the harvest and uit of autumn, the snow and ice of winter. His people are just art of his subject, scarcely even a little better than his dog or omething dearer than his horse. In an age in which artificiality 'as at times too obvious Thomson is absolutely simple and atural His verse, unpolished, unelaborated, yet musical and harming, flows easily along on its unpremeditated way. Virgil i the *Georgics* gives us attractive little touches of farm life in his ay. Thomson's entire poem is made up of such, and the whole tmosphere is essentially that of England, this dear, dear land. Vho would have thought that Thomson was a Scotsman ? Here re a few of his lines on a Summer Evening

> His folded flock secure, the shepherd home
> Hies merry-hearted ; and by turns relieves
> The ruddy milkmaid of her brimming pail,
> The beauty whom perhaps his witless heart,
> Unknowing what the joy-mixt anguish means,
> Sincerely loves, by that best language shown
> Of cordial glances and obliging deeds

his is from a Winter Landscape

> The redbreast sacred to the household gods
> Wisely regardful of the embroiling sky,
> In joyless fields and thorny thicket leaves
> His shivering mates, and pays to trusted man
> His annual visit. Half afraid he first
> Against the window beats, then brisk alights
> On the warm hearth, then, hopping on the floor,
> Eyes all the smiling family askance,
> And picks and starts and wonders where he is
> Till, more familiar grown, the table crumbs
> Attract his slender feet

How many people remember that it was Thomson who wrote *ule Britannia?* And how many know anything of the piece

beyond the familiar refrain ? Yet these stirring verses are worthy to be had in remembrance :

> The nations not so blest as thee
> Must in their turns to tyrants fall,
> Whilst thou shalt flourish great and free,
> The dread and envy of them all
>
> Still more majestic shalt thou rise,
> More dreaded from each foreign stroke ,
> As the loud blast that tears the skies
> Serves but to root thy native oak

After all, Thomson did achieve greatness The second of the two verses that I have quoted reminds us of the lament that Horace puts into the mouth of Hannibal

> Merses profundo pulchrior evenit
> Luctere . multa proruet integrum
> Cum laude victorem

'Whatever you may do to the Roman race,' he groans, 'it only emerges from misfortune with greater strength, and crushes a foreign victor '

I am told that people do not read Pope nowadays If this is so, they miss a great intellectual treat. Never has poet been so criticised, so vilified, as Pope. I am content to follow Byron, who wrote

> Neither time, nor distance, nor age can ever diminish my veneration for him, who is the great moral poet of all times, of all feelings, of all stages of existence His poetry is the book of life Without canting, and yet without neglecting religion, he has assembled all that good and great man can gather together of moral wisdom clothed in consummate beauty

It is generally supposed that the conventional form of his verse was inimical to thought On the contrary, Pope expands from thought to thought in the style that suited his genius He is an intense optimist His philosophy may be summarised in the line of Browning

> God's in his heaven, all's well with the world

And it is all so musical What did Lorenzo say to Jessica of

> The man that hath no music in himself
> Nor is not moved by concord of sweet sounds ?

Who can fail to enjoy that lively conceit the *Rape of the Lock,* playful, crisp and elegant ?

> ' Restore the Lock ! ' she cries ; and all around
> ' Restore the Lock ! ' the vaulted roofs rebound.
> Not fierce Othello in so loud a strain
> Roar'd for the handkerchief that caused his pain

Whose heart is not thrilled by the tender pathos of Eloisa and Abelard?

> Then ages hence when all my woes are o'er,
> When this rebellious heart shall beat no more,
> If ever chance two wandering lovers brings
> To Paraclete's white walls and silver springs,
>
> . . . .
>
> Then sadly say, with mutual pity mov'd,
> 'Oh may we never love as these have loved'

Whose mind is not uplifted by the great thoughts in the *Essay on Man?*

> Safe in the hand of one disposing Pow'r,
> Or in the natal or the mortal hour,
> All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee,
> All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see,
> All Discord, Harmony, not understood,
> All partial Evil, universal Good:
> And, spite of Pride, in erring Reason's spite,
> One truth is clear, Whatever is is Right

But there is another side to Pope's character, and undoubtedly by some his satires and epistles are held to be most typical of his poetry. His worst detractors could not deny their extraordinary cleverness, but while they contain beautiful lines, stirring passages and lofty sentiments, they are mainly composed of fierce invective and withering sarcasm. Pope felt a call to denounce vice, corruption, hypocrisy and incompetence in high places:

> Yes, while I live, no rich or noble knave
> Shall walk the world, in credit, to his grave

Few prominent men or women of the day escaped his lash. His pen was dipped in vitriol. This from his flagellation of Attossa, as he calls the Duchess of Marlborough

> Full sixty years the world has been her trade,
> The wisest fool much time has ever made
> From loveless youth to unrespected age,
> No passion gratify'd except her rage.
> Who breaks with her provokes revenge from Hell,
> But he's a bolder man who dares be well.
> Offend her, and she knows not to forgive;
> Oblige her, and she'll hate you while you live

Pope does not spare Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whom he designates as Sappho. He ridicules George II as a mock Augustus

Pope's versatility is astonishing. Surely it was a wonderful mind that could conceive his *Universal Prayer*, with its thirteen sonorous, inspired verses:

Father of All! In every Age
  In every clime, adored,
By Saint, by Savage, and by Sage,
  Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

. . . .

If I am right, thy grace impart,
  Still in the right to stay:
If I am wrong, oh teach my heart
  To find that better way

. . . .

To thee, whose Temple is all Space,
  Whose Altar Earth, Sea, Skies,
One Chorus let all Being raise,
  All Nature's incense rise!

So, reluctantly, I take my leave of the Eighteenth Century.

E. C. Cox.

Note.—The Editor of the *Nineteenth Century and After* kindly permitted me on a previous occasion to write about some of the great luminaries of the eighteenth century, hence their omission here.

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A TURNING-POINT IN HISTORY

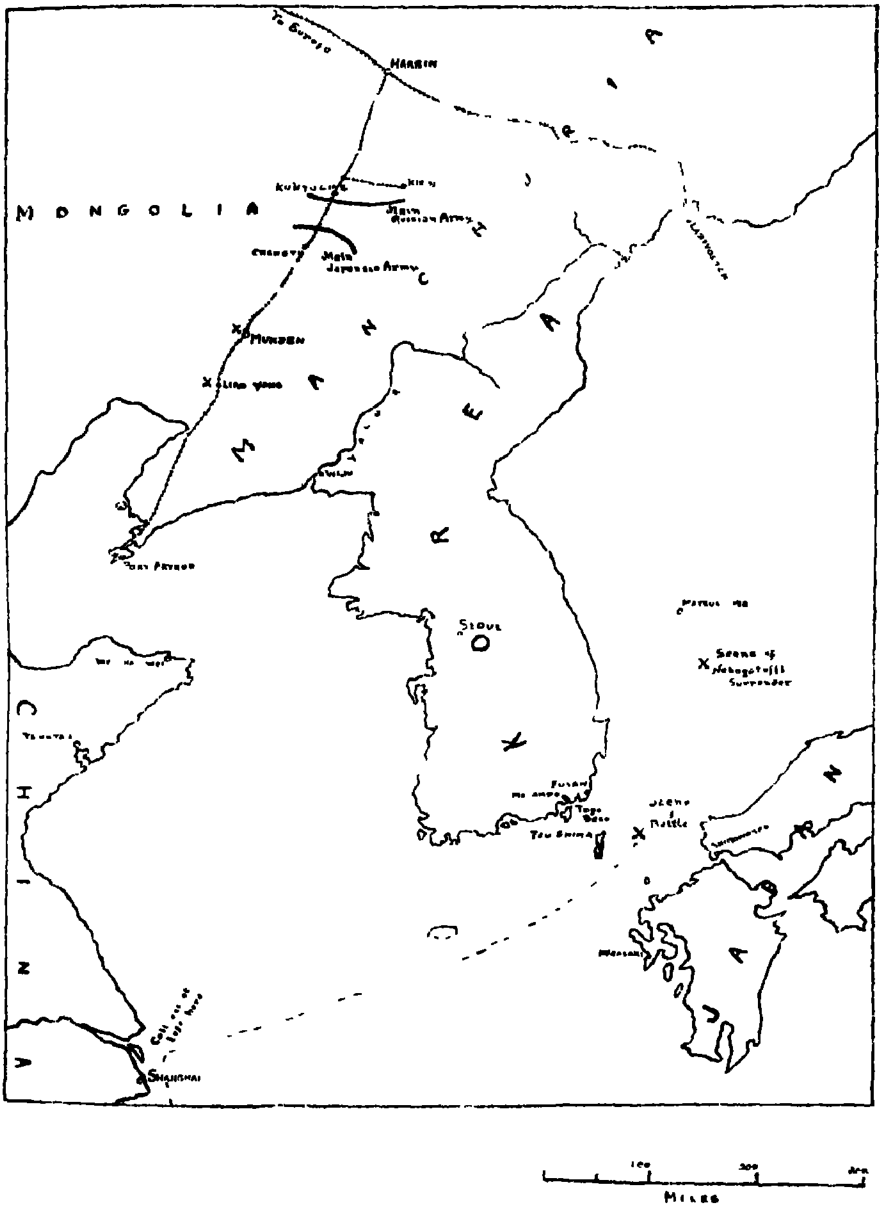
DURING this month there will be celebrated by the Japanese all over the world the twentieth anniversary of their navy's great triumph over the Russian Armada in the Straits of Tsu-shima on May 27, 1905 Many great conflicts have taken place since then, and yet it is questionable whether any single battle of the twentieth century can be said to have had such momentous influences upon the course of history as Admiral Togo's Trafalgar For no other battle of the century can be established a clearer claim to be considered one of the great decisive battles of the world Had its result been different the whole course of modern history would have been completely changed It was one of the great turning-points of history

The present situation in the Pacific dates from the battle of Tsu-shima By deciding the Russo-Japanese War in Japan's favour it established Japan's hitherto precarious claim to be considered one of the great Powers of the world A few decades previously Japan had had as little influence on world politics as Siam has at present For assaults upon foreign nationals her defenceless coasts were repeatedly subject to ruthless bombardment, and her scanty revenues were drained by the payment of heavy indemnities. From the date of Tsu-shima Japan became supreme in her own waters and one of the three great naval Powers of the Pacific As a consequence, a situation has been brought about which, it is absurd to deny, contains all the materials for a great conflict in the future American immigration laws are a constant source of irritation to Japan's national pride. The battle of Tsu-shima gave the Japanese the power actively to resent indignities to which otherwise, as a yellow race, it would have been their lot passively to submit Also, by thus assuring Japan's position at home, it has enlarged her ambitions abroad. Any attempt to carry out her but thinly disguised wish to enforce a counterpart to the Monroe Doctrine to Chinese questions would have serious international complications. The British taxpayer's attention has at last been turned to the problems of the distant Pacific Ocean by the decision of the Government to spend huge sums upon the construction of a strongly fortified naval base at Singapore.

The battle of Tsu-shima marks a turning-point in history because it forcibly brought about a complete reversal in Russian policy, and Russia is such a vast and populous country that a change in Russian policy automatically changes the policies of the other great Powers and consequently the whole trend of international affairs From 1815 and for the first half of the nineteenth century Russia looked south-westward towards Constantinople, and as a consequence Great Britain and France forgot their centuries of warfare, rivalry and hatred, and became allies for the protection of Turkey After the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 Russia turned her attention to Central Asia, thereby arousing the liveliest apprehension in Great Britain for the safety of the passes into India But from 1891 onwards, when Nicholas II., then Czarevitch, turned the first sod of the Trans-Siberian Railway, Russia's attention was turned towards the Far East This period of expansion eastward was brought to an abrupt ending by the battle of Tsu-shima in 1905

Now there can be no question that during this period the Czar and his advisers had the most far-reaching ambitions in China The overthrow of Japan was to be the first great step to their realisation Military control of the Chinese provinces of Manchuria and Korea was to be the first stage of a process which would end only when Russia obtained a dominant position over the whole vast, rich and defenceless country That Russia should hold a position in China similar to that of France in Morocco would be a menace to the very existence of the British Empire. Such a scheme would have been opposed by Britain by every possible means—by war if necessary. Amid this conflict of British and Russian interests in China the Triple Entente could never have come into existence No French diplomacy, however brilliant, could have got Britain and Russia to work together in Europe with such vital questions outstanding between them in Asia. Those who doubt this should read the debates in Parliament over the Persian Treaty with Russia. Such was the state of public feeling between France's friend and France's ally, even as late as 1907, that Sir Edward Grey was roundly told that it was a moral disgrace for Britain to co-operate in any way with such a Power as Russia! Compare this to the attitude of 1914. The Great War, therefore, could never have taken place—at any rate between the same two groups of combatants If Germany was the most powerful Continental Power in 1906, it was largely because Russia had just been defeated in war and was distracted by the resulting revolutionary outbreaks. Had Russia triumphed over Japan she would have largely regained that dominating position she held in Europe under Alexander I. after the Napoleonic Wars Foolhardy and short-sighted as the Kaiser and his advisers were

they would scarcely in these circumstances have wantonly irritated their colossal neighbour either by acting the part of Turkey's protector or by interfering with the Slav peoples of the



Balkans. Rather would Berlin by hearty professions of friendship and support have encouraged Russia forward in her Far Eastern schemes—schemes which must inevitably have created bad blood between her and Britain Obviously, also, it would be far better for Germany that the main Russian fleet should be based at Port

Arthur, and not at Kronstadt. It must not be forgotten that before Russia turned her attention to the Far East the Russian was the most powerful fleet in the Baltic. Had this been the case in 1914 the whole course of the Great War would have been different. But as a result of Tsu-shima the Russian fleet ceased to count. Von Scheer had no rival to face in the Baltic.

The direct result of Togo's triumph may be summarised as follows. Victory over Japan being thenceforth impossible, the Czar bowed to the inevitable The Treaty of Portsmouth put an end to those plans for dominion in the Far East upon which Russia had concentrated her attention ever since the commencement of the Trans-Siberian Railway in 1891 Torn by internal revolt, she was in no position for a great struggle with Britain in Central Asia —hence the significant Persian Treaty with Britain in 1907 There only remained the West, and, a distraction from internal affairs of some sort being essential, the Czar and his advisers turned their eyes once more towards Poland and Constantinople The enemy here was Germany, and with a common objective at last the alliance with Germany's arch-enemy, France, became a living reality Also rival interests in the Celestial Empire no longer lay between France's ally and France's friend The main outlines of the great world struggle which broke out in 1914 date, therefore, from Tsu-shima. As a result of this distant Asiatic battle the great European conflict was primarily a Franco-German war with Britain and a much-weakened Russia as allies of France It is suggested here that the probabilities are that had Rojdestvensky succeeded in his mission, the next great world war would have been between Russia and Britain, and it would have resulted from the former's ambition to turn China into a Russian protectorate.

It does not often happen that the result of a whole war is staked upon a single battle But, in spite of her striking victories in Manchuria and the capture of Port Arthur, the fate of Japan depended solely upon the result of the battle with Rojdestvensky's great fleet. At the time (May 1905) the Japanese army under Oyama, consisting of more than half a million men, was stretched in a vast semicircle north of Mukden (captured in the great battle fought only ten weeks previously), and was facing an equally large Russian army under General Linievich based on Harbin All the supplies for this huge army had to be shipped from Japan across the Korean Straits. There is no need to enlarge upon the enormous difficulties and dangers of doing this once the command of the sea had been lost And once definitely lost, this command of the sea could never have been regained, as the Japanese fleet was at that time, as regards capital ships, wholly foreign-built. It would have been impossible to have purchased new ships abroad in time of war, and it was utterly beyond the capacity of the the

existing Japanese dockyards to provide a new fleet. In fact, Togo received no additions to his fleet all through the war. At the commencement of the struggle in February 1904 he had had six foreign-built battleships, and in May 1905 he faced the Russian Armada with only four, two having been sunk in one disastrous day by drifting mines. The margin of bare safety had thus become terribly narrow, but no new ships were forthcoming Also after the battle of Mukden the Russian army was largely reinforced, and it was only after Togo's 'crowning mercy' that the Czar very reluctantly gave up his intention to launch a great summer offensive which was to drive the Japanese out of Manchuria, and perhaps off the Asiatic mainland altogether. The result of such an offensive would in any case have been problematical, as all the experts are agreed that the Russian armies in the Far East had never during any period of the war been so strong, the losses of Liao-Yang and Mukden having been more than replaced Japan, on the other hand, had from a military point of view shot her bolt She had put forth her maximum strength and had failed to secure a Sedan Had Russia won the command of the sea, it could only have been a question of time before she would have been in a position to dictate the terms of peace When, just before the battle, Togo signalled that the fate of the Japanese Empire depended upon the efforts of his men, he was merely stating the plain facts of the situation

It sometimes happens that the actual details of an epoch-marking battle are themselves without interest, but this is certainly not the case with Tsu-shima. In fact, quite apart from its far-reaching consequences, no naval battle since Trafalgar can be compared with it To begin with, the fleets were equally matched and the fight was fought out to a finish There was no withdrawal to port by the weaker side before a decision could be reached, as at Jutland The battle was not merely between light forces, as at the Yalu or at Coronel, but between two of the finest fleets in the world at the time. Also the disparity in size of the rival forces was not grotesque, as at the Falklands It is easy to be wise after the event and to declare that Rojdestvensky's mission was hopeless from the start On the contrary, his chances on paper were excellent. He had five first-class battleships, four of them brand-new and sister ships, and two slightly older battleships Each mounted four 12-inch guns, this being the normal armament of a ship of the line at the time Against this formidable total of twenty-eight big guns Togo could only put the sixteen 12-inch guns carried by his four first-class battleships In fact, so weak was Togo in this all-important type of ship, that he was compelled to place with his division of battleships his two best armoured cruisers—a very risky proceeding Had the accidental explosion

which sank his flagship the *Mikasa* occurred before instead of less than four months after the battle, could he have risked a pitched battle at all in face of such odds as three battleships to seven? In cruisers Togo certainly had a great superiority, but, in the opinion of many experts previous to the battle, such ships would be useless in a struggle between heavily armoured battleships. In practice, however, Kamimura's squadron of six armoured cruisers, mounting between them twenty-four 8-inch guns, proved of immense value But would this have been the case if the Russian shooting had proved better? Rojdestvensky was weak in cruisers and destroyers, but shortly before the battle he was reinforced by a squadron under Admiral Nebogatoff which included one old battleship and three large coast defence ships, old and slow certainly, but all heavily armed Togo had no ships of this class, but an innumerable host of light cruisers, destroyers, and torpedo-boats

Admiral Rojdestvensky had left the Baltic in October 1904, and the whole winter was spent upon a voyage unique in length, duration, and difficulty Once arrived in the Far East, however, the task before him was simple enough in conception Port Arthur having fallen in January, he had no choice but to make for Vladivostok He chose the direct route through the Korean Straits—and doubtless wisely, as had he chosen the passage through the Tsugaru Straits it would have meant a long voyage round the Japanese mainland Also the waters so far north were very stormy, and the Russian ships were heavily laden with coal and stores, besides being bad sea boats, Russian marine engineers, like the German, having a marked tendency to overload their ships with guns and armour. The Straits of Korea are about 120 miles in width, the rocky island of Tsu-shima dividing them into two channels Rojdestvensky chose the wider eastern channel Once through, there would be a straight voyage before him to Vladivostok, 600 miles due north

On the night of May 26, 1905, the Russian fleet—battleships cruisers, and destroyers—approached the entrance to the strait in a dense mist They must have made an impressive spectacl looming vast and shadowy through the haze. Although not ver large according to modern standards—the largest ships were about 13,500 tons, which is considerably less than the avera tonnage of the capital ships at Jutland—yet the peculiar desi of the '*Suvarov*' class, with their two huge funnels, massi conning-towers and fighting-tops, and great bulging gun-turre made them appear to the eye the very embodiments of armour might. So dense was the mist that the hope arose in the Russi fleet that perhaps they might slip through without being noti by the Japanese at all. This was not to be, however, and ea

the following morning a Japanese auxiliary cruiser almost ran into a Russian hospital ship and at once gave the alarm. The Japanese wireless messages which the Russians had been for some time picking up at once changed their character In secret code and therefore unreadable, whereas up till then they had been merely short question and answer messages, they now became what were obviously long reports A battle was unavoidable

It did not start for some hours, however, and it was not till past midday that the Japanese main fleet appeared in sight far ahead to the north The Russian fleet was in two columns, the one led by the flagship *Suvarov* and the other by the *Oslabia*, with the convoy of auxiliary ships following in the rear Togo closed in rapidly as if to pass the Russians on their left or port side, and then suddenly turning sharp to the eastward he executed the famous manœuvre known as ' crossing the T,' his single line of twelve ships passing right across the heads of the Russian columns The first shot was fired at about 2 p m at a range of about four miles The critical moment came right at the commencement of the battle Had Rojdestvensky held to his northward course he must have crashed into the rear of the Japanese column then going east At close range the two great Japanese advantages of superior speed and more accurate shooting would have been at a discount The Russian superiority in heavy guns and thick armour might have decided the battle But Rojdestvensky feared to stake all in a ' mix-up ' and inclined eastward parallel to his opponents By doing this he showed he wished to avoid decisive results and thereby admitted his inferiority The moral superiority of the Japanese was thenceforth established Psychologically the battle was won in these first few minutes.

A graphic account of the first part of the battle is given by Captain Semenoff, an officer on the *Suvarov*, in his book *The Battle of Tsu-shima* Leading the Russian line, his ship was from the first a mark for the Japanese gunners, and she received a tremendous hammering

> I had [he says] intended in all seriousness to note the times and places where we were hit, as well as the damage done But it was in fact impossible even to count the number of projectiles striking us !

In a very short time all the upper works of the ship were destroyed, fires raged everywhere. Semenoff, himself already twice wounded, went to the conning tower. Even in here two had already been killed Admiral Rojdestvensky was watching the battle through the chink in the armour He was depressed at the course of events, but the captain of the ship very reasonably pointed out there was no reason to suppose that the Japanese were not suffer-

ing equally severe losses. Cheered by this idea, Semenoff went aloft. He describes what he saw as follows:

The enemy had finished turning. His twelve ships were in perfect order at close intervals, steaming parallel to us, but gradually forging ahead No disorder was noticeable It seemed to me that with my Zeiss glasses (the distance was little more than 4000 yards) I could even distinguish the mantlets of hammocks on the bridges, and groups of men But with us? I looked round What havoc!—burning bridges, smouldering *débris* on the decks, piles of dead bodies Signalling stations and gun-directing positions, all were destroyed And astern of us the *Alexander* and *Borodino* were enveloped in smoke

Equally graphic is his account of a later stage of the battle, when, the *Suvarov* having fallen out of the line an unmanageable wreck, he watched from her shattered deck the retirement of the Russian fleet

We were now able to see plainly the *Alexander*, which was steaming straight towards us, the rest following her With our glasses we could clearly see her battered sides, broken bridges, burning cabins and spar decks, but her funnels and masts were still standing After her came the *Borodino*, burning furiously We all waited, holding our breath, watching the Japanese fire, which was apparently concentrated on the *Alexander*. At times she seemed completely enveloped in flames and brown smoke, while round her the sea literally boiled, throwing up great pillars of water Then one after another we saw a whole series of shells strike her fore-bridge and port 6-inch turret, and turning sharply, she steamed away, having almost reversed her course, while after her went the *Borodino*, *Orel* and others

It is unnecessary to follow the actual details of the battle which resolved itself naturally into three distinct parts Th first lasted through the afternoon and evening of May 27, an consisted of a fierce artillery duel between the capital ships c the hostile fleets Firing at a range varying from four to tw miles, and with a heavy sea running, the Japanese enjoyed th important advantage—that the black hulls and yellow funnels the Russian ships afforded much easier targets than their ow vessels, which were painted grey like the ships which fought Jutland eleven years afterwards In this duel the Russians lo by gunfire four out of their five best battleships, it being t Japanese policy to concentrate their fire on these. Rojde vensky's own ship was very soon a helpless wreck, and t Admiral himself, badly wounded, was transferred to a destroy Semenoff gives a graphic description of the difficulties of gett the wounded man aboard. The second part of the battle las all through the night and consisted of a series of furious atta by the Japanese torpedo-boats on the Russian fleet. Altho most of the Russian light guns and searchlights had been smas

during the artillery duel of the afternoon, yet most of these attacks failed, the Japanese succeeding in torpedoing only two or three already badly damaged ships. The third part of the battle took place late the following morning, when the remains of the Russian fleet under Nebogatoff, consisting of the only surviving first-class battleship, the *Orel*, one old battleship and two coast defence ships, were rounded up and forced after a short fight to surrender The destroyer with Rojdestvensky on board was also pursued and captured and the Admiral made a prisoner. Various isolated ships were either sunk or driven ashore Of the great armada only one fast cruiser and two destroyers reached the Russian objective, Vladivostok, while a few other light vessels escaped to various neutral ports

The victory was won by the gun, and by the gun alone The torpedo failed to realise the great expectations which many had held for it previous to the battle In many respects the naval history of the Great War adds little to the lessons of Tsu-shima The invention of the aeroplane and submarine has greatly modified the conditions of naval warfare—such an unsupported venture into hostile waters as Rojdestvensky's would now, of course, be utterly impossible in face of submarine attacks—but accurate gunnery and speed in manœuvring still retain all their importance In this respect Tsu-shima only emphasised the lesson of the battle of the Yalu fought eleven years before One of the features of the battle was the extraordinary resisting power of some of the Russian ships The *Suvarov*, for example, was under almost continuous fire from heavy guns for five hours, but, although riddled with shells and with both funnels and masts gone, she still floated a helpless wreck, until finally sent to the bottom by a torpedo The *Orel* was hit forty times by heavy shells So good was her armour, however, that out of a crew of 700 officers and men only eighteen were killed In the end she did not sink, but, after being surrounded and captured, she survived to become a valuable unit of the Japanese fleet One is reminded of those battles in the Dutch wars in the seventeenth century in which the rival fleets cannonaded each other for two or three days without result, and in which the admirals had to change their flagships half a dozen times during the struggle

'The most important event in the political history of the last generation is the awakening of Asia,' wrote Mr Gooch in 1913 The battle of Tsu-shima was the crowning event of that awakening Its reaction throughout Asia has been immense. Everywhere a tendency has become manifest to become Westernised but without becoming Western—to resist the West by absorbing the secrets of its strength. In China 'the reactionary nationalism which culminated in the Boxer movement gave place

to an enthusiasm for Western learning and Western methods.' Even in far-distant Turkey its effects may be traced. The ambition of the Kemalists is, by adopting Western methods (including Prohibition and universal suffrage), to defy the West. It must be remembered always that as a sea battle Tsu-shima made a much greater impression than would be possible with any land battle, whatever its scale No human invention would probably more impress a visitor to this earth from another planet than a modern battleship, with its vast size, incredibly complex and delicate machinery, enormous strength and far-reaching power. At Tsu-shima it was in a conflict between these huge and complicated engines of destruction that a so-called backward race completely defeated a white race Chance, surprise, or local circumstances have often enabled undisciplined savages to overthrow highly trained civilised armies Thus the Italian rout at Adowa by Abyssinian tribesmen had nothing but a mere local significance A naval triumph is quite different, and it made a profound impression throughout the world Hallam defines a decisive battle as one in which 'a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of history in all its subsequent scenes' The battle of Tsu-shima dissipated for ever the legend of the invincibility of the white races By hopelessly discrediting the rule of the Russian autocracy it prepared the way for Lenin and his Bolsheviks It turned Russia's eyes once more to European objectives and to expansion westward, thus making the Triple Entente a working possibility By abasing Russia it automatically made Germany the greatest military Power in Europe, which, as a consequence, turned the heads of her arrogant militarists, who at once inaugurated the policy of the 'shining armour' The main outlines of the great struggle of 1914 emerged in 1905. In short, in few of the fifteen decisive battles included in Sir Edward Creasy's list did greater issues hang upon the result than those which were decided for ever by Japan's great triumph over the Russian Armada off the island of Tsu-shima, in the Straits of Korea, now twenty years ago

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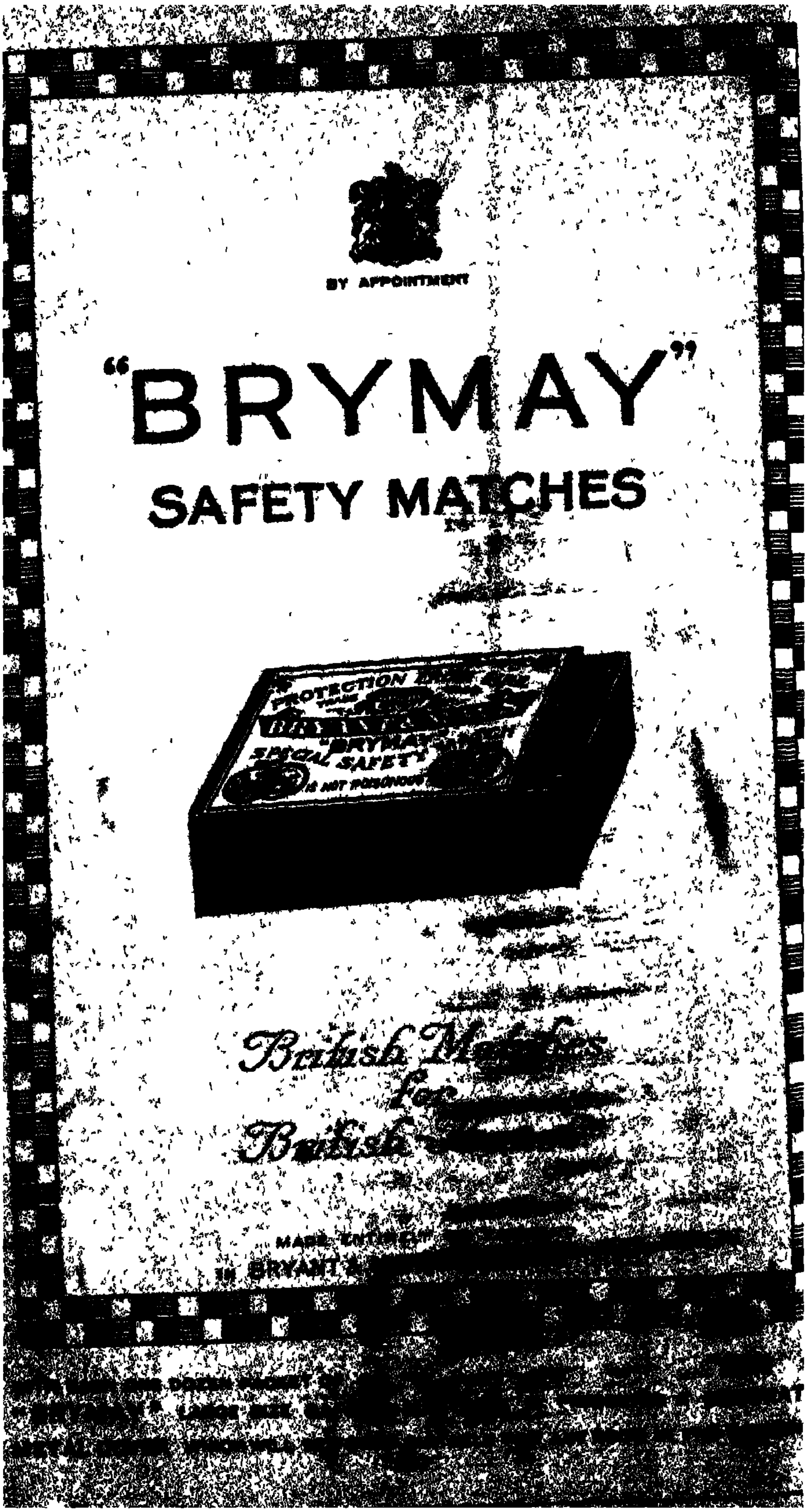
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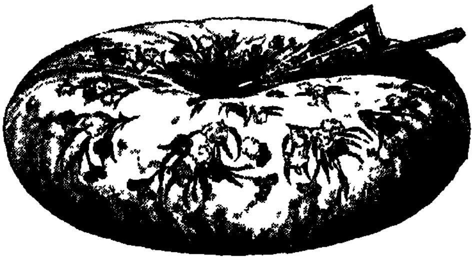
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(To be continued next month.)

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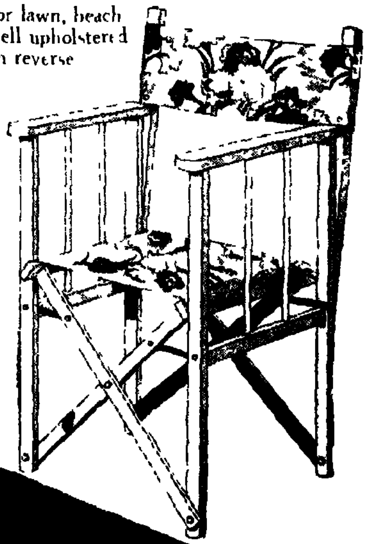


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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

CONTENTS FOR JUNE.

LONDON: CONSTABLE & COMPANY LIMITED, 10 & 12 ORANGE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE, W.C. 2

PARIS: MESSAGERIES HACHETTE, 111, Rue Réaumur. NEW YORK: LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.

Registered for Canadian Magazine Post

Price Three Shillings.

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER



No DXCII—June 1926

THE PAST MONTH

Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an Eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazl'd eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain it self of heav'nly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticat a year of sects and schisms.

John Milton, *Areopagitica*
(written in 1644 of November 1642).

CITIZENS AND THE COAL DRAMA

I

The Drama before 1918

In memories of my childhood there are episodes both of colliery life and toil, with their deadly accidents, and also of brawny, kind-hearted ironworkers in the act of wheeling large barrows loaded with materials to the open mouths of old pig-iron furnaces. From the very earliest daily talk that gripped my mind and stirred my imagination something inherited by my feelings, an ancestral trait of character, I believe, collected facts about ironworks and collieries. My father owned both in North Wales, and some of his forebears, the Sparrows of Staffordshire, from about the middle of the eighteenth century, had been active as leaders in those unkempt and immense improvisations out of which the Black Country had grown, helping with more and more energy and danger to stampede old England from an agricultural state with a smallish population into a sketchy and reckless type of industrial society, with a population that increased so rapidly that Darwin became alarmed.

At about the age of fifteen I began to make written notes on the terrible history of British collieries, really good notes, some of which I still retain; and several books were chosen to be permanent guides. One of them, written by Benjamin Disraeli, was called *Sybil; or, The Two Nations*, and came to me from the 1840's. I was thrilled by its high-hearted defence of British labour, and from its pages I got a habit of brooding often over the Two Nations in old England, one nation thinly peopled, but wonderfully opulent and very eager to be more so, that contrasted almost violently with the other nation, whose teeming population had just grievances by the score and whose family life was one of incessant hardship and insecurity. As series of truthful pictures revealing the horrible youth of British industrialism, and the decline of English farming, *Sybil* invaluable, for many grave troubles of to-day were bred by th abominable evils that Disraeli studied and recorded at first han

—not that he dared to relate the whole truth. In his preface he said:

The general reader whose attention has not been specially drawn to the subject which these volumes aim to illustrate—the Condition of the People—might suspect that the writer had been tempted to some exaggeration in the scenes that he has drawn, and the impressions he has wished to convey. He thinks it therefore due to himself to state that the descriptions, generally, are written from his own observation; but while he hopes he has alleged nothing which is not true, he has found the absolute necessity of suppressing much that is genuine. For so little do we know of the state of our country that the air of improbability which the whole truth would inevitably throw over these pages might deter some from their perusal.

When Disraeli wrote these words the Reform Bill was twelve years old, yet the many diseases within the body and the very soul of improvised industrialism were as bad as ever, and in some districts worse. Disraeli was alarmed to find that 'infanticide was practised as extensively and legally in England as it was on the banks of the Ganges'; and the new manufacturing system, or lack of system, was encouraging everywhere another callous disregard of parental feelings and duties, a growth of slums and slum areas where swarms of ragged, underfed children perished, to be succeeded at once by others.

Disraeli brought into literature one of these poor human creatures, with no legitimate name or parentage, a lad called Devilsdust, who is sent to a baby farm that charges threepence a week for his keep. His mother dying, the threepence a week ends, so the tiny lad is turned into the street to be run over or to die from hunger or disease.

Even this expedient failed [says Disraeli]. The youngest and feeblest of the band of victims, Juggernaut spared him to Moloch All his companions were disposed of. Three months' play in the streets got rid of this tender company, shoeless, half naked, and uncombed, whose ages varied from two to five years. Some were crushed, some were lost, some caught cold and fever, crept back to their garrets or their cellars, were dosed with Godfrey's Elixir, and died in peace. The nameless one, Devilsdust, would not disappear: he always got out of the way of the carts and horses, and never lost his own They gave him no food: he foraged for his own, and shared with the dogs the garbage of the streets. But still he lived: stunted and pale, he defied even the fatal fever which was the only inhabitant of his cellar that never quitted it. . . .

Briefly, this waif of a new age grew up to be a shrivelled man —and a Chartist; also something else to historians, for Devilsdust represents one variety of neglected suffering and its results that took root in manufacturing Britain during those times when the rich were very proud of her monopolies, and certain that she would remain the exporting workshop of the world and the greatest

importer of many raw materials. How could she fail to be all this? it was asked. What other nation was so compact, with great collieries and ironworks close to large seaports, and with other advantages also, most notably an apt population quite large enough to maintain sufficient competition among the poor, and therefore the economic blessing of low wages?

Disraeli notes a too-frequent British attitude towards wages. A clergyman asks one of the chief characters in *Sybil*, Lord Marney, whether a peasant can bring up his family on eight shillings a week. My lord answers: 'Oh, as for that, I have generally found the higher the wages, the worse the workmen. They only spend their money in beershops. They are the curse of the country.' And this callous attitude towards wages has been active whenever the coal drama has made a new public crisis that newspapers have recorded, frequently with an economic bias against miners.

Disraeli introduces us to a superior artisan and quotes with approval what the artisan says:

> There is more serfdom in England now than at any time since the Conquest. I speak of what passes under my daily eyes when I say that those who labour can as little change or choose their masters now as when they were born thralls There are great bodies of the working classes of this country nearer the conditions of brutes than they have been at any time since the Conquest. Indeed, I see nothing to distinguish them from brutes, except that their morals are inferior. Incest and infanticide are as common among them as among the lower animals The domestic principle wanes weaker and weaker every year in England: nor can we wonder at it when there is no comfort to cheer and no sentiment to hallow the home . . .

Mind, these staring facts come to us, not from Robert Owen the Socialist, but from Benjamin Disraeli, who would certainly have founded a Labour Party if his multiple ambition had not withdrawn him from his great *Sybil* period into a very different atmosphere, namely, that in the Nation of the Rich and in the narrowing customs and compromises of Parliament. And a Conservative Labour Party founded by him in the 1850's would have been as beneficial to the body social as improvements in sanitation, medicine, anæsthetics, surgery and bacteriology have been to human bodies one by one. Did he ever regret his lost opportunities in this great matter? Was he thinking of them when he said in late life that 'politics are a stinking profession'? I am always very glad that it was he who, by extending the franchise again (after educating his party), enlarged the safety-valve for letting off the steam of social and political discontent, causing Carlyle to foam into his article on shooting Niagara.

Disraeli speaks in *Sybil* about several other national failings

in the manufacturing system which have been delivered down to our times as influences full of mischief. One is the public attitude towards those men and their families who are suddenly demoded and stranded by new inventions, as handloom weavers were by power-looms, and as hundreds of actors have been recently by films and the wireless A handloom weaver says to Disraeli that when honest workers are too old to learn another trade, and suddenly are deprived of their own trade by inventions, losing the only property they have, their productive labour, they have a just right to be maintained by the State. The Great War and its aftermath have been rather friendly to the principle of citizenship expressed by this hand-weaver, though the use of the word 'dole' is resented by the poor, as it is not applied also to the pensioning of retired soldiers, naval sailors, and civil servants.

In *Sybil*, again, there is talk about the need of a General Strike in order to press with sufficient unity for redress of grievances. Gerard, Sybil's father, says:

> There are to be no leaders this time, at least no visible ones. The people will do it themselves All the children of Labour are to rise on the same day, and to toil no more till they have their rights No violence, no bloodshed, but Toil halts, and then our oppressors will learn the great economical truth, that when Toil plays wealth ceases
>
> When Toil ceases the People suffer [said Sybil]. That is the only truth that we have learnt, and it is a bitter one.
>
> Can we be free without suffering? [said Gerard]. Is the greatest of human blessings to be obtained as a matter of course, to be plucked like fruit, or seized like a running stream? No, no, we must suffer, but we are wiser than of yore, we will not conspire Conspiracies are for aristocrats, not for nations
>
> Alas, alas! I see nothing but woe [said Sybil]. . . . England, Wales, Scotland, will be forced to work as they were forced before How can they subsist without labour? And if they could, there is an organised power that will subdue them. . . .

So the discussion runs on; and when we remember that only eighty-four years separate us from the year 1842, when the abominations of female labour underground in coal mines were forbidden by Act of Parliament, it is not surprising that the present-day bad state of the mining industry has among its ageing traditions tales of the 1840's. We must see the past within the present if we have any desire to be impartial, or right-mindedly thorough, towards the new big scenes which have been added to the old coal drama since 1918. Those who have not yet read *Sybil*, particularly if they are Conservatives, should begin to study its chapters at once, and side by side with it many additional facts should be gathered from another book published in the 1840's, *The Cyclopædia of Useful Arts*, illustrated with woodcuts. There is no better guide than this cyclopædia in all matters relating to the

barbaric servitude both of tiny lads and of half-naked girls in coalpits, no better guide because the facts were collected for the State, and prove that it was hardened custom, not positive cruelty, that the law had to prohibit. A desire to keep in vogue the longest possible number of hours in a day's work for the smallest possible wages, in order to satisfy a public yearning for cheap coal and for profitable trade, introduced a horrible custom little by little, depraving young girls and crippling small boys. One woodcut in the cyclopædia shows a girl 'hurrier' in a coalpit at Halifax, half naked, in the act of pulling a small wheeled truck or 'corve' along a very low and narrow road or passage; and the text relates that corves weighed from 2 to 5 cwts., and were mounted on four cast-iron wheels, 5 inches in diameter, but not moving on rails. Sometimes the passages were not more than about 20 inches in height. The coal-bearers also were almost all girls and women, who carried the fuel in panniers on their backs, and in burdens varying from ¾ cwt. to 3 cwts A Commission spoke of these and of other things as 'horrible labour,' adding that it lasted from twelve to fourteen hours daily, and once a week at least it extended through a whole night. Yet coal-owners kept this serfage in daily misuse till Parliament put it down. Such is custom—the one thing stronger than Nature. But the State, by doing her duty towards girls and women, lessened the total weekly wages in a great many poor homes, and as a consequence she stimulated the natural desire of men-miners for higher wages, bringing them into stern economic strife with a very complex opponent—not the coal owner only, but his customers also at home and abroad, all of whom were intensely eager to have cheap coal. And the customers, direct and indirect, included a line of middlemen each one of whom had to make a profit, always totalling a great deal more per annum than a coal hewer's wages, and sometimes even more than a coal owner's net profits. Indeed, many a coal owner was ruined when coal merchants were thriving.

No complexity of trade routine could have been more irrational, or less in accordance with the common good; for those who risked most of all in money capital plus brainwork, and those others who for very poor wages risked their lives daily underground, had to bear at first hand all the worst rubs of bad trade while the middlemen's bargaining power was intensified. Then cut-throat competition between coalpits in the same district became sharper, interrupted by lock-outs or strikes, during which a more or less marked scarcity of coal caused a demand for this fuel, either local or general. Yet this strife belonged to the routine of old custom, so it was looked upon as economic competition, and continued from decade to decade, its distributing

costs becoming heavier as the nation's wages for all work very gradually increased; and with this improvement in the lot of Labour came a keener hunger for profits among middlemen as among first-hand employers. The private colliery owner who saw his men daily, like my father, was frequent in my boyhood, but the company coal owners and their shareholders came inevitably as the coal drama enlarged, while retaining the traditional complexity of distribution and certain economic principles, so called, which the mining population learnt from personal suffering to detest ever more and more.

One principle said that even when the organisation of an industry was allowed to become out of date, and therefore unfit to cope with the pressure of bad times, employers had a right to claim from their workpeople a subsidy to be paid in decreased wages week by week till trade improved, or for an agreed period of months or years.

During my lifetime—and I am sixty-four—miners and their leaders have become both more articulate and sterner towards this principle, arguing that the first charge on all industry is a minimum wage for labour fit to support a workman's family in decent citizenship; and that employers who think it worth while to keep a great industry out of date in its management after Great Britain has ceased to be an industrial monopolist must bear themselves the losses caused by their bad customs. To transfer the losses to their workpeople is not only to injure poor families, but to confirm themselves also in the habit of using wasteful methods, which is another sort of injury to industrial sound work and the public good. But contests over principles in financial strife are very like contests over the tenets of rival religious creeds, out of which fierce wars and other enmities have arisen. Collieries have caused Parliament to interfere over and over again, setting narrower limits to the freedom of private enterprise; and since 1918 we have seen another and a very impeded advance towards a new and larger instalment of legal authority over the coal industry's distribution and general management.

Several things have been present as tragedies in every one of the phases of discipline which the State has imposed on coal owners. The worst one is the continuous toll paid by miners in accidental deaths and in wounds to the Moloch of industrialism. Since 1870 millions of British colliers have been wounded, and the killed number several score of thousands. Yet householders have rarely given a thought, when sitting at their firesides, to the battlefields underground; and how many of them have ever believed that coal was 'cheap' enough? Twenty thousand colliers perished by accidents between 1856 and 1876, and to-day

the annual death-roll averages 1110 brave fellows, and the yearly average of wounded is 162,259 I speak of those who lose at least a week's work each. Yet the phases of war in industrialism have been praised ardently as peace. Where custom is very active, there we find that reason is either asleep or only half awake, but near to nightmare. This fact is illustrated by recent events in the coal drama, where many old customs have clashed with the temper and the aims of Labour in a new age.

And remember what this new age is really Beaconsfield came to the belief that Great Britain, after a vast ordeal, would never be able to begin again. Yet he did not call up before his imagination a new beginning so complicatedly perilous as the one which has been enforced upon the Old Country by the Great War and its aftermath No such monstrous national debts as our own ever seemed in the least possible to either Beaconsfield or Gladstone, and neither of these Victorian statesmen ever imagined an industrialised Europe crippled by the actions and reactions of war and debt, and an awakened East seething with new ideas and ambitions. So I have been haunted since 1918 by Beaconsfield's firm belief that Great Britain, after a vast ordeal, would never be able to begin again, and that in this she was unlike every other nation of great power that he knew.

II

Problems of Inheritance

In 1918 I tried to form an impartial ground-plan of what a new beginning had to achieve, and under what handicaps, both old and new Some of the dangers tabulated belong intimately to the subject of this article.

1. That as collieries would always be as essential to our industrial type of society as efficient railways, roads and shipping, it was very lamentable and perilous that their out-of-date organisation did not occupy the attention of Parliament when the labouring classes, who kept the many wheels of industrialism going, were still dividing their votes at general elections between Conservatives and Liberals; for as soon as Labour began to form her own political party, and to call it *Socialism* instead of *Sybilism*, the misorganisation of the immense coal industry began to pass from economics into rival phases of political strife, very impeding and harmful to all reconstructive aims and work.

2. That although the new party in politics had been given a name hateful to Conservatives and to most Liberals, which the name Sybilism could not well have been, yet its leaders and its

aims were so patiently temperate, so free from fool-fury, that nothing but slander and bullying from the old parties, its parents, should turn it towards violence.

3. As the Conservatives after Beaconsfield's death had missed their opportunity of growing into Sybilism, how could they compete for votes against the new party without moving themselves into the thing called Socialism, against which they inveighed? Would they attempt to 'down' political Labour, and would they be supported by an immensely powerful agency—their newspaper Press? If they did, would they not strike at the very heart of industrialism, and make a new beginning completely impossible?

4. Why had the Coalition carried the war fever into the first post-war general elections, instead of resigning, so that the Old Country might begin at once to face the need of a new beginning divided for restorative work into three parties, all equally eager, though in different ways, to serve the common good?

5. As coal owners for a long time had been the Bourbons of industrialism, would they begin at once to hurry into their Charles X. period? Or would they weigh and measure all lessons enforced by the war, and start with a will upon reorganisation in order to adapt the most important of British industries to the needs of a new beginning?

6. If they were wise in this national way and appealed to Parliament for sympathy and help, would they be opposed fiercely by many powerful newspapers?

Events soon began to answer these questions with a vigour which would have scared Beaconsfield. A great desire to 'down' Labour by violent propaganda at general elections has disturbed every chance of a new beginning, and the boomed outcry over Zinovieff's letter in one general appeal to the electorate was a calamity, for it gave a very abnormal division of parties in the House of Commons, and inflamed the reactions. Coal owners, too, have not ceased to be the Bourbons of industrialism, and by their old-fashioned and unyielding evidence before two Royal Commissions they have made reorganisation more and more difficult and contentiously political, supported always by formidable newspapers, and opposed with more and more firmness by the mining population. When both reports of the earlier Commission were thrust aside as futile miners felt that they had been betrayed, and the sympathy of other industrial workers moved rapidly towards their support.

If a family rejected the diagnosis of specialist medical men because it named a disease and recommended a treatment which the members of the family detested, no person unattended by a keeper would cry, 'Quite right! Such a hateful diagnosis and

treatment are outside the customs or traditions of a respectable family!' This, in the main, was the attitude of Conservatives and most Liberals towards the Majority Report of Sankey's Commission. Even ladies, young and old, talked contemptuously of the Report, employing phrases taken from newspapers, together with two dogmatisms—that miners were very troublesome men indeed, and that much lower wages were the proper restorative for the coal industry. Yet a diagnosis by a Royal Commission should be brought within the domain of British fair play, if only because it may be something even more than a true diagnosis; it may prescribe for a disease in an advanced stage requiring at once a drastic treatment free from compromise. And to burke and discredit the work of a Royal Commission is to assail the people's confidence in all courts of arbitration. Even if only a small part of the Commission's advice had been put into thorough operation, a very tentative new start would have been cheering to all impartial minds, and miners would have had less to complain about; but to do nothing at all was to imply publicly that the Commissioners were either fools or liars, and therefore completely useless

Coal owners were relieved and encouraged, so they sat themselves down among venerable customs and many guinea-pig boards and began to press for lower wages, and after a bickering spell of semi-peace the coal drama took the whole nation into a long and very damaging strike, which ended in a compromise—and bad wages. Not that the wages were advertised to all the world as bad; many newspapers poured camouflage over them, with the result that few citizens in towns and in agricultural counties know anything at all about the costs imposed on coal hewers by their tools and equipment, including boots and stockings considered in relation to water in many pits and to the cutting edges of lumps of coal. Dirt carried into small, cramped rooms by colliers black as sweeps imposes other costs for soap, washing, and general cleanliness; and when work is dangerous as well as dusty and dirty there is very often, if not usually, such fatigue and thirst as produce a pining for beer, or some other drink with alcohol in it. Then there is the fact that the general purchasing value of money is still about 70 per cent. below its pre-war standard. Guided by these considerations, every elector should study the facts that the Miners' Federation have published about the gross wages that were paid before the lock-out to certain representative classes of day-wage workers, together with the reductions that coal owners announced for the first time at the end of April and miners rejected. I choose the best-paid men, the coal hewers, in Scotland, South Wales, Durham, Northumberland, and Yorkshire Deduct 7*d.* daily per man for working costs.

Scotland, 9s. 4d. a day—to be reduced to 7s. 6d.
South Wales, 9s. 9½d. a day—to be reduced to 7s. 2½d.
Durham, 9s. 8d. a day—to be reduced to 6s. 10d.
Northumberland, 10s. 4d a day—to be reduced to 7s. 7d.
Yorkshire, 10s. 7½d. a day—to be reduced to 9s. 6¾d.

A week included five and a half days when pits worked full time having enough trucks and enough trade. And consider the psychology in these figures, remembering that the spirit of man is the guidance that Providence has given to humanity for use in bad times and in good. Education influences this innate spirit, so do violent contrasts between poverty and opulence. Imagine, then, that you are a coal hewer in lucky Yorkshire, receiving gross wages of 10s. 7½d. a day; you are married and have three children, who know not from day to day whether you will be injured, or crippled, or killed; and all at once coal owners say to you and to all other coal hewers in Yorkshire: 'You are paid too much. We offer you now 9s 6¾d a day, and we intend to put up lock-out notices at the pitheads, because the subsidy granted to our industry is going to end.' Then your wife says: 'And the Government is supporting all this, and the men in it—too many of 'em—have five thousand pounds every blessed year from the country! And why didn't they do what that Commission, Sankey's, wanted done? Why? What have we to do with such hanky-panky?'

Clothe wages with flesh and nerve and blood and brain, with women, men, children; place them among the staring contrasts of industrial life; and repeat to yourself old Beaconsfield's warning. No trace of a new beginning for our stricken country has yet appeared. And that subsidy from taxpayer's money suddenly poured into the unreformed mining industry! Is there a more amazing fact in British history? To reject a Royal Commission's Report because its diagnosis and its recommendations were deemed too unfriendly to private enterprise and much too favourable towards nationalisation, only to bungle a few months later into a very bad phase of semi-nationalisation, a subsidy large enough to reach in nine months the total sum of 20,510,392*l.* sterling! Even more, to do this over a question of wages and to ward off a threatened General Strike in defence of the miners' cause! Say frankly whether W. S. Gilbert could have imagined a more astonishing skit on the carelessness of party statesmen towards industrial strife!

The subsidy once granted with approval from Parliament, the coal drama entered into a completely novel phase. No longer could any political party say without evident humbug that the drama was altogether industrial, for the subsidy made it nationally political, just as 20,500,000*l.* invested in new battleships make

naval estimates nationally political. Add this fact to another—the appointment of another Royal Commission. As Parliament had become trustees for the subsidy, the choice of Commissioners was very important to three political parties, for if the selection seemed one-sided to one of the parties, the Commission's Report might do more harm than good, like the earlier Coal Commission. On the other hand, if the selection inspired confidence in all parties, would it not have been prudent for the Government to be firm and impartial in advance towards the Commission's Report by asking Parliament, as trustees of the subsidy, to make the Report, whatever it might be, binding in its principal recommendations on the coal owners, the miners, and the nation's trustees ?

All was left vague apart from the Commission's very arduous and thankless duties, which were fulfilled with so much tact, with such impartial thought and care, that historians cannot fail to regard the Report as a model of judicial diplomacy applied to the urgent need of a new beginning. The general diagnosis confirmed the earlier Commission's verdict, but the recommendations were made deliberately less controversial, and therefore better as a foothold for British compromises to work upon—if the Report were handled at once in conformity with its text and spirit. But in this ' if ' there were many dangers. After reading the Report I made some notes for my own guidance, as follows :

' There is quite enough nationalisation and municipalisation here to be as a handful of thorns to any Conservative Government. Will it be grasped firmly and at once ? Will Parliament act as trustees immediately towards the Report as a whole ? Or will there be a general retreat into the belief that the coal drama is still wholly industrial ? Suppose the coal owners and miners, gamecocks both, are turned loose again into their old cockpit, just to fight it out, just to see whether they by a miracle can agree to accept the Report ? If this is done, will the coal owners seize upon the reference to lower wages, cling to it tenaciously, regardless of the main thing of all—thorough reorganisation ? '

None can say with truth that the ragged, contentious, nerve irritating discussions were ever brought into conformity with th Commission's Report, either before or after the lock-out notice were put up at the nation's pitheads ; and even when the Govern ment joined with the coal owners in completing the lock-out, r citizen in the country had any notion at all as to what scheme reconstruction coal owners and the Government together intend to carry through with a will. Yet the Report says emphatical that revision of wages should not be made till there ' is acceptan by all parties of such measures of reorganisation as will secure industry a new lease of prosperity leading to higher wages

and to tell intrepid miners under a lock-out threat that they must accept something intangible, something far off from a ground-plan of reconstruction, while granting large and clearly defined sacrifices, is—not cricket in negotiation, but—mere bullying folly.

Up to this point Labour's conduct, in spite of some evident mistakes of detail, had all the moral advantages: its cause was right; but its choice of a countermove against the wrongful lock-out came from embittered fatigue and a spate of cerebral agitation. To believe that the same Government would be so feeble as to yield twice to the same menace was insulting To be unjust to a whole nation because coal owners and the Cabinet had bungled over the Commission's Report was gravely immoral. To play into the hands of the coal owners' journalist supporters, inviting them to make a great ado about 'revolution,' was infantine strategy. On the other hand, if the trade unions had bound themselves to finance the mining population till the lock-out had been withdrawn and the Samuel Report had been brought into fair negotiation, such a pacific countermove against the Cabinet's folly would have centred the nation's attention firmly on the main issues A Cabinet divided into antagonistic parts—with the Prime Minister's Sybilism in one part of it, and much eighteenth-century Toryism in another—had made the Coal Drama more dangerous than ever. The eighteenth-century part declared war in the lock-out, and it was against the eighteenth-century Ministers that the General Strike was let loose.

A Cabinet all of a piece with the Prime Minister would have rejoiced to find in the Samuel Report more than enough humane and sane guidance into reconstructive discipline and generative diplomacy There would have been no burking artifice in the handling of another Royal Commission's Report. The coal owners would have been made to feel that a vast sum of the nation's money invested in their out-of-date customs had put them under control of the nation's trustees. I bring this review of the old Coal Drama down to Thursday, May 20, with the miners still locked out and firmly set in their principles. The twofold Cabinet has issued a sort of ground-plan showing unfriendly intentions towards the Samuel Report, and nothing *at present* foretells even dimly that the coal drama is going to be freed from sinister and tragic strife.

And the continued lock-out is a very peculiar thing, for it threatens to bring industries one by one to another standstill while imposing on miners and their families a choice between painful hunger and a fragment of the Royal Commission's Report. Is it thus that Beaconsfield's warning can be turned into a false alarm? Which do Conservatives wish to conserve—

bad wages or willing labour? And since our industrial country needs urgently a new beginning, wisely thorough, she is more dependent than ever on industrial toil, productive and distributive; yet efforts are being made on her behalf to buy cheap what should be most dear to her—energetic service from contented workpeople.

WALTER SHAW SPARROW.

THE GENERAL STRIKE IN HISTORY

As an idea the General Strike has a curious and significant history. First conceived in the troublous years of England's young industrial system, when the workers had still to win the elemental rights of free association and the popular suffrage, its irruption into the fully-grown economic society of the twentieth century is deserving of some study.

After the Act of 1825 bestowed the formal right of combination and collective bargaining upon both masters and men there ensued a considerable outburst of trade union activity in most industrial districts, culminating about 1830 in a short revolutionary epoch, largely inspired by the teachings of Robert Owen. Early in 1834 Owen founded what was the first attempt to establish the 'One Big Union,' now so prominent a part of the teaching of the Syndicalists. This he called the 'Grand National Consolidated Trades Unions of Great Britain and Ireland,' totalling nearly a million members, a very remarkable figure for that age No wonder the Government was seriously alarmed, especially as Owen followed the secret society model of the unions formed in the days of suppression. The Grand National aimed at a combination of all the workers in all the trades in the country. The reasons for its success being so short-lived are interesting in the light of recent happenings. It provoked immediate counter-measures, first on the part of the Government and secondly on that of the employers. The Government revived an Act of George III. to prove the illegality of its initiation ceremonies, which involved the administration of an oath. Harsh sentences were inflicted, including that upon the six Dorchester labourers—of seven years' transportation. The employers, again, were impelled to a combination for self-defence, and by a succession of lock-outs inflicted heavy sectional defeats which greatly damaged the Grand National. All idea of a successful General Strike was abandoned. The trade unions agitated fruitlessly against the Government's action, and instituted a series of strikes which ultimately ended in the collapse of the movement. In August 1834 the Grand National decided to change its name to 'The British and Foreign Consolidated Association of Industry, Humanity and Knowledge,'

to abandon all forms of secret ceremony in conformity with the law of the land, and to apply for a charter from the Government. It set aside part of its funds for the establishment of 'co-operative workshops, whereby the workers could become their own employers. Owen flamboyantly declared this change of policy to be the beginning of a new world 'in which truth, industry and knowledge will for ever reign triumphant.'

Although these grandiose schemes came to nothing, this period of trade unionism left within the body of the Labour movement the twin ideas of the revolutionary General Strike and working-class control of industry, which were not to come to full birth until the Syndicalist movement of the twentieth century. In the long interval the former has been kept alive by the Anarchists, like Bakunin, and the Socialist Communists, like Karl Marx. The latter has been largely overlaid by the doctrines of State Socialism, whereby the State is envisaged as employer and controller instead of the producer. After the collapse of Chartism in 1848 the existing structure of industrial society was accepted without question by the trade union movement, whose programme became purely reformist, being even milder than Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's 'Radical Programme' of the 'eighties The strike method, of course, was constantly in evidence, but unsupported by any social philosophy and unidentified with revolutionary intent. Social legislation, parliamentary representation, State and municipal enterprise, consumers' co-operation, and a very limited field of producers' co-operation, these exhaust the category of practical activities pursued by the leaders of British Labour. Up to a generation ago the Labour movement gave no sign of being fundamentally critical of the industrial system. Enlightened public opinion, as expressed by the Royal Commission on Labour reporting in 1894, had by then not only accepted trade unionism as a normal institution, but even regarded its intensive organisation with complacency as a potential blessing in reducing the frequency of strikes, though widening their area. The actual words of the Commission's Report read strangely now, after a Great War and a General Strike have passed into history.

> When both sides in a trade are strongly organised and in possession of considerable financial resources, a trade conflict, when it does occur, may be on a very large scale, very protracted, and very costly. But just as any modern war between any two great European States, costly though it is, seems to represent a higher state of civilisation than the incessant local fights and predatory raids which occur in times or places where Governments are less strong and centralised, so, on the whole, an occasion of great trade conflict breaking in upon years of peace seems to be preferable to continued local bickerings, stoppages of work and petty conflicts.

These are brave and tolerant words, but their ultimate [illegible] at the time they were

written. The half-century ending in 1894 comprised the entire history of trade unionism of the more modern type. The first half of the period witnessed the steady, though gradual, increase in the number of unions and their members, but without any spectacular development or fundamental change. The trade boom of the 'seventies was reflected in a remarkable growth of unionism, while the severe depression of the 'eighties brought equivalent retrogression and disaster. The last decade of the century saw the influence of collectivism assuming great power over the unions, most of their leaders having accepted the doctrines of State Socialism and parliamentary representation. The unskilled labour of the docks, the land, and elsewhere was gradually drawn within the orbit of unionism, and by 1900 the total number of trade unionists in the United Kingdom was just under two millions—still not quite 25 per cent. of the adult male manual workers. In 1920 the comparative figures were over six millions and more than 12 per cent. In eight years trade union membership actually doubled.

What, in this latter period, was happening to the strike method? The figures published by the Board of Trade do not bear out the somewhat optimistic anticipations expressed in the Royal Commission's Report quoted above. Omitting the years of the war, we find that the industrial history of this century shows an almost unbroken increase in the number of disputes beginning in each year—from 355 in 1904 to 1715 in 1920. Another remarkable fact is that the number of workers indirectly involved does not increase appreciably, while the number directly involved increases greatly, though unevenly. The total number of working days lost, while naturally more uneven still, shows huge increases for certain years, commencing with 1908, when it was 10,834,189, being nearly as great in 1910 and 1911, and no less than 40,914,675 in 1912, 34,903,000 in 1919, and 27,011,000 in 1920. From these figures certain important deductions may fairly be made. The steady growth of trade unionism has made for a more or less corresponding increase in the number of disputes and the number of workpeople directly involved, while the years of phenomenal increase in the total number of working days lost have nearly all been years showing an increased number of disputes. Curiously enough, however, the actual results of the disputes show a decided tendency towards compromise and conciliation as a method of settlement Thus we may legitimately conclude that the intensification of trade union organisation favours the increasing use of the strike method, while it also facilitates the round table solution.

In short, the General Strike seems to be the inevitable culmination of big trade unionism arrayed against big business, just

as the rival armaments and alliances of world Powers ended in the Great War. And just as the German theory of *welt-politik* supplied the militarist with his philosophy of the desired end, so there arose a philosophy of the General Strike which exercised incalculable influence upon working-class thought and organisation throughout the world, greatly assisted by the disturbing effects of the war. This creed, generally known as 'Syndicalism,' is too familiar to require general description. It is only with its relation to the General Strike policy that we are immediately concerned. The Syndicalists or revolutionary trade unionists of France have simply translated the Anarchist Communist idea of a violent political revolution into terms of industrial rebellion, in which the proletariat, by 'downing tools' and using any necessary force, would paralyse the bourgeois economic system and permanently take over its capital and functions as the fruits of victory. One set of prophets predicts the 'wildfire' form of strike, spreading rapidly from small and unplanned beginnings; the other describes a declaration of industrial war following upon elaborate strategic preparations. The extreme theorists of the French school regard the General Strike as an inspiring 'myth' to keep the workers to the highest pitch of enthusiasm and courage. These we may dismiss and address ourselves to the more important matter of the practicability of the various forms of General Strike advocated and, in some cases, effected in recent years.

The General Strike against war, so frequently debated by Trade Union and Socialist Congresses during the last half-century, need not detain us The outbreak of the Great War found the degree of international solidarity attained by Labour utterly inadequate to such a demonstration, and the various revolutions and counter-revolutions of the post-war period have exposed the same lack of unity. The meagre support afforded to the British strikers by foreign trade unions a few weeks ago points in the same direction.

The so-called 'political' General Strike brings us at last into the sphere of actuality. Its aim is to compel the State, embodied in the Government, to effect some specific political reform. It is therefore not at all revolutionary in principle or objective. Belgium has witnessed three cases of this type of General Strike within the last three decades, all of them aiming at franchise reform. The first won considerable success, for it had the advantage of strategic surprise and novelty, and greatly alarmed the bourgeoisie. The second was a failure, largely owing to the lack of these advantages. The third strike, in 1913, produced [illegible] reforms but rather because public opinion was more or [illegible] fear inspired by

the strike or due to economic paralysis which it temporarily occasioned. A similar strike in Sweden in 1902 succeeded in its limited aim, the withdrawal of a Government Bill, but it may be classed with all such strikes as a political mass demonstration to secure a certain immediate end of a non-material and non-economic character.

The border-line between the political and the economic General Strike is often hard to define. The General Strike in Holland in 1903 aimed at preventing the passing of anti-strike legislation in regard to the public services Its complete failure bears no particular lesson for us. Very different, however, is the case of the famous Swedish strike of 1909, though even here deduction may prove too dangerously tempting. The main points that emerge are the intensity and closeness of the organisations of both Capital and Labour in Sweden, the limited industrialism of the country as compared with the agrarian population, the intimate relation between the Socialist Party and the trade unions, the entire absence of violence, the prohibition of the sale of alcohol, and the firm and skilful handling of the situation by the Government. The dispute was almost purely over wages in various trades. A series of local strikes and lock-outs, followed by unsuccessful Government arbitration, ended in a general lock-out being anticipated by the declaration of a General Strike. Various trades supplying essential services were expressly excepted, as in the recent British strike. All efforts to induce the farm labourers to join the strike were unsuccessful—a serious matter to the unions, since the agricultural labourers of Sweden number three times the industrial workers. Volunteers, therefore, came from every quarter, and, after the first temporary shock to economic life, a week saw the country assuming an almost normal appearance. The most vital lesson of the Swedish strike seems to me to be its demonstration of the supreme importance of the arithmetical relation between the non-industrial and the industrial classes in a General Strike The greater the disparity in favour of the agrarian and bourgeois classes, the more doubtful of success a General Strike becomes. A few years ago such a strike in New Zealand was wholly defeated by the mobilisation of the farming-class as volunteers.

Another obvious guiding principle is the national temperament and character of the people involved. The trade unions of Latin countries are notoriously liable to sudden strikes and violent methods, with more or less declared revolutionary aims. The Latin temperament, impatient of the painful effort entailed by steady organisation, follows its instinctive impulses towards revolutionary action without calculation of the results. Such a movement occurred in Italy in 1904 in resistance to the Govern-

ment use of troops against strikers, with some fatal results. The revolutionary outbreaks of Italian Labour after the war ended in the characteristically Latin reaction of Fascismo. The extreme form of such outbreaks is seen in Spain, where they are very common and have no deeper significance than minor political revolutions, registering themselves in no permanent changes. At the other extreme lies the German trade union movement, to which the General Strike policy has never made much appeal. Most mixed in character have been the French attempts at General Strikes. From 1909 up to the outbreak of war various partial strikes which took place had assumed a somewhat alarming character. The French railway strike of 1910 led to the General Federation of Labour (the C.G T.) declaring a General Strike. This was met by the celebrated mobilisation order of M. Briand, which put a sensational end to what had developed into a revolutionary movement from being a purely industrial dispute. Again a typically Latin course of events.

To return to the evolution of the General Strike conception and practice in Great Britain. A whole web of influences is concerned in the peculiar British development of the policy. As an idea it seems to have first found theoretical expression on the Clyde in 1905, in a more or less close copy of the theories of French Syndicalism and the American I.W.W. In 1912 a pamphlet was published in South Wales called 'The Miners' Next Step,' advocating a General Strike as the instrument of revolution, whereby the control of industry could be wrested from the bourgeoisie and placed in the hands of the industrial workers. In the interval between those years the main developments in trade union structure had been towards industrial unionism as against craft unionism, involving large masses of unskilled workers, or alternatively a number of sectional trades in a single large industry, such as the railways and the mines. Thus have arisen the great industrial federations, like those constituting the Triple Alliance formed just before the war—railwaymen, miners, and transport workers. This alliance, as everybody knows, failed to hold together in face of a crucial test of its renewed unity after the war.

But the movement towards unified action persisted unchecked, partly as the endeavour to bring about some form of general combination, and also as a search for a form of control of the whole trade union movement which could ensure the necessary discipline to order and effect united action in any crisis. The latter objective was consummated in a way little understood by the general public, to whom it meant so much. The main bodies of the British Labour movement are the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party, and the General Federation of Trade Unions. The ... to accomplish a Labour combine of

national scope, but it has degenerated into an uninfluential body charged with the task of maintaining funds for ensuring the weaker unions against the entire depletion of their strike funds. The Labour Party is entirely political and parliamentary, but it has preserved until recently a curious relationship with the Trade Union Congress through the latter's Parliamentary Committee. This Committee was presumed to be the guardian of the political interests of the Labour movement, but it was, in action, independent of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party.

The railway strike of 1919 brought together a body of trade union leaders expressly assembled to negotiate more effectually with the Government. The Parliamentary Committee was now led to present to the special Trade Union Congress in December, 1919, a report in which the need for something like the long-discussed 'General Staff' for Labour was suggested. The special Congress actually resolved :

> That in view of the imperative need and demand for a central co-ordinating body representative of the whole trade union movement, and capable of efficiently dealing with industrial questions of national importance, the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to revise the standing orders of Congress in such a manner as is necessary to secure the following changes in the functions and duties of the executive body elected by Congress —
>
> (1) To substitute for the Parliamentary Committee, Trades Union Congress, a General Council to be elected annually by Congress.
> (2) To prepare a scheme determining the position and methods of election of the General Council
> (3) To make arrangements for the development of administrative departments in the office of the General Council in the direction of securing the necessary officials, staff and equipment to secure an efficient trade union centre.

The Congress which met in September 1920 made the necessary arrangements which finally gave effect to this resolution In the meantime there had come into existence, with something like a sensation, the 'Council of Action,' whose main objective was the stoppage of the war of intervention against Soviet Russia, the resumption of full commercial relations with Russia, and *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government. The fifteen members of this Council were appointed by the Parliamentary Committee of Congress, the executive of the Labour Party, and the parliamentary Labour Party. The Council summoned a National Conference of the existing executives of all unions which were members of the Congress or the Labour Party. This action undoubtedly facilitated the ratification by the Trade Union Congress a month later of the main outlines of the scheme for a General Council. In place of the Parliamentary Committee, a General Council of thirty-two was decided upon, representative of eighteen industrial

groups, including women's unions, who were to be represented by two women.

It is doubtful whether the parliamentary Labour Party realised the full significance of this fundamental change in the method of directing the policy of the movement. Labour M.P.'s from now onwards could constitute but a fraction of the new body of control. Those who were trade union officials could be fairly sure of election by their group, but any others could only attend the Council meetings by invitation. There is no doubt that the decision to call a General Strike last month was rendered possible chiefly owing to the strong industrial complexion of the General Council. And the reassertion of moderate counsels almost as certainly came from the Labour politicians whose influence the formation of the Council had so greatly diluted.

We return, then, to our thesis that the General Strike was implicit in the growth of large-scale trade unionism, and the inevitable result of big industrial organisation developed in the atmosphere of the theory of the class war. It remains to be seen whether the clear lessons indicated by the various failures of the method will be fully taken to heart The foregoing account has shown how much the application of the method may vary according to national history and temperament, the immediate motive of the strike, the manner of its conduct and development, and the state of public opinion on the issues raised. As a lightning mass demonstration with a particularised objective it has possibilities in certain countries. As a purely revolutionary method, aiming at a fundamental reorganisation of the State, it has no future—except possibly in circumstances of an unbelievable reaction towards mass misery. And even then highly organised States like Germany and oligarchies like Soviet Russia have shown themselves easily capable of successful suppression. The orderliness of the Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, and Scandinavian national characters tells as strongly against the success of the General Strike as a political and economic method of reform and revolution as does the disorderly Latin or Russian temperament by reason of the stern reactions it provokes.

The question as to whether the recent British strike was political or economic in character may easily mislead us into a too academic discussion. One of the advocates of the General Strike method, Mr. Gerald Gould, has written that 'what it is necessary to remember is that what a strike develops into does not wholly depend on what it starts from: the distinction between the industrial and the political strike is largely illusory.' What was very notable in this strike was the extreme anxiety of the [illegible] refute the statement that it was revolutionary or anti- [illegible] intended by the

leaders may be taken for granted, but it is equally certain that it must inevitably become so from the very nature of the practical process which it involves. Constitutional government cannot but resist it. As commonly happens in wars, the immediate cause tends to be forgotten in the events that crowd into the foreground of the struggle. Still worse, the aftermath of a strike on such a scale almost always presents far more difficulties and problems than the original cause. However ethical the motive with which it may commence, it is bound to develop an atmosphere charged with unethical ideas and passion-fed prejudices Further, the process of resumption of work is bound to be marked by vexatious disputes about 'victimisation' and the unavoidable unemployment of a certain percentage of men. Such controversies must be greatly intensified when a general strike involves, as was recently the case, deliberate breaches of contracts and agreements by large numbers of trade unionists

We may conclude that modern industrialism, by the identical processes which have made the General Strike possible, has rendered it incapable of any considerable success. A highly disciplined and well-organised nation at once determines what it can do without for the time being, recruits and trains armies of volunteers with little difficulty to run essential portions of the industrial mechanism, and having once improvised such a 'spare' organisation, regards every repetition of the emergency with increased assurance. The recent strike exhibited very clearly how readily an industrial civilisation offers compensations and substitutes for the temporary loss of any of its functioning parts. The partial extinction of the Press was largely compensated for by the use of broadcasting. Oil-driven vehicles took the place of coal transport to an extraordinary degree, private cars and aeroplanes playing a very large part. All such developments are bound to be greater, not less, in any future struggle. The Government's expressed intention of enquiring into the best means of making permanent such an anti-strike organisation clearly shows what is likely to happen in future. Moreover, even if a general strike were to last any length of time, from its very nature the General Council of the Trades Union Congress would be compelled to make the public, including themselves, suffer the utmost possible loss in the endeavour to secure victory. The Government, by the same token, must always appear as the saviour of the public, resisting a *régime* of force. The fact that such successful resistance could be made by so preponderantly an industrial nation as the British, in which the non-manual workers are in a great minority, makes the future prospects of the General Strike method very unpromising. On the other hand, the remarkable solidarity

exhibited by the millions of trade unionists involved suggests the appearance in our national life of an extraordinary power, which may be turned to the nation's advantage if it can be persuaded to constructive uses. If the intelligence, the experience and the organisation accumulated by generations of trade unions can be directed into channels of industrial co-operation, and away from the illusions of violence and upheaval, the late General Strike may not altogether be reckoned a calamity.

MEREDITH ATKINSON.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE WORKSHOP

IT was through coming in contact with scientific management in modern engineering industry that I was led to take both a practical and theoretical interest in that new branch of applied science, industrial psychology. The stresses and strains involved in 'bonus systems,' 'motion study' and 'speeding up' caused me to approach industrial psychology in the spirit of a sick man who goes to a doctor for relief, though I had grave doubts of the efficacy of the cure

After being part of the efficiency expert's raw material for several years, I made an intensive study of the subject. Presenting certain conclusions on mass production in the *Hibbert Journal* (April 1925), I was invited to the Annual Conference of the Institute of Industrial Welfare Workers, where Mr C M Lloyd, of the London School of Economics, took my article as the text for his address on 'Machines and Men' In the subsequent discussion, Professor Myers, Director of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, gave it as his opinion that we are only in a transition period of the Industrial Revolution, and that all monotonous and degrading work will be eliminated with the growing perfection of industrial technique and human power of adjustment. This is a decidedly optimistic view, for it is far easier to wipe out monotony on paper or in speeches than in actual production. But in his recent book, *Industrial Psychology in Great Britain*, Professor Myers shows what immense strides have been made from the days of the crude 'efficiency expert' who worked on purely mechanical lines.

It seems necessary at the present stage for those who combine practical and theoretical knowledge of industry to act as liaison officers between the purely professorial element and the rule-of-thumb engineering experts. We must relate the facts of experience to modern thought. Approaching the subject in this spirit, I find it a matter of satisfaction that Professor Myers concedes so much to those who have opposed earlier systems of speeding up and mass production. All who have felt the intolerable irksomeness of these systems have been under the imputation of building up a purely emotional, sentimental case against efficiency. But

here we have the leading expert in industrial psychology admitting —even asserting—that the workshop case against the famous Taylor system and its many imitators is based on scientific grounds.

The main principles of the Taylor system were few and simple. It took the fastest worker and induced him to set the pace for the rest. It aimed at separating all thought and initiative from the workshop. The expert taught the workman a series of rapid motions which he had to reproduce without variation. All personal differences, considerations of individual adjustment, were ignored. The system worked on precisely the same principle as is used in gearing up a row of similar machines to the speed required. But every workman knows that even machines, without consciousness or feeling, must be 'humoured,' and that a man who is familiar with a particular machine can get it to go and do good work while another man may have nothing but trouble. Every machine has its strong and weak points and responds to the coaxing of the man who understands it. How much more then is a rigid uniformity impossible for human beings! The Taylor system takes no notice of varying conditions of health and industrial equipment, which may be widely different in the same shop. It is significant that Professor Myers maintains that there is no 'one best way' of doing things, for this idea is the corner-stone of the school of efficiency engineers headed by Taylor and Gilbreth

It is now being recognised that no two people can be trained to act in precisely the same way without waste of energy. The quickest movements are often the most fatiguing. Sharp, angular movements, which seem to be the best, often do not allow for recovery of energy and for rhythm of stroke, which sweeping circular movements permit. To standardise the stroke of one man may increase the effort and reduce the efficiency of the rest In the world of industry the same principles apply as in the larger world of life. The utilitarian school argued that society could be put together with a set of mechanical principles justified by abstract reason. Bentham even devised a model prison on these lines, and the method is really suitable for nothing else, though the factory run on 'scientific management' ideas often bears a striking resemblance to a gaol. Burke, in his political philosophy, advanced the far sounder principle of growth, and it is undoubtedly true that just as many of our social customs persist, although apparently they have no reasonable basis, because they harmonise with human nature, so in industry many of the methods which make the efficiency engineer furious have a similar justification. To recognise this is not to erect a barrier against further industrial -- but it is to make sure that industrial progress is really

The National Institute, we are told, believes in teaching the operative to avoid bad habits of work and then leaving him to adjust himself to his task. One danger is that this elimination of bad habits may be carried out as rigidly as the older methods that are condemned. Where the Taylor expert instructed the worker what to do, the new industrial psychologist tells him what to avoid, and many employers, I am afraid, are not likely to discriminate very nicely or to accept the reservations urged by Professor Myers. However, the new spirit of industrial psychology is an advance and confirms the instinctive opposition of the worker to dehumanising methods. So far from the mass of men having a sloppy preference for inefficiency, it is true, as our expert says:

> If only the mental attitude in a factory be right, the workers will set their own standard of output, and as the majority of mankind when placed under just conditions is honest and honourable, that standard will prove in the long run to be satisfactory

In accepting the factory conditions as the kernel of the matter, we must go on to find out what are the workshop troubles How can we diagnose them? It is easy to make a list—monotony, drabness, overstrain, ugliness, lack of interesting work, routine. These, connected and interdependent as they are, form the indictment brought against the workshop to-day. The indictment is not exaggerated You have only to look at the dull faces of the 'hands' in any predominantly industrial town to see that they suffer from drabness, monotony, routine A measure of monotony is involved in the lives of most people, but we should be concerned to lessen it whenever it becomes excessive. The public-house, always thronged in a dingy factory district, the football field, where thousands give brazen tongue to their desire for excitement, even strikes, are turned to as a relief. No one who has been, as I have, in a workshop where that sense of exaltation, solidarity, power and expectancy called strike feeling has swept through the works can doubt that it is partly a psychological reaction against the staleness and boredom of mechanical routine.

But in considering monotonous work we must be careful to distinguish between different types of mind. There are men to whom monotony is a pleasure, who will do anything to avoid the 'intolerable burden of thought'; there are others who turn to monotonous jobs as a relief after highly concentrated mental effort. What I have always found most irritating has been monotonous work that requires constant close attention because of speeding up. To be kept at the point of extreme tension on work of a simple repetition character and not to be able to relax for a moment, means exhaustion and frayed nerves—the worker is like a dog at the end of a short chain, confined to a tiny radius, and always being pulled up with a jerk I believe this evil is felt

acutely by many. It is galling to have to fix eyes, mind and muscle for hours on work that is not really sufficient to occupy the mind. I do not make the mistake of asserting that conscious revolt against monotony is general. This would be to repeat the blunder of those who wish to impose a uniform standard for everyone. But many who have reconciled themselves to it have done so at the expense of possibilities of development.

To some the whole problem appears to be merely a question of giving men the opportunity of doing work for which they are fitted, of seeing that round pegs are not inserted in square holes But if we observe that many of the pegs are round while the holes are nearly all square, there is, I believe, a case for altering the shape of the holes. To speak plainly, the jobs should be altered to fit the people instead of the people being made to suit the jobs. Superficially at least, the trouble often is that men fit too well They require change, variety. An overdose of monotony is harmful except perhaps for the dullest of men. William James, the American psychologist, has written that 'habit is the great flywheel of human society which keeps everything running' But the capacity to go forward, to be curious about new ways, is equally useful and human Habit is a good servant, but a poor master. And if routine kills or crushes interest in the new and strange, then the human being suffers as a flower would do if deprived of the sun. It might survive, but it would be stunted and sickly, and that is what happens to many men, mentally and physically, to-day.

Fortunately the advocates of variety in work have now passed beyond the theoretical stage. In Henry Ford's American works there is a Work Change Bureau, which is extensively used to prevent routine from getting on the worker's nerves. It is a line of development possible in all forms of industry, and the fact that it is associated with the name of Henry Ford indicates that it is commercially sound. Although I do not for a moment accept the view that every improvement in industry must be judged by the sole criterion of increased production, yet even from a business standpoint this change may be justified. The contrary argument is that specialisation and repetition is the quickest and most up-to-date method, and for men to change their work might introduce an element of confusion and clumsiness into production There may be something in this case, but very little. Good organisation should cope with that problem. I have known men in the workshop plan out their work so that when they are tired of one operation they can turn to another, and the variety often renews their vigour and leads to an extra spurt. The same ... gained in this way as by 'rest pauses,' which are ... of fatigue. It

may even be that just as old-fashioned employers argued that long hours were best until finally routed by figures showing increased production with shorter hours, so an efficiently arranged variety may not only fail to injure production, but may actually increase it.

That some would like to intensify the monotony of work is evident from the memorandum published in 1918 by the British Health of Munition Workers Committee, which states (p. 120):

> If the workers would consent to it, it would be a good plan to induce temporary deafness by plugging the ears, and so shut out the noise of the machinery, . . . it would be of value to shut out the sound of surrounding objects by separating the lathes or other machines from one another by partitions. The worker left to himself, without sounds or sights to distract his attention, could then concentrate himself entirely on the work in hand. . . . However, these conditions are mentioned only as an ideal which should be aimed at wherever possible.

In sharp contrast with this amiable idealism are the results of an inquiry by a member of the Institute of Welfare Workers reported in *Welfare Work* (March 1926). Several firms were approached, and in one case only was it found that a definite rule existed against singing and talking at work. A large engineering firm reported: 'So far from hindering work, we find the jollity and good spirits engendered are a distinct aid to output.' The statement from another firm reads: 'My own opinion is that singing tends to increase output.' A similar report comes from a chocolate factory. Another, speaking of war-time strain, says:

> . . . It seems to be the usual thing to sing when working overtime, as the workers find it helps the work on and cheers them up And, indeed, singing to the rhythmic beat of machinery sounds very well. I have vivid recollections of *When Irish Eyes are Smiling* on night duty during the war. . . . I do think that something to occupy the mind when doing such work is far more likely to help it than to hinder it

My own experience when I have heard a burst of song from a row of workers, with the engine pounding and the machines rattling, is that it helps them to relieve the tedium and to get the work done with a swing.

Modern opinion and modern practice, on the whole, seem against the rigid silence rule, though the signatories to the memorandum I have quoted would probably like to go back to the time, mentioned by Dame Adelaide Anderson in her book *Women in the Factory*, when fines were imposed for laughing or even sneezing at work. As late as 1921, we learn from the same book, the appeal of two girls who were fined for singing and dancing in the workroom during the dinner-hour was dismissed by the High Courts. The return of such days can happily only be thought of 'as an ideal.'

Ugliness is a factor in industrial life mentioned more rarely

than monotony. Yet it is very important. Industrial workers become so much inured to it that they are supposed not to mind. Probably not many do take conscious notice of the hideous rawness of industrial towns and plants. But surely a workroom which is an eyesore intensifies monotony and weariness. During the air raids, in the early days of the war, I was working in a shop the windows of which were daubed with a dingy drab-coloured paint to prevent the light shining through. The result was that even when the sun shone the room was dismal. We worked as if in a horribly depressing fog every day, and that did not make for better production or a better spirit in the workshop. And much of the ugliness has not even national emergency to excuse it.

Some architectural beauty, not so much in the direction of ornament—as in William Morris' dream of a factory—but of simple fitness, is required. There are workshops that possess a dignity as of a Brangwyn drawing; others are just ramshackle corrugated iron makeshifts or concrete horrors. As a rule the fact that workers spend most of their waking hours within is not considered. I know of one, a big house converted into a shop, where the windows along the side were nailed up because of complaints of noise from a row of houses near by, with the result that in summer the place was like an oven. Frequently the works entrance is only reached after stumbling down a broken, muddy path which is churned into a quagmire by many feet. Yet the office entrance is comparatively well kept.

It is a psychological truth that aggressive over-assertion is the result of an imposed submission to unlovely, degrading conditions which inevitably produce a reaction. The industrial rebel, in his wildest and fiercest mood, is kicking against being ironed out flat. He over-asserts his individuality because of the assaults made upon it, and the seeds of bitter resentment are sown by bad conditions.

Many who are distressed at the worker's insensitiveness to beauty over such matters as the proposed destruction of Waterloo Bridge do not consider how he has been broken in to ugliness in his daily life nor what a black misery the factory and the factory town are to the industrial worker who loves beauty. But the 'practical man' dismisses all that with a shrug. 'What connection has production with beauty?' he asks scornfully. What, indeed? But if the question is put as to whether men live, develop, and work best in conditions of beauty or ugliness, the answer is clear. Something in the normal mind demands that the eyes should rest with satisfaction on at least some of the features of everyday life, and if this is not possible there is a lack of health, [illegible] balance of joy. If considered only as a neutralising factor in [illegible] drab in industry,

beauty would repay attention. So far only a few firms, such as Cadbury's and Lever's, have troubled about this. But, taken from the narrowest business standpoint, one would imagine that anything which diminished surly discontent and listlessness would be welcomed. From a wider perspective, ugliness in industry should be condemned as a degradation of the general taste.

The factory 'hand' is the modern Prometheus, bound fast to the iron machine, a prey to forces that are daily attacking his vitality and undermining his self-respect. With the growth of huge industrial plants the individual becomes more insignificant and is lost amid those massive forces which he manipulates or which manipulate him His helplessness and unimportance are intensified by the ever-growing departmentalism of work. As the machines are constructed to turn out a succession of parts each exactly like the others, so the operative is confined to his petty task, and standard men as well as standard goods are produced.

It is no wonder that the invariable comment when the leaving-off hooter sounds is, 'That's the one I've been waiting for all day!' In the mornings, when the starting signal is given, they mutter, 'Roll on, the second one!' Every day they look forward to the end of so many hours of life. Such an attitude towards work cannot embody the final wisdom of the ages.

Humanity is ever responsive to the lure of words, and one has only to speak of 'Efficiency' and 'Progress' to win assent, particularly among those who claim to be hard-headed and practical. But it is all a question of the direction in which progress is made and the purpose of the efficiency We can make cheap mouse-traps, but in doing so we trap men like mice. We have wonderful machines that go with clockwork precision, and we have clockwork men to mind them. Since the industrial psychologists have busied themselves sorting out instincts and labelling such complexities of being as do not elude them, it is small wonder that we are discovering that personality gets little chance of healthy development in industry. Many of these scientific investigators have helped to intensify the problem, for all their thought has been given to piling up the burden, and when men have flared out in revolt against such treatment we have been asked to execrate them as villainous opponents of industrial progress. Now at last industrial psychologists are telling us that people are quite right to object to joyless drudgery. It seems like Satan rebuking sin, but it is only science bowing to common-sense.

In education we have long had the conflict between supporters of the purely vocational idea and those who regard each pupil not as a means to an end, but as an end in himself. In industry there

is the same division of opinion. Young people are flung into industry at a malleable period, and their personalities are squeezed out. Even when they go to evening classes they are often too tired or too dispirited to benefit much. They take the complex of failure in with them. Dragged from school at the beginning of their education, they are immediately subjected to an enormously increased strain without help or guidance. The industrial psychologist should help these young people to avoid employment which is unsuited to them and should call attention to their further needs. But the social value of vocational and intelligence tests is still doubtful.

The problem of status must also be borne in mind when we discuss industrial evils. If a worker is convinced that he is doing something important and that he really does count, he is far happier than if he is regarded as an animated screw. I have seen men made miserable for the day by abrupt foremen and managers, and this quite apart from any material consideration. In the workshop the worker has a craving to be on a human footing. It is difficult in these days of mechanical production to satisfy that craving, but it is worth while making an effort to do so. Rigid upholders of 'managerial rights' refuse to see that the more they depress the status of the worker and make of him a being apart, the more they drive him to lose all interest in the work. The sound psychological plan is to enlist his co-operation, and this, by giving him a larger orbit of interests, helps to correct the drab routine of factory life.

Our problem, briefly, comes to this. To gain satisfaction the workman requires expression for his personality in industry. But while in handicraft many instincts, including the instinct of workmanship, could be brought into play and the man could be interested and absorbed in his work, to-day machine production makes for a very limited and one-sided expression. We have to reinforce industrial shortcomings with anything that will give opportunity for the working out of those instinctive tendencies which crave an outlet, and, not finding one, make men warped and miserable. We must infuse into that environment by means of beauty, variety, improved status, those elements that are needed and which the worker lacks.

To give him new tasks to accomplish with his hands, new surroundings upon which his eyes can rest with satisfaction, and a new status around which his mind can play and develop, would go far to solve the human side of the industrial problem.

R. M. FOX

THE LOST LEADER

A HUNDRED years hence, if history is still being written, the enigmatic figure of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will perplex and momentarily embarrass the annalist of this troubled twentieth century. A page or so will sufficiently describe the stern rectitude and stark financial conservatism of Mr. Philip Snowden A short paragraph will probably satisfy the legitimate curiosity of most readers as to the ponderous respectability of Mr. Arthur Henderson. A line or so apiece will sum up the Lansburys and Kirkwoods. A large footnote or a small appendix will accommodate the contingent of converts or refugees—Buxtons and Ponsonbys—*who came in, like other empty bottles, with the tide.* But the personality and policy of the first Labour Prime Minister will deserve, and obtain, the same full-length treatment which controversialists once devoted to Cranmer, the same curious scrutiny which critics once accorded to the Letters of Junius, the same detailed observation which patient astronomers now give to the baffling orbit of a variable star.

This amplitude of attention will no doubt be partly due to the fact that Mr. MacDonald was the first of his party to sleep in Downing Street. But it will only be partly due to that. Many great men have held great positions with distinction and been almost completely forgotten ten years after the monumental mason assured the world of their immortal memory. Many a lesser man attracts and excites our interest long after his career is ended if there is some mystery about his motives, some divagation in his policy, some concealed turning of the mind or of good or evil fortune which baffles direct analysis. The rule applies to the giants as well as the dwarfs of history. Serious students will sometimes dismiss Cromwell in one bare sentence to dispute a whole evening about Titus Oates or the Man in the Iron Mask. Grave scholars read the ignoble memoirs of Barère who would never open a volume of the stately Bossuet And it is to be feared that many a casual reader could more easily stand examination in the biography of Benedick Arnold than in the speeches and strategy of George Washington.

This, after all, is only human nature; we all love a mystery.

Lord Darling, for example, has pronounced some very sound sentences and published some very bad stories. It is true that only the guilty ever feared his punishments, whereas the innocent with one accord flee before his prose. But the mystery why one of the best judges should aspire to be one of the worst journalists of the day has puzzled every literary critic from Blackfriars to Bayswater, and may yet assure him a place in the anthologies which assuredly he would never otherwise have earned.

It is very much the same with the Labour Party. Competent critics have declared that Mr. Sidney Webb is a greater intellectual force than Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. But only the most serious students, those unhappy fakirs whom the London School of Economics condemns to its most rigorous austerities, ever attempt a complete course of Mr. Webb, whereas most responsible newspapers give a nearly verbatim report of Mr. MacDonald. Yet Mr. Webb is, for a theorist, extraordinarily clear. Mr. MacDonald is, for a practical politician, extraordinarily obscure.

These things, no doubt, will puzzle the historian, and cause him to search the files and records of our time with the same diligence that Huxley once devoted to the Christian Fathers, and the same patience that admirers of Bacon now lavish on the works of Shakespeare. But although the enigma of character is elusive, it is not ultimately insoluble.

The more superficial aspects of Mr. MacDonald's character can indeed be readily delineated from those contemporary memoirs which it is the fashion of the day to publish almost before the ink is dry on the private diaries. A man of some personal charm who is not altogether insensible to social occasions can hardly fail to make some friends in twenty years in London. A politician of fine presence, with a good voice and a ready but not too ready flow of adequate English, can hardly fail to make some mark in twenty years in the House of Commons. And a man who leads a new party from the obscurity of the back benches in which Keir Hardie left it to place, if not to power, on the right hand of the Speaker, is assured of at least some personal attention from his political opponents, and, if he cares to exercise it, at least some personal authority over his political followers.

Yet, with all this, our hypothetical historian would realise that he had only touched the shell, but not examined the soul, of the man he was describing. He would be conscious of a more than mediocre ability, and a more than average ambition. But he would also feel rather than see that beneath this equipment, which was sufficient to carry his subject from obscurity, if not actual poverty, to the great position of Prime Minister, there [illegible] concealed weakness, some flaw in the invisible [illegible] MacDonald of the

right to rank with the greater figures of contemporary English politics.

In the attempt to trace this hidden defect he would note, but almost certainly excuse, the occasional irresolution and uncertainty of course which marked the leader of the small Labour Party in the Asquith Parliament. A Parnell would possibly have done more; a Campbell-Bannerman would probably have done less. He would admit, but certainly allow for, the peculiar difficulty in which Mr. MacDonald's erroneous conception of European politics placed him with his colleagues during the war. A Fox would probably have done more, a John Burns certainly much less. He would recognise, and easily account for, the sudden recovery and the spectacular triumph in the post-war years. He would observe, but explain on the ground of inexperience, the signs of incomplete mastery in the early months of the first Labour Government, but he would also be conscious of the curious paradox that as experience grew assurance declined, until finally the Prime Minister found himself committed to a prosecution that he could not defend to his friends, a Russian agreement that he could not defend to his opponents, and a Daimler that he could not defend to his constituents.

These things would puzzle and disconcert our impartial historian But in bad storms there often comes a flash of lightning which throws into sharp relief obscure details of the landscape not visible by ordinary daylight. It is the same in sudden crises of the State. In quiet times a party leader may spend a whole political life at Westminster with little more sense of danger or adventure than a draper selling socks behind his counter. But when the atmosphere becomes disturbed, when passions rise and wills conflict, men are tried high, and only the strong survive. Grave crises compel grave decisions, the pitiless glare which beats on statesmen in responsible positions lights up those dark places which are ordinarily concealed or at most suspected, and the real nakedness of the soul is revealed. Circumstance has now applied this test to Mr. MacDonald.

On May Day 1926 he was present at a meeting of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, and at that meeting, by a unanimous vote of that Council, the General Strike was decided on. This was followed by speeches and the ceremonial singing of the *Red Flag*.

Two days later, in a public speech, Mr. MacDonald said: 'I don't like general strikes. I haven't changed my opinion I have said so in the House of Commons. I don't like it; honestly I don't like it. But honestly what can be done?'

This is not the glad, confident note of the man who prepares to go to war in a just cause. It is the timorous shrill pipe of the

man who is dismayed by his own action and compelled to justify it. He is still a leader in the sense that the man who is pushed from behind is physically ahead of his followers. But in no other sense, either moral or intellectual, did he lead the Labour army at that moment.

The truth is that he believed neither in the method nor the means, but had not the pluck to say so. He knew that the method was disastrous and the means futile, and that it was his duty to stand firm and resist. But in the supreme crisis his heart failed him, and he sold his soul for the titular leadership of a party that ignored him.

Many of his colleagues in that decision were ignorant but innocent men. A few were indeed sinister figures working for ulterior ends; but the large majority, whether governed by phrases or overborne by emotion, looked on a General Strike as a means of assisting the miners, as a sympathetic strike on a large scale, and as a means of impressing the country with the solidarity of Labour and the legitimacy of its demand for a place in the sun Mr MacDonald was neither sinister nor simple—merely supine

These may seem strong words. But they are easily proved out of his own mouth Mr MacDonald, older and more experienced than most of his associates, knew better than they, for he had already studied the strategy and tactics of the Labour movement in all parts of the world He had defined the difference between Socialism and Syndicalism, explored the rival beliefs in political and industrial action, and expressed his deliberate and considered opinion at leisure His *credo* and condemnation, like his action, are on record Let us contrast the two.

In a little book entitled *Syndicalism*, published in 1912, Mr MacDonald states that 'The General Strike is not a weapon of reform, a means of raising wages or of improving conditions, like the ordinary strike such as we know it.' He recognises explicitly that it is the doctrine of class war in action, and as such he opposes it. How complete and thorough-going was that opposition will now appear.

Mr. MacDonald is first concerned to define his general conception of society as neither a dualism nor an anarchy, but a unit. His statement is clear and explicit ·

> Society is a unity of conflicting interests These interests can, in imagination, be abstracted from their setting, and a pretty drama of irreconcilable opposition can be constructed in consequence But that is not life In their vital relationships they are joined in a unity of social interdependence The unity is imperfect, it is clumsy, it is maintained extravagantly and at the cost of an enormous waste of energy. It can be made more harmonious and economical both as regards wealth and as [illegible] project of social reconstruction which founds itself [illegible] not with those of

class conflict, because the former is the predominant fact in society. The conflict is like the pattern on a web of cloth; it is not the stuff itself, it is the manipulation of the stuff. Society is the web—the stuff itself.

Society, then, is a unit—albeit an imperfect unit; its natural method of progress is evolution, not revolution. But the Syndicalist who believes in the class war is 'frankly a revolutionist, even if he tells you that he does not believe in force.' His methods are simple, and Mr MacDonald now proceeds to show that he disapproves of them root and branch:

The special and characteristic method by which the Syndicalist hopes to achieve his purpose is the General Strike. He is organising and uniting Labour with a view to getting Labour to lay down its tools one fine day, go out into the market-places with its hands in its pockets and listen to the busy hum of society cease. From the silence of this death, he believes, the voice of a new life will arise.

This is a fair and accurate statement of the underlying Syndicalist philosophy as it has been sketched in theory and from time to time attempted in practice by its advocates. There follows a detailed analysis of the place of the General Strike in the Syndicalist hypothesis:

The General Strike can be declared for two purposes. It can be used to secure some specific demand—say an extension of the franchise, the resignation of a Government, or the defeat of a war party, if used for political purposes, as it well may be, or increased wages or any other trade union claim if used only for industrial purposes; or it can be used to make revolutionary changes in social relations. It may succeed in the first two instances; it never can in the third. In the first instances everybody understands its purpose, and in the nature of things, before the strike can be successfully declared, the grievance which it is aimed to remove must have become intolerable. As a last resort, as a *coup-de-grâce*, it may be justifiable, and need not be unsuccessful.

It will be noticed that Mr MacDonald here contradicts himself. Previously he had stated that the 'General Strike was not a means of raising wages'; he now declares that it 'can be used' for that purpose, and 'need not be unsuccessful.' But more important than this confusion of phrase or thought is the admission that it may be used for a political purpose, to secure the resignation of the Government; and here, too, he allows that it may conceivably be justifiable—always provided it is not used by the minority in order to make revolutionary changes in the social structure of the majority, in which case it is bound, in his opinion, to fail.

He does not explain in what way it can be used other than by a minority, for a majority, in a country with effective parliamentary institutions, would not need to resort to it. But this particular omission was perhaps accidental, and the general proposition and condemnation remain clear.

When the aim is a social revolution, however, the case is quite different. There is no definite conception in the minds of even the moral [*sic*] minority—to say nothing of the victimised passive majority—as to what the social revolution is to be, what it is to do exactly. It is no goal, it is an idea. The forces fighting for it can, therefore, have no real coherence, because they can have no definiteness of purpose, or, to speak more accurately, perhaps they may be coherent for destruction, but they are sure to be split up for construction—a very common state for a revolutionary party to be in

Mr. MacDonald's definitions and distinctions are again a little confused and contradictory in these passages. He seems to envisage an industrial strike that is not political, and a political strike that is not industrial. There may be, of course, political (and religious) revolutions that are not industrial, but there are no industrial revolutions that are not political or do not entail political consequences, and in practice, as he explicitly admits, the doctrine of the class war tolerates no such academic distinctions. However it may attempt to disguise itself, class war is at bottom a political as well as an industrial theory of society

He now describes with penetrating insight the programme of a General Strike as imagined by its projectors. Once the fiat has gone forth, and the stoppage is achieved,

then, as by magic, the mechanism of society, all its exchange, all its consumption, will stop. Decay will creep upon the paralysed body. There is a grandeur as well as utility in the thought He will then prove how important he is—he who has been despised and neglected, underpaid and ill requited, for so long Society, stricken to its very heart and with the numbness of death upon it, will come as a suppliant to him, and he will dictate the terms upon which he will restore it to vigorous life by his labour To the other considerations which may be urged in favour of this way of doing things he is not a little influenced by the spectacular allurements of a melodrama in which he is the hero.

So much for the Syndicalist dream, the writer might almost have had Mr. Bevin and Mr. Cook in mind. But the actual business, in Mr. MacDonald's view, would tend to be rather different·

Let us try and form a mental picture of what will go on whilst the strike lasts The old-fashioned sectional strike did not hit directly at society, the new-fashioned General Strike does, and that is a very profound difference A district was inconvenienced, an employer or group of employers was injured, numbers of working-class families in a limited field were hard pressed, but they more than recovered in a very short time That was under the old conditions The General Strike works in a totally different way. It empties markets, it raises prices, it stifles consumption, throughout the whole community. And what does that mean? It hits the poor people heaviest, the middle classes next, and the rich least of all If surrender is therefore to come by social pressure the programme works from exactly the wrong end, for the class that must surrender first is the [illegible] surrender of the poor does not mean the triumph of the

Again, nothing could be more clear or explicit; there are no hesitations, no qualifications, here. The class war is not merely anti-social, but suicidal; it hurts those who use it far more than those against whom it is used The General Strike, in the heat and dust of the Trade Union Congress, is a thing that Mr. MacDonald will applaud as a weapon of offence; but in the quiet of the study he knows that it is a boomerang, not a gun.

As to this matter he is evidently under no delusion, for he reiterates his warning in forcible terms:

> The Syndicalists assume that when the General Strike comes time will be on their side Exactly the opposite is true Time will be against them As the days go by society will organise itself against them, because society as well as the individual, is moved by the Will to Live Meanwhile Labour must stand idly by and see the recovery The assumption of a progressive paralysis is false

He has already dissected the fallacy underlying the Syndicalist theory of class war, he now describes accurately the fallacy underlying the Syndicalist practice of a General Strike

> The crowning miscalculation of the Syndicalist is that the General Strike can be a revolution during which the workman's programme is just to cease work The programme on paper may be as passive as any Tolstoyan could wish, but it would become active before long That would happen for two main reasons
>
> In the first place, the organisation of society would resist paralysis. It would seek to protect itself through public opinion, voluntary organisation, and force Criticism would play upon the revolutionary movement, and disintegrate it, and, as the experience of every strike has shown, it is just the elements that might lean towards Syndicalism that are least stable under such circumstances
>
> With the stoppage of the usual machinery for the giving of service and the exchange of labour, a rudimentary organisation would be adopted, as during the General Strike in Sweden, when students drove cabs, or as during our own railway strike, when solicitors tried their hands at the honest occupation of carrying the luggage of travellers
>
> But this organised resistance must bring both sides nearer and nearer to an appeal to force The strike cannot be indefinitely prolonged, mere standing idly by when your programme is being circumvented becomes impossible You have to do something Society will certainly, and properly, mobilise its troops and use them, and you must reply

Mr. MacDonald's justification of the use of the military is as interesting as it is unexpected As a pacifist in European affairs, he has condemned the use of force. Apparently his doctrine is that soldiers can be used at home, but not abroad. But let us proceed with his argument.

> A resort to violence would be forced upon the strikers for another reason. Long before the well-to-do are seriously damaged the poor are starving Starting with revolution as their purpose, will they starve quietly? Will they keep calm after they have discovered that what was to be the destruction of their enemies has turned out to be nothing but the

undoing of themselves? Of course they will not, and so the soldier comes in.

Thus we see that all this parade of passive resistance is nothing but words and phrases It is the stage paint which has to be washed off before one sees what manner of man the Syndicalist is. He is just a very old-fashioned revolutionist who makes the mistake of thinking that because he wishes for passive resistance alone during a strike he can secure his desires.

Mr. MacDonald forgot to remind his audience of these fallacies on May Day. There is a time for all things, and evidently in his opinion the word should be preached in season, but not out of season; Daniel should only come to judgment when the lions' den is safely shut. Yet surely those ardent crusaders who intended to bring society to its knees would have been interested to hear Mr. MacDonald's real opinion of their action.

The old revolutionist I respect He understood his business. He prepared for the work of barricades and street fighting He knew that a revolution had to be carried through by activity, not passivity The childish dream of revolution by paralysing society never entered his head Revolution must always be more or less paralysing, but he knew that the less paralysis the better So he sought to seize the centre of government, to issue his proclamation of the new order, to keep things going, to give the old order no chance of recovering itself When he began his exploits he knew he had to work night and day, not idle night and day His watchword was 'Tools up!' not the Syndicalist one of 'Tools down!' He went straight to the point of appeal to force, and made his plans accordingly, the Syndicalist dilly-dallies and will not face the consequences of his own policy He is playing at revolution Compared with the old revolutionary he is lacking in direct vision, in courage, in ability to state both to himself and those whom he is influencing what is the real nature of the work he has taken in hand or how he is to accomplish it.

This is perfectly sound argument. Yet possibly those whom Mr. MacDonald encouraged by his presence and his voice on May Day 1926 would not have listened very patiently while he explained his real opinion of their hopeless enterprise. It would certainly have been a risk to stand before a hostile audience, to tell them that one who had studied the matter more deeply than they knew that history and experience were alike against them, that every General Strike had failed, that their theory was a dream and their practice would be a delusion. It would certainly have been a risk to tell them that, in the opinion of the speaker, society was stronger than any of its sections, that the community, like the individual, will defend itself when attacked by any and every means in its power, and that the State is only an abstraction till it is challenged, when it becomes a sharp sword for the sectary and seceder.

These things, I say, would have been a risk. But Englishmen are generous and tolerant souls; they are stubborn in action but ... they recognise the moral authority of those

who have the courage to assert it ; and, though they may dissent, they worship the bravery of the man who speaks with them face to face, and withstands them when they are wrong. They are sometimes prejudiced and often narrow, but this sin at least has never been laid to their charge, that they do not know a man when they see him. But that day they did not see a man.

A WYATT TILBY.

THE COMING OF THE FACTORY-FARM

SOME experiments of exceptional interest are being tried on English farms. They represent what may be called practical research work In no European country, in spite of the almost general revival of agriculture, is to be found anything quite so intensive, quite so original. In England leadership and ideas have always come from the individual, never from the politicians. It is so to-day, but before describing the methods of those whom we may call 'the new Cokes' something may be said of the hopeful signs to be detected among the so-called statesmen.

Notwithstanding much caustic criticism of one another's schemes, or want of schemes, by the various political parties and parts of parties, it is possible for a hopeful or ingenious observer to discover some attributes common to the policy of all the land reformers. Doubtless a group of young Conservative members are very nearly as directly opposed to the economic negations of Mr Walter Guinness, Minister of Agriculture, as is Sir Alfred Mond to the doctrines of Mr Lloyd George however expressed—icturesquely and forcibly in the Green Book or dryly and feebly n the pamphlet indorsed by the Liberal Party. The Independent Labour Party have published some aggressive proposals based on revolutionary threats against the banks, on the ground that hey put difficulties in the way of easy credit for producers Nevertheless, one doctrine at least—the provision of cheap noney—is a doctrine shared by the whole of the Conservative Party and the whole—if the word is allowable—of the Liberal Party Among the more surprising details of agreement the ndependent Labour Party have fathered a proposal almost dentical in essence with a pet scheme of some of the more ardent lisciples of Tariff Reform within the Empire. Both they and Mr. Bruce, the Premier of Australia, see value in a Food Board which hould have power to control and tax, or at any rate forbid, nports. Both think along the same lines as the more intensive armers of East Anglia. The aim before all of them is the stabilisation of prices by means of a preferential treatment for homerown or Empire-grown produce. They would prohibit or

- ~l..t of British produce.

An admirable sign of the coming of a common agreement (though a few Liberals now begin to withdraw) is the founding of the sugar industry. The Liberal, Labour and Conservative Parties all agreed to a continuous policy (in the form of a diminishing subsidy) for a period of ten years Such an event is without parallel in the tangled land policy of Britain. The ten factories already in being stand, at the worst, as pillars of a common interest in the land. It is probable that few of those who initiated the policy or helped to carry through the legislation quite knew what a service they were doing. Beet-sugar growing, after its introduction by Napoleon, revived the dead soils of the Continent, not because it gave France or Germany or Holland a home supply of sugar, previously bought by money sent across the seas, but because the root of *Beta Vulgaris* is a special remedy, is a specific for over-used land. The frequent passage of the plough hammers down a floor like a cement foundation, and this cuts off all the natural riches that lie below it The root of the normal beet goes down 31 inches and more, penetrates this hammered platform, and moreover leaves below it its own tiny rootlets. There are scientific farmers who hold that even if the crop lost money it would pay dividends in future fertility. It makes the subsoil available more effectively and at a much cheaper rate than any subsoiling instrument It is pleasant to emphasise this quality in the plant (which also 'fixes' or transmutes more sunshine than any other farm crop), because its beneficence is what Mr Henry George and Mr Lloyd George called 'unearned increment'—it blesses beyond their hopes the first common endeavour undertaken by all the different parties They builded better than they knew.

Interest in the land has increased, along with this unanimity, among politicians, and, indeed, among the urban folk, who are now 80 per cent of our population, because danger to our social and economic well-being has become menacing The food bill increases as the sum of home-grown food diminishes It is an immediate and vital question Can we make enough money by exports to pay 500,000,000*l* a year for food and natural products ? The subsidiary question is not less vital: Can we afford to do without a country population ?

What is happening in England is quite clear, quite precise. Wherever the soil is comparatively poor, as over the many million acres of chalk, or hard to work, as over the heavy claylands of Essex, of Huntingdon, of wide areas of the central Midlands, there the plough is being discarded. In extreme cases villages have clean vanished: a very great many are dwindling The sort of farmer who was the backbone of our agriculture, the man who carried through the Norfolk rotation on two or three hundred

acres, is failing, is sliding into bankruptcy. He maintains himself only by refusing to spend money, and makes his chief saving on labour. The old ideal was to occupy five hands to the hundred acres. The present ideal is to employ one; and if he is an old man or boy, so much the better. A good many writers and speakers have endeavoured to make our flesh creep with pictures of England as a prairie; but in reference to an enormous area of land they have minimised, not exaggerated. Fences, ditches, drains of all sorts, have been so neglected that land once valuable has now less than a prairie value; and almost for the first time farms are failing to let There are farms within twenty-five miles of London—a market that gives prosperity to no better land 12,000 miles away—that no one will take at a rent of 1*l.*, even 15*s.*, an acre Last year on one estate about that distance the farmer lost almost exactly 1*l.* an acre and the landowner nearly 2*l.* Those are authentic figures, and the farmer was a good farmer, though, like others, he had been steadily reducing his labour bill.

The land has become a national question, because the safety and well-being of the nation are directly threatened. All this is obvious and depressing Nevertheless, signs appear that a period of rural reconstruction is approaching 'Nothing interferes with progress like not wanting to make it', and many people, previously careless, now want to make it, and, more than this, are ready, even at great personal sacrifice, to make lusty experiments to the end of the discovery of a remedy.

The Coke of our days is to be the founder of what is known as the factory-farm Agriculture has collapsed, though never so fatally as now, at many periods in our annals. When Townshend began to grow jealous of his brother-in-law, Walpole, and decided to give up politics for agriculture (much as the French woman of fashion decides at the time of her eclipse to become *dévote*), he found his lands very nearly desert His wife wrote to an invited guest that all he would see would be 'one blade of grass, and two rabbits fighting for that' Half the county of Norfolk, Young wrote, yielded nothing but sheep-feed. Townshend began the reconstruction carried to fulfilment by his more famous neighbour Coke of Norfolk. They certainly multiplied the output by four. Barley, rye, wheat and fine sheep took the place of heath; narrow roads succeeded wide tracks. Among famous epithets 'Turnip' Townshend deserves the compliment within the satire as fully, say, as 'Clemency' Canning.

The modern Coke and Townshend are not likely to be the discoverers or introducers of a new plant, or a new rotation, or an improved stock. They will be the demonstrators of a new [illegible]

[illegible] ' They believe

that by the aid of proper equipment and scientific methods you may make the land carry a number of pigs, cows and poultry, undreamt of by our predecessors. If you have the courage to spend money on building hygienic and labour-saving sties and stalls and pens, on supplying the farm with its own slaughter-house and factory for converting raw products into saleable food (wheat into bread, meat into pies, cream into cheeses, and so forth), on organising an efficient transport and repair and building service, or installing electric light for the increase both of crops and the production of eggs, perhaps on laying down light rails and concrete roads—if you have the courage to spend profusely on these equipments, then you may multiply production ten times and make your farm almost independent of the seasons, or, indeed, the nature of the soil.

All this is not a day-dream, a merely paper theory There are 400 acres of very tough soil in Kent, where eighty hands are employed and where the monthly returns sometimes exceed 2000*l* and average 1900*l* It is held to be proved that the hens, which number many thousands, lay 20 per cent more eggs when their hours of daylight are extended to twelve by the aid of electric light Experience of the health and longevity of birds at the London Zoological Gardens supplies a parallel that supports the contention. Some imported birds will only flourish there, will only keep alive, if the hours of daylight are artificially extended.

No other farm on quite so wide a scale is in existence, but a considerable number of men have invested very large sums indeed on the intensive production of pigs and poultry and the association of a factory with the farm

Doubtless it is extremely unlikely that factory-farms—at any rate, of the intensive character of General Delmé-Radcliffe's at the Shenley Hall farm in Kent—can be multiplied or spread widely enough to affect the whole of British agriculture, to make what Professor Somerville called Poverty Bottoms flourish as the rose. But behind these courageous adventures, these costly excursions into the higher imagination, lies a philosophy It is this. For a number of reasons, difficult to plumb because many of them are psychological, agricultural co-operation has proved difficult to establish in England. Those North Countrymen who created the great co-operative shops for urban workmen nearly eighty years ago failed to inspire rural co-operation, though attempts have been made to put these urban buyers in direct association with rural producers. Some few successes there have been. The greatest was won and is kept by the Eastern Counties Co-operative centred at Ipswich; but in general co-operation has failed. The comparative failure of the Government small-holders in South Lincolnshire has been due chiefly to the entire absence

of any co-operation either in selling or buying. The founding of the small-holdings has cost the taxpayer 8,000,000*l.* and left the homesteaders a heavy struggle with high rents, inefficient transport, and a system of sale and distribution costly, spasmodic, and laborious.

We have, of course, many thousand successful small-holders scattered about Britain, but groups of them need the buttress of some external help. No help and encouragement could be more effective than the neighbourhood of a factory-farm. The small man needs nothing so much as a quick and certain market. It is usually bad business to trust any small consignment to the tender mercies of the railway in the hope that it will reach the salesman at Covent Garden at a moment of remunerative prices. The farmer sends off his precious product without any real assurance that he will receive anything whatever for it. It has happened not once, but many times, that all the return he gets is a bill. In whatever way he sells, whatever kind of produce, the distribution is costly and less remunerative than it should be. Conditions are entirely changed when any neighbouring institution is ready to take the product and pay for it a more or less constant sum. This is one of the advantages of growing sugar-beet near a factory if the stuff is good, the price is good, the market sure. Supposing that farm-factories were established, they would quite certainly foster a ring of satellite small-holdings: the two would 'work in with one another,' as farmers say The factories, for example, would need a special type of hen, a special sort of pig, just as a woollen factory needs a special quality of wool They would pay good prices to anyone who would supply what they want, for their own success very largely depends on the quality and uniformity of the finished food they produce One of the most intensive of these farms has its own retail shop; but, apart from such a distributive luxury, the scale is big enough to make them more or less independent of this or that dealer. They can sell to advantage—to the advantage both of themselves and of the small men at the circumference They would, in short, serve as an alternative to a co-operative organisation, they would institute a British form of co-operation.

The idea of the farm-factory comes from the Continent. One at least was the result of many journeys to almost every European country; and out of the material the best was picked. The virtues of the Shenley Hall experiment are eclectic. Before the war in the most flourishing parts of Hungary 70,000 acres was not thought excessive as a farm unit. Such an area warranted the erection of private factories, even for sugar, both its extraction and refining, and for private railways encircling and interpenetrat- ... be thought of in

England; but it seems to be possible, by increasing the intensive quality of the farming, to do on a few hundred acres what is done extensively on many thousands.

In regard to something like half the land of England we are certainly at a period of violent transition; and farmers do not relish change. One class of farmer is going out of commission chiefly because he has no formula to take the place of the formula that no longer works. Anyone with a wide local acquaintance with English farms could quote many cases where the turn of the tide followed the importation of foreign managers Though over the richer lands, such as South Lincolnshire or in the Lothians, we have the best farmers in the world, imported Danish and Swedish experts have proved their superiority beyond all contradiction on estates where the soil is less congenial All these men unite in the conviction that the Scandinavian system, developed in answer to the low price of cereals, is superior to any practised by the British farmer over the less highly favoured areas They have proved their point in the best way by turning a heavy loss into a considerable profit on a number of large properties, where the land was likely to fall back into prairie Their formula, their system, their philosophy, consent admirably with the newest factory-farm They sell no grain, but use the plough almost as freely as ever it was used Their money comes from the sale of dairy and poultry produce and from pigs In order to multiply these 'gentlemen that pay the rent' they must make the land grow its maximum, not of food, but of fodder, especially lucerne, plus a certain number of 'catch' crops, and barley The most thorough and logical of the Danes argue that cheap corn is a godsend to the farmer, because it enables him to buy cheap food for the animals that provide him with his income, for he sells nothing off the farm but animal produce

It has been privately suggested that the best and quickest way to restore the prosperity of farming would be to set up sample farms on the Scandinavian model and import Danes or Swedes to manage them. The idea, though a little humiliating perhaps to national and class pride, is not bad; but, supposing this were done, the reformers would find themselves hampered by several insular deficiencies, by the fewness of factories, by the absence of co-operative selling agencies, and by the want of uniformity in stock. English produce is beaten in the markets by imported produce (especially in bacon) because our animals, though some are the best in the world, are of many sorts. It is a source of great pride to us, especially locally, that we have a dozen varieties of pure-bred pigs; but when it comes to the sale of bacon to a factory this proves a severe handicap. Such handicaps, though real enough, offer no essential barrier to reformation. If

farming is to be revived and the population restored to the land, it is held by the best judges to be essential that we should grow on our own land, not wheat for bread, but fodder for the animals that supply the insatiable home market for other forms of food, especially bacon, ham, pork, eggs, and all sorts of dairy produce. These can be produced on soil that is not of the best and in districts that are in no way specially favoured. Eastern counties where grass does not grow richly and sweetly may serve as well for milch cows or pigs as Western farms where grass may be rich enough to feed a bullock to the acre.

The old idea dies very hard that plentiful grass is necessary for the feeding of a dairy herd. On many a Danish and Swedish farm there is as much tilling and sowing on land where cows and pigs are kept as on the old farm that grew grain for sale. The preference for grass—now becoming almost a mania—is motived by a desire to reduce labour and the wages bill. Real reform, real reconstruction, should mean the increase of labour and the swelling of the wages bill. There should be more labourers and each paid at a higher rate.

In the sequel this means, in addition to the learning of a new system, a large expenditure on equipment—on better stalls, sties and sheds, on more factories, on distributive organisations, perhaps on the provision of cheap power, especially electric power But the country will almost automatically be supplied with such if it is proved that this sort of intensive farming pays a dividend. For the moment a great debt is owed to the pioneers who at a high cost are urgent to prove that the land will support a large population of direct workers and produce food enough to ensure the subtraction of a solid sum from that grim 500,000,000*l.* that we send abroad for the necessaries of life. The best compliment we can pay them is to test their theory. If there is a formula that can restore to fertility the land lapsing to prairie, the Poverty Bottoms that Professor Somerville restored to wealth in the war, then the fact is an urgent, vital national concern. How much richer the land would be, how many more people would draw wealth and health from it, if interest could be withdrawn from barren discussions on systems of tenure and control and concentrated on better business. This was done in the case of sugar. The building of the factories overmastered theoretic views on Protection. In the views of all parties, not least of the Independent Labour Party, in spite of its more militant articles, evidence may be found that the land is thought to be important enough to warrant the promotion of a national policy. The Green Book and the watered doctrine that succeeded it have been so freely and fully discussed that there is no good in retelling the story. The ... is eclectic. It

resembles a Ford car—a distinct unity that owes its value to the selective skill of its engineer. The credit clauses are very much the same as those of the Conservative Party. Its progressive nationalisation squares with the notable book on land tenure recently published by Mr. C. S. Orwin, the agricultural seer of Oxford University Its 'county association' derives from the era of the war. The idea of 'occupying ownership,' which seems to have frightened the old-fashioned, has existed in essence since the Small-holdings Act of 1908, and has developed since. To three-quarters of it any politician could consent without deserting any of the established tenets of his party.

All this may mean that we are slowly coming to a common accord, slowly arriving at a national policy. But now, as in the days of Coke of Norfolk, individual enterprise leads the way; and all parties owe the pioneers the obligation of a practical interest in their brave adventures on behalf of the public weal.

W. BEACH THOMAS.

SPANISH POLITICS OF TO-DAY

'THE sale of this book is forbidden in Spain.' This insidious advertisement, printed in French and Spanish, was prominently displayed in the autumn of 1925 in every news kiosk of South-Western France. It was used in order to induce travellers to buy Blasco Ibanez's *Pro España y Contra el Rey.* I hardly think that I could have resisted so tantalising a bit of propaganda Inasmuch however as I was wending my way towards the Peninsula for the purpose of saturating my mind with the Spanish political literature of the hour, I did not seek to resist the temptation Before I crossed the border I had gone through the entire volume. So bitterly antagonistic was the tone of the work, so savage its denunciation of the King, so obviously coloured all of its statements of fact, that when my train pulled into Irun the anti-monarchical campaign of the *España Con Honra* group had taken some of the starch out of the stiffness of my republicanism. My sense of fair play had been outraged. My regard for the conventionalities of political discussion had been shocked. I had been asked to swallow too much. My thirst to get the other side of the case had been stimulated.

But when book after book presenting the point of view of the dominant political faction fell into my hands I encountered the selfsame intolerance. I found but little attempt at an objective discussion of the most important issues. I was impressed with the total absence of any notion of forbearance. Everything was either black or white. There was no grey anywhere. The maxim, 'He who is not for me is against me,' seemed to be the order of the day. The need for a healthy Opposition was not only not admitted, but rejected. Failure to accept the tenets of the ruling coterie was looked upon as apostasy. Loyalty to the creed of the hour was made a test of patriotism. So far was this dogma of the infallibility of the present Government carried that the book of a former Prime Minister, Conde de Romanones, *Las Responsabilidades del Antiguo Regimen,* was one of the few Opposition pamphlets which the police allowed to get into Spanish bookshops.

... censor was everywhere it soon became ... struggle

was raging. The main protagonists in this drama, where printers' ink and inquisitorial powers are fighting an unseen but obvious enemy, are the King, Blasco Ibanez, Conde de Romanones and Primo de Rivera. They carry on their battle in a somewhat anomalous manner. Ibanez seems to feel that this is a gladiatorial contest between him and the King He apparently considers that no other foeman is worthy of his steel His campaign is one of vituperation, invective, and Billingsgate But he reserves all of his mud for His Majesty No other target is looked upon by him as worthy of the scum which blackens his paper. Romanones also has a single track mind. He, however, concentrates his attacks upon Primo de Rivera and conducts them with due regard to parliamentary propriety. The latter has two swords One of them is directed against Romanones, the other is out for Ibanez The King personifies the Constitution He should therefore not be in this imbroglio. But the Marqués de Estella, to give Primo de Rivera his title, has suspended the Constitution This suppression of the Magna Charta has revived the personality of the King. He therefore is involved in the internecine contention. The royal fighting rules differ from those of the other three contenders. He attacks no specific foe He confines himself primarily to defending Primo de Rivera And he plays his part with such dignity, frankness and appositeness that he not only holds the centre of the stage, but, what is more important, an abiding place in the hearts of his countrymen. He is, nevertheless, taking chances Crowns these days are so responsive to the law of gravity that sincere admirers of Alfonso XIII. would prefer to applaud his prudence and circumspection rather than record his moral courage and candour

I fail to see why the Spanish censor insists upon weaving a martyr's crown for Ibanez To my mind his attacks upon the monarchy tend to help the present dynasty Yet I know that not only are his political works tabooed in Spain, but that the Government of His Catholic Majesty has persistently sought to have the French police prosecute the author of *The Four Horsemen* for publishing his republican propaganda in France. To my way of thinking *Pro España y Contra el Rey* is what Americans would call the best of Royalist campaign literature. If I were a Spanish partisan of the Throne I would help Ibanez to give his vitriolic exuberance the widest possible publicity And I would have my agents insidiously circulate the refrain,

See what a great man our beloved king really is, when even the ablest of living writers and the most implacable of his enemies can thus find nought to say against him.

It is this inability to grasp Iberian psychology which makes me feel that, while I have recently studied some 4500 pages of Spanish

contemporary political publications, my mind may fail to react to the message there conveyed. My theory would seem to be wrong. Alfonso XIII. and his advisers know Spain better than I do. They are face to face with a condition and not with a theory. They are wrestling with their difficulties *à l'Espagnole,* and not *à l'Américaine.* And it is because they are and because Spain has not shown great prescience in dealing with governmental problems that I feel that there may be a modicum of soundness in my view. Be that as it may, I must cease theorising and pass on to Conde de Romanones.

He is reputed to be the biggest taxpayer in Madrid. That should make him a Conservative, if the political tendencies of the English-speaking world were applicable to Spain. But he is a Liberal, and at present he has no party. His talents shone forth when he was a very young man He was barely twenty and had not yet a title when he published his *Biologia de los Partidos Politicos.* His name in those days was Alvaro Figueroa y Torres. He became an adroit statesman of the 'wait and see' persuasion. His recent work is a masterpiece. He does not, like the author of *De Profundis,* invite his readers to hear him repent On the contrary his apologia is a carefully prepared and admirably executed presentation of his case He knew that he was walking on thin ice. Any mistake would have brought in the censor. He, therefore, gave to his plea the form of a defensive argument. So impeccable is the technique of his draftsmanship, so deftly does he administer criticism in tabloid form, that when one finishes his book one is tempted to grant him not merely absolution, but a vote of confidence. His argument may be summed up in one phrase: The politicians of the Peninsula have since 1874 given the country the very kind of government that the people wanted. Between the lines of his work Romanones lets his reader see that the statesmen of his day allowed the soldiers a free hand and that if the Lion of Castille no longer waves over distant shores the parliamentary leaders are not responsible

If the Primo de Rivera Government applies a padlock to the printing press of the Opposition, it has its own champions who use up the stationery thus saved. Most of the material produced in this way burns incense either to the King or to him who has been the Dictator of Spain since September 1923. But the fumes of fulsome praise, of unadulterated adulation, and of incessant glorification which rise from the embers so becloud the atmosphere that one is almost nauseated by pæans without end and by condemnation bereft of measure. There is, however, a 503-page volume issued by an anonymous writer under the title of *A Reply to Count Romanones* to which these strictures do not apply. The [illegible] himself is essentially

scholarly in its tone and well balanced in its criticism. Its author seeks to prove that her politicians have left Spain a wreck which only her army can save. He does not specifically accuse Spanish statesmen of venality, but he charges them with incompetence, nepotism, and petty vanity. At the same time he weaves a laurel wreath around the brow of the soldiers and sailors of the Peninsula.

But the King is really the greatest publicity agent of the present Government. He believes in the Press. He faces the pencil of a journalist with the same unruffled serenity with which he has braved the bombs of anarchists In the spring of 1925 he gave an interview to the Tharaud brothers, the literary twins of contemporary French letters. This is the account given of the audience in *Les Rendezvous Espagnols*, recently published:

> 'Naturally it astonishes you to see that for the past twenty-two months we have been living without a constitutional government,' said His Majesty 'But tell me frankly, have you seen any signs of martial law or of military oppression?' (*omissis*) 'Our daily life is to-day as it has always been' (*omissis*) 'But one thing has changed since the Directory took charge one may now stroll about with money on one's person without running the risk of being robbed, there are no more strikes, our factories are working, and employers of labour need no longer fear that their workmen will put revolvers to their heads to assassinate them unless they yield to the demands made upon them Tell me frankly, isn't that something?' And the King continued upon this note, insisting that Spain has no public opinion, that each succeeding election brought about a crop of politicians who did nothing constructive, and that the Directory is working for the good of Spain.

These words seem to indicate that the Throne has unalterably committed itself to the Directory I trust that I am mistaken. I do not mean to imply that the Bourbons are backing the wrong horse I simply seek to bring out that they are betting too heavily on the race. And there is another matter where my lack of intimate familiarity with Spanish politics causes me to dissent from the point of view so clearly emphasised by the Sovereign. The impression left upon my mind after reading his utterances was that he is a Fascist, that he looks upon the Marqués de Estella as a pocket edition of Mussolini, and agrees with the Italian wag who said that Primo de Rivera 'è il secondo di Mussolini' My reading of Spanish history has, however, forced me to a different conclusion. Far from looking upon the Iberian Dictator as a transplanted counterpart of *il Duce*, I take him to be, not an exotic production, but a type indigenous to Spanish soil. In other words, he is, as I read the past, not a soldier in politics, but a politician in the army I go even further: he is a Spanish officer of outstanding distinction and of proven valour. He is, therefore, a Spanish statesman of commanding position. To be more specific, he has been for years an amphibious

gentleman with a dual personality. He commanded troops and at the same time was a senator of the realm. He is now a captain-general and chief of the 'Die-hard' faction of the Conservative Party.

To explain my point of view, I shall not go back to the *Reyes Catolicos.* Nor shall I say aught of the halcyon days of the *Pronunciamento,* when generals bombarded towns with proclamations. In those latter times soldiers unmade dynasties and republics. It was Martinez Campos, a Captain-General of Spain, who in 1874 replaced the Bourbons upon the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella As the Carlists had a large following and the Republicans numerous adherents, Alfonso XII was only able to hold to his crown by paying homage to his army When ill-health overtook the new monarch the sceptre was saved for his unborn son solely through the patriotism and statesmanship of this self-same Martinez Campos. The personality of this officer dominated to no inconsiderable extent the minority of Alfonso XIII.

And here I may well insist that the Spanish Army does not consist of a body of men segregated from the civilian population. Such is not the case. I have already said that Primo de Rivera was at one and the same time a soldier in active service and a senator I should add that his billet as Captain-General of Madrid, and later of Barcelona, was *quasi*-political. I might even venture to say that it was a political assignment. In fact, my readings have taught me that each succeeding change of Ministry, if it were something more than a mere reshuffling of portfolios, was almost invariably followed by the appointment of a new Captain-General of Madrid and of Barcelona And there is a reason for this. It is quite simple. Spain is divided for administrative purposes into zones. Each one of these is presided over by a captain-general, whose attributes are civil as well as military

This two-headed nature of the Spanish Army appears incongruous to the English-speaking man. But in surveying Spain one must use Spanish lenses and not glasses brought from home Looking at the field with the proper binoculars, it is easy to grasp why the Army group in the Cortes was so well represented in the kaleidoscopic changes of the Spanish Cabinet. One of its members was practically always in charge of the War Office, and a sailor was well-nigh invariably First Lord of the Admiralty. A soldier was not infrequently President of the Senate or of the Cortes So well did these officers look out for their clan that Conde de Romanones writes that the Spanish Army had 444 generals on the last register consulted by him.

... statement as to the amphibiousness of the
... numerous

examples to establish my point. I shall not, however, burden my text with such references. I do, nevertheless, insist upon the predicate that Spanish army officers are not divorced from politics. They are part and parcel of the governing caste. The King of Spain, therefore, in allying himself with the military junta or soviet, is simply and solely lending his august name to the 'Die-hard' or uniformed section of the dominant political group.

And there are certain things which make me regret that Alfonso XIII. has been so outspoken I shall not refer to the despatches sent from Barcelona by Reuter on March 18, 1926 I shall confine myself to what Antonio Goicoechea wrote in his book entitled *The Crisis of Modern Constitutionalism*, and published in June 1925 The author is temperamentally pro-Rivera. He points out, however, that Barcelona boycotted the recent national bond issue because the Directory had broken its promises in respect of Catalonian separatist aspirations. This language, if it means anything, implies that the financial and commercial capital of the country is pouting And then, again, in the autumn of 1925 General Weyler, of Cuban *Reconcentrado* fame, resigned his post as Captain-General of the Spanish Army. This decision took the uninitiated by surprise. Hearsay says that he retired because he disapproved of the Government's Moroccan policy. Be that as it may, the circulation of this rumour does not tend to strengthen the Primo de Rivera Administration

But shortly after the date of Weyler's resignation General Primo de Rivera took off his uniform. He surrendered his sword to the Marqués de Estella The Cabinet was reformed Mufti replaced khaki Labels were changed But the Constitution was not re-established, nor were the Cortes convened The military dictatorship ended That was all It had been presided over by a political general It was replaced by a Ministry under the leadership of a military statesman How long the present phase of the ascendency of the politicians from the barracks will last no one can tell

It would, nevertheless, be folly not to attach adequate importance to this disrobing process. Hypocrisy is a tribute paid by vice to virtue The formality recently carried out in Spain is silent homage vouchsafed to that public opinion which the King is reported to have told the Tharaud brothers did not exist in Spain It is on the face of things a travesty, but weathercocks have no structural import, and yet they tell the way the wind is blowing. Until this auto-induction into office was carried out by the 'Die-hards' one had no way of telling whether Spain was drifting or standing still All of the Primo de Rivera political pamphleteers had pointed out that the old Constitution was all wrong and that no Cortes chosen according to existing laws should

be allowed to be convened anew. No constructive programme was, however, proposed by any one of them. Yet all of them insisted that the Directory was but a temporary expedient. Was Spain endeavouring to prove that '*il n'y a rien qui dure comme le provisoire*'? One could not tell. One has now seen something happen, even if one does not know what it means. Present conditions show that things are moving That is something. But when my eye turns towards the compass and I observe the needle I cannot refrain from recalling the title of the popular song, 'I do not know where I'm going, but I'm on my way'

I must, however, readjust my lenses and get away from my foreign angle of vision. President Wilson once said that from his studies in government he had carried away but one fixed conviction, namely, that no one form of government was suited to all peoples I am therefore afraid that I may attach undue importance to the sanctity of a constitution and to the beneficence of the blessings which flow from it. After all, a constitution is but a means to an end. The real objective is the happiness of the people and the enjoyment by them of what they call liberty And here I may well allow His Catholic Majesty to speak for me. He told Jerome and Jean Tharaud that

> I read in the foreign Press that our Directory shoots and imprisons people and has established a police-made reign of terror Is this your impression of what you see? Our traditional customs have not changed I know of no police who are less annoying than ours. One may stop in the middle of the street to converse with one's friends without having a policeman courteously, but firmly, order one to keep on moving After midnight one may sip anise to one's heart's content. This cannot be done in London or in New York—in those countries of liberty! In Madrid one may shout, one may sing, until five in the morning

This conception of liberty signifies nothing to those to whom a constitution means everything. But the Spaniards are entitled to work out their salvation in their own way. It is they who pay the piper. From their point of view we are worshipping a fetish. They think that we are confusing a means with an end They are convinced that we are doctrinaires and that they are practical men of affairs. The proper thing for us to do is to recall that binoculars have two sides and that in considering Spanish politics of to-day it is well to know just how to adjust one's field glasses. If this be done *à l'Espagnole*, storm clouds may appear to be less sombre. If one has a vivid imagination, they may even take on the colour of the aurora of a rising sun. But in my heart of hearts I cannot abstain from regretting that as powerful a personality, as magnetic a man, and as true a patriot as Alfonso XIII. felt called upon to enter into a political battle of a commonplace type.

PIERRE CRABITÈS

THE ROYAL ACADEMY

IF you meet a man who has been to see the Royal Academy before you, and ask him if it is good, he will almost invariably and almost annually reply: 'It is the same as usual' *Semper eadem.* He may give the phrase slightly differing shades of meaning, if he has been there on Varnishing Day, it may be a modest suggestion of reliability, if only on Press Day, an insinuation of tedium or a confession of envy; if in the publicity of the Private View, a safe evasion. But it is, generally speaking, the truth, even in opposite senses The Academy is an establishment in its humbler way like the English Church, and it maintains a tradition and a standard as high as we can expect it is also a little monotonous, since all academies must be cautious, and when its exhibition is a shop and not a museum, the standard must be popular as well as esoteric Nothing is more popular than a modern Academy, for freedom from popular influence is only possible under the system of commissions, not under the modern system of advertisement and hawking When a man was engaged in Florence or Venice to decorate a church or a town hall, he was free to do it as well as he liked and could and had been taught to do it When he is 'free' to do what occurs to him unasked, he is not 'free' at all to do in entire sincerity what he believes to be best, since he is trammelled by the calculation of the possible sale for it when done; and the result is that he does monotonously reiterated 'popular' work in the bad sense, while the Florentine and Venetian did radically nourished work, popular in the good sense. In practice the exhibitions of the Academy are usually a collection of a few works in the great tradition, together with a large number which are merely ephemeral And as excellence is akin in all ages, so mediocrity is alike in all ages It is an instructive commentary on the current exhibition to look at old illustrated catalogues, or to go into the Diploma Gallery, where representative works of all Academicians since Reynolds are kept; there is no essential, but only a superficial, difference between the mediocrity of the past and the mediocrity of the present. And always the most fashionable is the most mediocre; *aurea mediocritas*, the 'golden mean,' is apt to signify mean service guerdoned with

golden harvest ; how should it be otherwise ? The aristocracy of talent earns 'fit audience, tho' few.' Both elements must coexist. It is not for the little critics to gibe, they demand excellence and flout the standard of treasured and historical experience, they clamour at once for the equality of all 'expression' and the infallibility of 'representative' tests, and then rail at the popularity of all that their theories do not countenance. Let them keep their peace Such cobwebs of inconsistency can but 'darken counsel by words without knowledge.'

Nevertheless, it is never easy to criticise justly and helpfully. And when one who is a painter by profession is asked to do so, it is not easier, since he is more conscious of responsibility than the professional critic, and, though less liable to be deceived by showy technique, he is more aware of the difficulty of the finest treatment It is especially hard this year, for the best painters, whose works have been the backbone of other exhibitions, are meagrely represented, they are, I believe, engaged in decorating the Houses of Parliament—an enterprise for which we may be very thankful, but the result is that the present Academy wears the aspect of a forlorn attempt by understudies to keep the play going in the absence of their leaders. And, by a regrettable coincidence, the Academy has chosen this year (and, I hear, already realised its mistake) to try the experiment of hanging fewer works, though more were submitted in the large Gallery, for instance, there is only one line, its vast bare walls suggest a dismal penury, and, moreover, the bulk of the exhibits are so undistinguished that most visitors are likely to feel a chill of disappointment They do expect to see the year's art, not only the productions of the Club which the State supports as its Academy But these now annually outnumber all the other exhibits Yet (so capricious, or rather perhaps accidental, is the mode of selection) one feature of this diminished exhibition is the number of works hung this year which were last year rejected.

Let us, however, take what there is, and find out the best, there is enough for as much enjoyment as most visitors are capable of feeling. And we need not apply the standards of the National Gallery !

The greatest art has always been and always must be in the kind which used to be called 'historical,' and is now (significantly) known as 'figure' painting. The change which time has brought since the days when great religious and poetic themes occupied the energies of painters is expressed in an allegory (and may we add without unkindness, exemplified ?) by the picture originally hung in Gallery XI., but now, by order of the Colonial Office, removed, called *The Breakdown*, by John B. Souter. A negro ... seated on the broken

fragments of an antique Minerva, while an artist's model capers like an automaton to his piping The keynote of the figure compositions is their loudness and crudity and their immersion in the existence of the studio and its properties. No architectonic imagination has in most of them conceived and carried through a poetic unity Only here and there some observed action gives a touch of incongruous conviction, but not poetically seen, nor organically incorporated, in a whole Would that Mr Glyn Philpot had sent some picture, even if he also reminds us of the model used! There are no works by Mr Shannon, no Brangwyns Mr Cayley Robinson is usually to be relied upon for several stately compositions, but this year he sends a very modest contribution One is the little picture called *The Long Journey* We are glad it is long, being so beautiful, so serene. Indeed, will it ever end, this calm, unhurried voyage in the snow-laden forest? Mr Cayley Robinson gives to everything he does, however homely be the matter, a touch of other-worldliness, a breath of still enchantment, holding the things of every day in an unfading immortality, enfolding their simplicity with the assurance of an infinitude of peace Why cavil if the same wistful little girl, the same dim-bearded old man, the same lamp, and window, and trees, and swallows, reappear in one picture after another? Some are in *Childhood*, but the work is none the less beautiful because it resembles others by the same hand That hand is itself peculiar in its habit. At a short distance Mr Cayley Robinson's oils and water-colours look much the same The essence is always a design of upright forms of grave stability, a tone scheme of limited range like that of Purvis de Chavannes, a colour scheme of greys, used with a sudden scarlet orange and a somewhat lamplit violet, with occasional hard greens and blues, no crimson or dark blue, no yellows, no tone of general colour like the greenish hue of Mr Glyn Philpot The paint is thin, except for stone, where it is dragged and heavy; the drawing is precise, the line everywhere clear, no edges lost, the accidental variations or anatomical projections forced into subordination to a studied continuity and level flow. The method is peculiar, but absolutely systematic and controlled; it is *professional*, no accident, no caprice, can spoil its unity of intended effect The manner which Mr. Robinson applies with absolute success to his illustrations to *The Blue Bird* he applies with equal perfection to his decorations in the Middlesex Hospital, and to every picture he produces

Another professional manner is that of Mr. Charles Ricketts A man may not like his conception of *Judith*, or of *The Fallen Angels*, nor his lightless landscape, nor his colour schemes of deep azure and dark lemon yellow accented with a note of blood-red or stone grey; but Mr. Ricketts does what he intends to do. The

drawing is arbitrary, some will think unpleasant; it is not accidental. The treatment of the pigment a few also may not enjoy; but it is mastery and not luck which produces the exact quality of lucent richness and of glassy depth. This is true, even though the painting may appear ' loose ' after the precision of Mr. Cayley Robinson; but it is really just as precise in technical performance, though it may be loose in feeling; for instance, where Mr. Robinson's draperies fall in straight long lines like a tall-columned aisle, Mr Ricketts' wave in eddying currents of a varying volume; but both are equally intended. Intention also governs Mr. Greiffenhagen's work. the touch may look stringy and odd; the forms and colours may seem bizarre and even gross to a taste habituated to the subtle; the feeling may seem crude; yet a picture like *Dawn* has, I think, turned out as it was conceived Whether it expresses dawn, or only the painter's habit of composition, is another question Mr. Harry Morley has also stereotyped a manner, but a manner essentially elementary

There are two pictures of *Rima* which illustrate the same difference if compared with a now notorious version. Mr. Epstein's panel (which I detest) is professional; it is what he intended, these pictures, which no one could detest, are yet unsuccessful; they are not nature they are hardly art. The panel is art, even if it is of the devil, it absolutely expresses a really crystallised idea; the paintings do not. The other attempts at poetic subjects are hardly very successful, either, surely Mr. Speed's *Annunciation* smacks of the studio, as does Mr De Glehn's trivial *Sappho* Mr. Cadogan Cowper's *Belle Dame sans Merci* is hardly Keats. A man may ' load every rift with gold '; but it takes an alchemy not of this world to create poetry of the order of Keats in words or paint. Of Mr A. E. Cooper's *It is Finished*, since sincerity in such a subject must be presumed, I would rather say nothing. it has design too, but I would point out the reminder of the artist's model which jars on the figure on the left. Mr King's *Follow Me* is interesting and worth examining. Its effect is spoilt by its eclecticism and inconsistency of manner. It is obviously sincere; yet it is not a poetic unity. The nude figure is, I feel, genuine, especially in the hands, though the head suggests riveted stupidity rather than a great nature fired into life. But its real defect is that it is so plainly painted—and painted in an undignified technique with square-ended brushes—from a model accidentally occurring; it is not a complete imaginative crystallisation; and no suggestion of the fine race of Galileans—the natural aristocracy of Palestine—is to be given by painting some blockhead of the British proletariat or some Neapolitan too [illegible] to stir ice-cream. The other ' disciple ' is in another [illegible] sincere)

is in a third artistic world, that of conventional gesture, yet the draperies are again in the world of the second figure, and are commonly painted from unarranged material. The landscape is to me unsatisfying in its suggestions, and not expressive of the subject, nor united imaginatively with the figures ; no visual consistency (though this is *realistic* up to a point) can compensate for that. All this seems hard upon the picture ; but it is its sincerity which deserves the analysis of its art. Consistency is essential before all things. The same criticism applies to *The Flight* of Harold Harvey, and to other works. But these modern pictures are neither uncompromising portraits of, say, English fishermen, nor a reconstruction of Galileans. But it is after all impossible to *see* how a past event happened, and relatively unimportant to think of it simply as a past event , nor is it possible to re-enact the event to-day in external circumstances Yet they do not give a universal expression, for instance, of a call working upon the human mind, which is what really matters. The methods of Blake, or Titian, or Rembrandt, even those of Breughel or of Holman Hunt, may be equally accepted , each is consistent, but a picture made up of a remembered convention, an observed appearance, a felt action, an artist's model, a few accessories, and an art-school technique, however full of skill and of sincerity, cannot be a completed work of art. I admire the effort and intention of such works wholeheartedly ; but the general truth, the universal distinction, I have been analysing, is of first importance. A picture must be felt and seen as a whole from the beginning in a consistent way either in visual actuality or in an expressive music of design, and carried out in a technique appropriate to the subject, that is, with style A trifling subject so seen and treated becomes art ; a great subject not so seen and treated remains but raw material

The attempts in poetic composition, then, are this year very disappointing But there has always been another tradition in the painting of human life · the prose tradition. The *genre* pictures of Vermeer, De Hooch, or Chardin are congenial to the countrymen of Hogarth (though it seems sometimes to be forgotten that Hogarth was a countryman of Blake) But we have few good *genre* painters. The prose of the Dutch is very simple ; pictures so minute and analytical as Mr. Spencelayh's, however wonderful technically, however replete with interest, lack the breadth and unity, the real art, of the tradition of Vermeer Still they are full of enjoyment. A good piece of visual representation (perhaps more landscape than history) is Mr Campbell Taylor's *State Banquet Room.* But such things are discredited in our unnatural age. I admit, there are many subjects of everyday life, amusing or grim, which are more suited to quick black-and-white work than to elaborate and full colour painting. Such are, I

think, Mr. Sickert's horrid homily (luckily small) and Sir William Orpen's cheaply painted and commonly seen *Closing Time;* the diagrammatic tigers would be clever in pen and ink; they are crude in paint; and for the technical badness of the figures and the chestnuts outside the bars there can be no excuse. Mr. Vivian Forbes's *Rehearsal*, with its swollen thighs and crushed pelvis, is unlucky in reminding us of the fine *Acrobats Resting* which Mr. Glyn Philpot exhibited two years ago. But it is useless to sigh for Mr. Philpot. One work by him would have been worth almost all the other exhibits put together.

As it is, we can see a Glyn Philpot among the portraits, and must content ourselves with that. Portraiture is not his strong line. He can be relied on for a picture harmonious in colour and distinguished in drawing, but he never portrays character. His version of Mr Baldwin is very far short of the sitter. There are only slight suggestions of character—humour, shrewdness, purpose, equanimity—in the eyes and mouth, but no more. And it is odd that technically the head is not richly or solidly modelled, nor very firmly drawn The transitions from the light to the dark, on which the strength and conviction of a form depend, are loosely touched, and the appearance of half-tones of terre-verte superadded on face and hands is not quite successful in quality or tone. But the gown is beautifully treated, the folds a little sharp and angular, the colour delicate rather than deep, but masterly and delightful beyond praise. The pillar, the book, the green table-cloth, the background, are all painted together with a consummate style Whatever its weakness as a biography, the work is the one really fine picture among the portraits in the Exhibition. There are several which show more sense of character, but they usually do so by falling into caricature, and seldom combine it with pictorial beauty. Mr. Greiffenhagen, for instance, and Sir William Orpen give us strong and accurate drawings, but totally lacking in subtlety or dignity or in colour and design And the touch is as inartistic as the outlook. Both make the sitters look as repulsive as possible. The astonishing thing is that people can like such portraits of themselves. Can Miss Gladys Cooper like Sir William Orpen's khaki version of her complexion? In those by Mr. McEvoy a rather more artistic treatment and less offensive exposure of character is seen, though in that of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald a little more sense of moral reality would be a gain; even the cheap system of double lighting is managed with some charm instead of with the vulgarity which this invention usually confers. But the painting is messy and flimsy. *A Study* of an old woman, by Mr. Daniel Altson (Gallery V.), is sensitive and [illegible] There is a reliability of likeness in many of the portraits, [illegible] of Mr Tonniaux, and

Mr. Spencer Watson ; accurate drawing and good tone, combined with truth of judgment, are qualities not to be disparaged. If a richly completed picture is not given, we can at least admire what is ' And we must not omit to see Mr Clausen's interesting portrait.

But we may regret two features of the modern portraits · one is the use of photographs, due to the indolence of sitters , the other is the imitation of Sargent, especially by painters like Mr Jack, Mr. De Glehn and Mr. Eves, excellent as is the head in Mr Eves's portrait of Sir Frederick Pollock. Sargent's manner was his own, and brilliantly used ; but it is not in itself dignified. And there are styles far finer, like that of Gainsborough, which are yet too peculiar and individual for study. Our own national traditions are nobler than Sargent's French one , the rich unrivalled classic style of Reynolds, which produced two whole generations of first-class painters, as can be seen in the National Portrait Gallery, and the less objective and masterly, but fine, manner of Watts—a drawing without much tone or solidity, but full of selection and suggestion—these two manners are native A study of their quintessentialised drawing and expressive colour —above all, of the style of Reynolds—would do much to raise the level of modern portrait painting And the spirit, if not the method, of Gainsborough, would do as much

But, in addition to this language of design and colour, the portrait-painter needs a knowledge of men, not only shrewd, but sympathetic, intimate and scholarly Egotism is the portrait-painter's enemy. It is the duty of all men to understand and sympathise with other men, but it is a portrait-painter's duty *sine quâ non.* I pointed out in my article on Sargent in the February number of *The Nineteenth Century* how different from the customary negligence was the intimate knowledge born of imaginative effort shown by Rembrandt, Titian, Holbein or Velasquez. When Reynolds painted Johnson or Mrs Siddons, Gibbon, Sterne or Goldsmith, Admiral Keppel, or Lord Heathfield, the Archbishop of Armagh or the Chancellor of England, it was the same. And if we turn to Watts an understanding almost as intimate and as comprehensive, born of a sympathy as arduously trained in all learning, gives enduring truth to works otherwise neither brilliant nor physically vivid. He understood not only Morris and Crane and Burne-Jones, but Tennyson and Browning, Lecky and Mill, Gladstone and Lord Sabine, Passmore Edwards, General Lawrence and Cardinal Manning Of all, we feel, *spiritus intus alit,* even if certain idiosyncrasies were not observed. No portrait even technically or decoratively great can be produced without such scholarship. The technique of Raphael's portraits is merely smooth, for it is not put to the test

of the expression of character ; Raphael, indeed, shows no sense of moral life or even moral existence, and no very mature sense even of intellectual finesse, let alone profundity. Gainsborough was chiefly successful in portraying gentle melancholy, charm, grace, refinement—such qualities as may exist without much intellect or character. We need only compare his elegant Mrs. Siddons with Reynolds' *Tragic Muse* to see the superiority of the man of cultivated mind Gainsborough's sensitive *General Wolfe* and *Blackstone* are observant, but show little grasp of the minds of a soldier or a lawyer ; how could he have either ? He was a mere painter ; and after some experience of painters I feel inclined to say few men of any pretensions to serious occupation are more narrow, more ignorant, or, as a consequence, more contemptuous of the lives of other kinds of men, though to portray those lives is the only justification of their pursuit To most of them ' the human face divine ' is a piece of still life, and an artist's model as interesting as a great man. I know the great difficulty of painting, for I am a painter myself ; much may be grasped which cannot be communicated ; but I judge not only from the empty performance, but from the explicit and professed opinions of modern portraitists One fashionable and famous painter has executed a series of snapshots of great statesmen, their triviality is explained, but not mitigated, by his public expression in print of contempt for his sitters, a contempt born of the impudence of ignorance. That men of immense intellect and character should waste their time sitting to a painter who cannot understand anything of their lives, their aims or their achievements, is surely simply ridiculous Admittedly no man can be expected to understand every type of mind ; but he should paint none save those he can understand If a painter is asked to portray a writer, he should read his works ; if he cannot understand them, he should refuse the task. He need not be able himself to do what his sitter does · that would be an absurd demand, I do not say, ' Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat ' ; but it is necessary to be able to understand and to make every effort to appreciate. The unappreciative is the inartistic. When Herkomer painted Bishop Mandell Creighton, did he read his historical works ? Did he consider the life and interests of a bishop ? I think not ; at all events, the portrait is a trivial caricature. We have had recently portraits of a scholarly bishop and archbishop (both of whom I have seen many times) executed by a painter quite obviously not interested in the Church or anything which interested his sitters ; and both are therefore worthless works ; paradoxical as it may sound, I have seen photographs far truer to their minds. A really great painter—one of our only

... of another bishop which was

indeed a pretty piece, but gave no hint that the sitter was one of the greatest scholars of the age, nor even a suggestion of his character. The bishop said to me himself when I asked him about the sittings, ' We did not get on very well, *he was not in the least interested in me* He made me look a devil ' When we go into the halls of Oxford and Cambridge colleges and look at the newer portraits, the same sense of total alienation between sitter and painter oppresses us. The Dons are often contemptuous of art, but they at least never attempt a biography of an artist Yet the painter knew nothing about Dons and has nevertheless painted what he thinks he sees in them Even Sargent, for all his knowledge of the world, failed calamitously with Lord Roberts, Lord Balfour, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chamberlain

But perhaps we ask too much ; the portrait-painter is too busy and his opportunities too short. He must live, and often would not paint portraits at all if he could help it. He would paint landscapes. And one of them—an Academician—would do well to stick to his fire-screens instead of painting his daughter (if it is she) in a manner that would disgrace a student's first attempt

Landscape is the most alive form of contemporary painting City-bred people love the refuge of ' the country,' even if only in a picture ; artists, as Mr Clausen has said, often do not know what else to paint, since the hurry of human life has made quiet observation so difficult and no tradition survives, moreover, the morbid consciousness of our age has made men shy to commit themselves to what they feel and see of other men, there being no accepted vehicle for their utterance It might then be expected that the landscapes would be the best pictures in the Exhibition ; but are they ? I confess to finding almost all of them studio compositions without roots in Nature. Yet there are some fine works. Mr. D. Y. Cameron has sent several, particularly good are the *Autumn Snows, Menteith*, and *The Marble Arches, Coliseum*, both thinly painted, in a manner very different from Mr Clausen's thick, dry matt texture, or Mr. Brown's sweeping brushwork, or Mr. Hall's creamy *impasto* Mr. Cameron's pictures are essentially drawings, and drawing is the essence of painting, after all Mr. Clausen has sent two of his wonderful remembrances of sunrise, and a painting of a forge full of air and dignity. But they are very small, though as general in their style as a distant decoration ; we miss the large and varied pictures which he has usually shown. They would lend a distinction to an otherwise mediocre exhibition. Mr. Arnesby Brown is also less striking than usual, but he gives us his well-calculated and well-laid tones and solidly designed masses. Yet the mannerism grows of clouds almond-shaped at the caprice of the natural flexion of the wrist instead of drawn at the control of appreciative knowledge, and

in the smaller forms it is the shape of the brush used that is given on the canvas, not the shape of a natural object. This is an inartistic habit which is the chief pitfall of technique for every painter, it is a pity when an eye so trained as Mr. Brown's allows a hand so sure to drift into the easier movement instead of observing the more arduous and expressive. Mr. Oliver Hall's *Toledo Bridge*, in Gallery III., is distinguished and large in construction, and dignified in colour Its peculiarities—the outlining of all forms and the massing of the *impasto* in a coarsely granulated canvas—suit the subject, the colour is more suitable in his other exhibits Beside it, however, how odd a contrast of colour is Mr Adrian Stokes's strongly designed but somewhat undigested *Moonrise*—a bizarrerie of hanging not helpful to either picture, but instructive to the lay beholders, not often sufficiently aware of the relativity of colour Mr. Olssen seems to me better than usual Mr Harry Watson has unfortunately only one work, boldly laid in Among the best designs are Mr. Sidney Lee's remarkable mountain and rock subjects; but the colour—a monotonous and chemical yellow—suggested to one spectator—if I may repeat this—the need of an oculist. *The Mountain Road*, in Gallery X., is a beautiful drawing of a fine place; but the colour of a mountain grassy slope is so lovely and so mysterious that its translation into chrome paint is painful and sad to any lover of the hills. His *Haunted Château*, however, is very successful in colour as in design, original and most imaginative Mr. W. T. Wood is not well represented. He is our best tree-draughtsman, and it is a pity there are no works in that line to remind us of his beautiful and wonderful *Wild Winter* of two years ago. The *Storm and Shadow over the Sussex Downs* is accomplished painting, but the terrifying colour is an amazement. It seems impertinent to make such criticisms, but it is impossible to believe that any eye or any imagination so truly artistic could ever, among 'all the discommodities of the earth and all the distemperatures of heaven,' have seen crimson rain in a green sky. The new Associate, Mr. Lamorna Birch, shows strong and characteristic works; but the colour is here perhaps violently ordinary rather than quixotically strange. There are other interesting landscapes: *San Gimignano*, by J. McKirdy Duncan, and *Siena*, by Walter West (both in Gallery VIII.), though, again, no alchemy of Nature ever made Siena such a colour; Claude Mancaster's richly painted and coloured *Kirkby Moor* (Gallery VII.) is very enjoyable; so are the exhibits of Mr. Terrick Williams. There are characteristic works by Mr. Hughes Stanton, and many others; but curious design and striking handling is more noticeable than the sense of natural truth. The water colours are, as [illegible] *Winter*

Afternoon, repay contemplation Most show empty and affected after the first glance.

The best part of the entire Exhibition seems to me to be the architecture; but it is so good that to single out the designs deserving praise would be to copy three-fourths of the catalogue. It is a relief to think of these buildings growing up in solid form. One word must, however, be spared for the sculpture, this has been the leanest year since the war, and there is little of first rank, though little quite repulsive, nothing so fine as last year's *Syrinx*, by Mr. MacMillan; but there are good portrait busts by Mr Tweed, Mr Reid Dick, Mr Brownsword, Mr Hartwell and others, an attractive sun-dial by Mr Wilkinson, a very fine garden decoration by Mr. MacMillan, and an extraordinarily beautiful *Repentance of St Hubert* by Miss de Vasconcellos, which would look lovely in an arched niche among old trees. The general level of the sculpture is technically higher than that of the painting, but there is so little of it that it cannot claim the same attention.

On the whole, this is surely the weakest Academy since the war, but those who enjoy art and those who are interested in the changes of taste will alike find enough to repay their visit, especially in the Architectural Room And architecture is the mother of the arts.

D. H BANNER

OF CLASSICAL AND ROMANTIC MUSIC

In contrasting classical and romantic music I do not intend to indicate a difference in importance and value, but one of style and character.

It is true the term 'classical' is used as identical with good, serious, artistic, as opposed to light, more or less frivolous and inartistic. But this is an inaccurate use of the term 'classical,' which, so it seems to me, is rightly applied only to music which has its roots in the age and the principles of the great Renaissance of letters and arts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, culminating in the works of the great Viennese triad of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven

Beethoven forms the connecting link between the classical and romantic schools of musical composition Firmly rooted as he was in classicism, adhering in the main, to the very end, to the principles and forms of it, however much in his later works he enlarged these forms, we find the romantic elements of the period more and more pervading his compositions. Schubert and Mendelssohn, following in Beethoven's footsteps, each in his way, also combine classical and romantic elements And finally we see in Schumann, at least in his earlier works, and in Chopin, and still more of course in Wagner and those that came after him, the romantic element obtaining the upper hand, and finally breaking with the traditions of the classical school.

For such a development we find analogies from antiquity onward in the history of the arts in all ages In Greek art—not musical art, of which we practically know nothing, but the plastic art of Greece—we see this gradual development, not exactly in a straight line, but somewhat in zigzag, yet proceeding in one definite direction. Its chief, nay almost its only, aim was the representation of absolute beauty of form.

Out of a primitive beginning it was raised to a state of supreme excellence by the genius of Phidias, Polycletus, and the other great masters of the Periclean age. They seem to have realised the ideals of their art so completely that it has ever since been held to be impossible to go beyond them. Yet after them a move-
[illegible] as well as modern critics is

looked upon as retrograde. A more personal, more individualistic, more emotional chord was struck, the picturesque frequently took the place of the purely beautiful which dominated the older school. This was the romanticism of antiquity, or something nearly analogous to the romantic spirit of later ages.

This phase, which is represented in sculpture by the schools of Rhodes and Pergamon and by the Græco-Roman sculptors, produced such works as the famous group of Laocoon, which is as different in spirit and workmanship from the sculptures of the Parthenon as a symphonic movement of Beethoven is from a motet of Palestrina or a chorus of Handel

A similar analogy we meet with in the development of the art of painting in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from Raphael and Titian to Rembrandt, Rubens and Velasquez absolute beauty the aim of the Italian masters, faithful, more intimate rendering of individual character that of the Netherlanders and of the great Spaniard. The history of pictorial art in the sixteenth century and of music in the nineteenth have also this in common, that both culminated in producing a supreme master—the one Michel Angelo, the other Beethoven, each of whom gave to the world the ripest and last fruit of the older school, while at the same time his works contained the seed of fresh developments.

The case of poetry, however, is different. It would seem that what we call romanticism has existed in all ages and has its foundation in religious mysticism What could impress more as romantic than the furies in the tragedies of Æschylus? The metaphysical, the supernatural, is, after all, the essence of romanticism The Greeks drew it from the mythological and legendary traditions; we moderns from mediæval mystery plays.

With reference to music, we must not forget that all, or almost all, we know and love is essentially modern, dating not further back than the seventeenth century. It is of course true that the music of the seventeenth century had its root in the preceding ages, yet with certain exceptions, especially in the case of ecclesiastical music, the productions of these earlier centuries have more of an antiquarian than a musical interest. Far be it from us to be wanting in respect and reverence for the composers of the old Italian and English schools Their influence on modern music can be traced from Palestrina and Gibbon through Purcell down to Handel. But it can hardly be denied that our interest in their works is to-day at least as much historical as purely musical In any case, our mind and ear require a special training and attuning to enable us fully to appreciate their structure as well as their grandeur and beauty and the underlying sentiment.

From the middle of the seventeenth century onward, however,

we can clearly distinguish two great streams of musical development which we would like to describe as the Italian and the Teutonic. Although these streams not infrequently intermingle, they in the main hold to their separate courses and correspond roughly to what we call Classical and Romantic. Modern music, starting from the old Dutch, English, and ecclesiastical Italian masters, began fully to develop under the influence of the great literary and artistic revival which we know under the name of the Classical Renaissance. But while in the plastic arts, in sculpture, architecture, and in painting the development was rapid, extending over hardly more than a century, the progress in music was much slower; and music only reached its highest point of excellence fully 200 years later, at a time when the other arts were already in a state of decadence—in the period of the corrupted classicism, known under the name of Rococo.

It is a curious fact that in this period of greatest decadence of the plastic arts and highest excellence in music on the Continent we find in England the very opposite state of things. Music was at that time at its lowest ebb, while in painting it was the time of a Reynolds, a Gainsborough, and somewhat later of Turner and the other great landscape masters.

It is not surprising that we find at this period of decadence in the other arts, even in the works of the greatest masters of music, such as Haydn and Mozart, certain rococo elements, since even the greatest genius cannot wholly escape the influence of his time. I have in my possession a letter of Joachim addressed to his father, in which he says, in reference to a violin concerto of Mozart: 'You will notice here and there a little wagging of the wig—but it is after all Mozart's wig.'

It was but in externals, however, that the great masters now and then paid their tribute to the prevailing fashion. In spirit they were true sons of the Renaissance, beauty of thought and form their guiding principles.

In Beethoven's works of the first and of part of the second period the purely classical element attained its highest development; in those of the last period we notice the approach of something new. Appearing new at the time, though in reality very old, it was what we, for want of a better word, called romanticism.

The two principal sources of romanticism appear to us to be the romantic literature of the beginning of the nineteenth century and the influence of Bach's art.

As in the days of the Renaissance the revival of letters, more especially the study of the ancient Greek philosophers and poets, preceded that of the arts, so towards the end of the eighteenth ... the romantic

element made its appearance in literature, more especially, though not exclusively, in the literature of Germany. There the interest aroused in Shakespeare by Lessing and Goethe, the appearance of Werther and Goetz von Berlichingen, the poetry of Tieck, Novalis, Schlegel—and above all the writings of Jean Paul—and last, not least, the novels of Walter Scott, which attained enormous popularity on the Continent, had raised a great wave of enthusiasm for the romance of the Middle Ages, for the heroic and fantastic world of the Scandinavian *sagas*, the *Niebelungen Lied*, the *Arthurian legends*, the *Minnesingers*, and the *Troubadours* of France, for everything chivalrous and historical; and in addition to this, and in close connexion with it, that love and admiration for the beauty and grandeur of Nature which is a special and novel characteristic, not only of the literature and art of the nineteenth century, but of modern life generally.

How little the sense of natural beauty was developed before that time is proved by some curious facts Boswell relates how the great Dr. Johnson saw in the rocks and mountains of Scotland nothing but repellent ugliness, and even Goethe in his *Italian Journey* has hardly a word for the grandeur of the Alps, or the loveliness of Italian scenery We cannot but assume that the artificiality of a more or less corrupt classicism had repressed, nay almost destroyed, the sense for natural beauty

We will not deny the charm of many productions of rococo art The gracefulness of the figures and of composition, the excellence of draughtsmanship, the beauty of colour in the works of a Watteau are undeniable, and even to the gardeners who at Versailles and elsewhere so confidently set themselves the task to improve upon Nature by geometrical patterns, by hedges clipped to the shapes of men and animals, by artificial lakes and cascades, even to them we must grant a certain charm and ingenuity But all this artificial prettiness was the product and a reflex of a thoroughly degraded age

The great French Revolution, by overthrowing a state of society morally and politically equally corrupt, no doubt did a great deal towards clearing the atmosphere and preparing the ground for the reception of fresh and healthy seed in almost every field of human activity In the works of Rousseau, the greatest literary representant of the Revolution, certain romantic elements are unmistakable, but it was, after all, Teutonic literature and art, as distinguished from that of Roman countries, that made an end to false and corrupt classicism Romance, though not lacking in the Latin countries, is certainly more characteristic of the North than of the South of Europe, and there in the North it had really never entirely died out. The spirit that had animated the architects of our great cathedrals, that led the hand of Dürer

in his wonderful designs, as full of quaint, mystic symbolism and fantastic imaginings as they are, not infrequently wanting in sense of beauty—this spirit lingered on even after the Reformation. It was but thrust into the background, first by the splendour of the Renaissance, and later on it came under the ban of the corrupt classicism that we know under the name of rococo. Yet it is noteworthy that while in plastic arts the decadence and corruption was almost universal, music alone appears but superficially affected, the kernel remaining sound.

Nothing proves this better than the example of Handel, who, great though he was in all essentials of his art, shows himself a thorough product of the rococo age. His interminable runs, his monotonous cadence, his excessive formalism, all these drawbacks of his style, which as we only know too well, are easily explained by the conditions under which he lived and worked. He passed the earlier part of his life at the Court of Hanover, where powder and wig reigned supreme Then he lived in Italy, and finally in the great fashionable world of London. Everywhere he was surrounded by the worst features of a corrupt society which even his robust artistic nature could not entirely withstand.

Bach's case, however, is entirely different. He worked and lived all his life in small provincial towns of Germany, where he was left alone to follow his innate genius. In these quiet country places some elements of mediævalism had survived into the eighteenth century. The *Volkslied* and its twin-brother the *Chorale* still largely dominated musical thought and feeling of humble burghers and peasants. It was among these and in the service of the Church that Bach's forefathers and he himself exercised their art.

We know how large a part of Bach's work clusters around the *Chorale*, not only in the *Chorale Preludes*. Every one of the 200 odd church cantatas he wrote contains chorales, and many of them are entirely built on a chorale: in both the great *Passion* musics and in the *Christmas Oratorio* the chorale plays a great and important part. On the other hand, it is true we see him adopting the Italian form of the *aria*, with its somewhat tedious *da capo*; he also uses for his orchestral works and in his concertos and suites for various instruments almost exclusively Italian and French forms. But it was, after all, the form only which he adopted: the ideal contents of these works are as un-Latin and as un-rococo as possible; they are, in my opinion, thoroughly Germanic. Bach paid his tribute to classicism, but he paid it in his own coin, and in his works rules the ancient spirit of Northern romance, with its sincerity and *naïveté* of feeling, picturesqueness, and quaintness of detail (sometimes, it is true, bordering on the ... sublimity that has

perhaps no parallel except in the wonderful creations of the architectural art of the Middle Ages. If the builders of old times, in raising their columns and vaultings, undoubtedly intended to lead our minds and hearts upwards, Bach, in such pieces as the *Sanctus* in the great *Mass* seems to break through the vaultings and to open to us the vision of spheres beyond human ken.

It is almost incredible, though a fact, that these manifestations of Bach's genius were practically unknown to and certainly unappreciated by the vast majority of his contemporaries All he attained to in his lifetime was the reputation of an eminent organist and an exceptionally clever master of counterpoint A comparatively small number of his works were published during his life—mostly compositions for the organ and piano. A few organists here and there played—probably more to their own satisfaction than to that of their audiences—a few of his great organ works *Das Wohltemperirte Clavier* (the forty-eight preludes and fugues) was used as a book of piano exercises and as a useful collection of examples in the study of counterpoint · that, as far as the general public and the ordinary run of musicians were concerned, was about all that was known of Bach None of his choral works were performed anywhere until after his death, and even in his lifetime, nowhere except at Leipzig, Weimar, and perhaps a few small country towns of Saxony How much they were appreciated is apparent from the fact that the magistrate of Leipzig sent an official paper to Bach complaining of the abstruse character of his church music and ordering him to write in a more intelligible and popular style. No doubt there were here and there a few, a very few, lovers and admirers of Bach's art—such as in England the Wesleys, in Germany Zelter, and some organists—but they were a small band In spite of such exceptions, the fact remains that in the earlier part of the nineteenth century the Bach we know, admire, and love almost beyond any other composer was not much more than a name in the musical world Curiously enough, this was to a considerable extent the doing of Bach's own sons. Though some of them, especially Philip Emmanuel and Friedeman, were musicians of great talent, they worked and wrote on lines absolutely different from Bach's, and thus, no doubt unintentionally and unconsciously, contributed towards making their great father's work sink into oblivion.

Mozart and Beethoven we know had a deep respect for Bach, but they hardly knew more of his work than some of the piano and organ compositions.

It is related that Beethoven on one occasion exclaimed. 'Handel is the unapproached master of all masters; go and learn from him to produce the greatest effects by the smallest means.' Though the latter part of his remark holds good to this

day, could he have spoken of Handel as the unapproached master of all masters if he had known Bach, as it is our good fortune to know him? I think not.

Of Mozart an interesting incident of his visit to Leipzig is reported. He was present at a performance in St. Thomas's (Bach's old church) of the motet *Sing to the Lord*, and was delighted, nay overcome, by the grandeur of that glorious composition. On hearing that there were some more of Bach's choral works in manuscript in the library of the choir school, he begged leave to see and study them, and actually wrote them out in score out of the separate parts. But this exceptional occurrence seems to be but an additional proof of the prevailing ignorance concerning Bach. We believe it to be a fact that neither in Mozart's nor Beethoven's time a single work of Bach's was performed in public at Vienna. Zelter in Berlin early in the nineteenth century conducted a performance of two or three of the church cantatas; but when his pupil Mendelssohn, then a young man of twenty, suggested a performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* he ridiculed the idea of mastering that impossible work. Mendelssohn, however, did the impossible, and on March 11, 1829, conducted in Berlin a performance of that gigantic work—the first performance since Bach's death It was most probably also the very first approximately adequate performance, because with the extremely limited, ıay almost ludicrously inadequate, means for performance which were at Bach's own disposal in Leipzig even the master's comnanding genius could not in any degree have realised his intentions From this Berlin performance dates the rehabilitation of Bach as ͻne of the greatest, in one sense the very greatest, of all musical composers. And it is to Mendelssohn's artistic insight and to ııs commanding personal influence in the musical world that we ıwe this Mendelssohn was indefatigable in bringing forward he works of Bach in the great centres of musical life—perhaps vith the sole exception of Vienna, where after Beethoven's death veritable stagnation of musical life seems to have set in.

Bach's music came like an invigorating breeze into the somevhat sultry atmosphere of romanticism. It gave, if I may so xpress it, a backbone to the body of romanticism—it gave it the trength and depth it needed to prevent its falling into sentiıentalism or losing itself in formless, nebulous fantasy. I hink it is no exaggeration to say that from that time onward very composer of eminence, down to Wagner and Strauss, has een more or less influenced by Bach.

To this general statement, as to all generalisations, there are of ͻurse exceptions, the most notable being Weber.

History teaches us that all great artists stand on the shoulders ... works of his

forefathers. Beethoven's early compositions are often not distinguishable from those of Haydn or Mozart, but where are the sources of Weber's art? His connection with the classical school of Vienna is only apparent in his instrumental works, and as for Bach's influence, no trace of it can be found in Weber

His genius appeared on the musical horizon as a comet, and like a comet, with all its brilliance, it was somewhat wanting in body and substance As a master of melody and orchestration he has but few rivals; Berlioz and Wagner have repeatedly acknowledged their indebtedness to him in this respect. Yet there are certain weak sides to his talent, especially his apparent inability to handle larger forms, and the almost entire absence of what we call thematic treatment, deficiencies which prevent us from giving him a place in the front rank of great composers. His constructive power was hardly commensurate with his creative power; and this was probably not owing to any inherent weakness, but owing to the fact that he was, less than any one of the great masters, standing on the basis erected by those who preceded him. His principal works, the operas of *Der Freischutz*, *Oberon*, and *Euryanthe*, contain the very quintessence of the spirit of romance. With their unceasing stream of lovely melody, and the wonderful, most original orchestration, they are to the unprejudiced listener of to-day as fresh and as delightful as they were to our forefathers nearly 100 years ago. Yet, if we compare the *Freischutz* with *Fidelio* we cannot fail to see that Weber was wanting in that mastery of craft and in the constructive power that was Beethoven's as an inheritance from the great masters who preceded him, and was handed down by him to the best that succeeded him—Schubert and Mendelssohn

In both these masters the classical and romantic elements appear almost equally balanced Schubert, as far as the powerful originality of his impulsive genius allowed of any influence at all, came under the spell of Beethoven's master mind It is not probable that he knew much of Bach's music. Mendelssohn's case is very different; I think it no overstatement to say that he may be regarded as a direct disciple of Bach and Beethoven. There is an inclination to rank him as a classicist pure and simple on account of his eminent mastery of all musical forms, his invariable observance of beauty of melody and sound. Yet does he not prove by such works as the *Walpurgis Nacht*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* music, the descriptive overtures, the Scotch and Italian symphonies, how deeply he was imbued with the spirit of romanticism?

Goethe in his greatest poem symbolises in the figures of Faust and Helena the union of classical and romantic art. The character of Faust, however, embodying the deepest philosophical and psychological problems of mankind, represents but one aspect of

romance—the tragical, such as Shakespeare portrays it in *King Lear, Macbeth,* and *Hamlet.* This Faust element we find entering deeply into Beethoven's art and mind. But there is another, a softer and gentler aspect of romanticism which, in contrast to the tragical, we venture to call the lyrical. It throws its spell over us and charms us in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with visions of beauty and loveliness. That is the romanticism of Weber, Schubert, and Mendelssohn

Schumann appears to us to differ from these masters in that he combines as a composer both aspects of romanticism—the tragical and the lyrical. Of the first, his *Manfred;* of the other, *Paradise and Peri* are the most striking examples. His genius followed a line of development altogether different from that of Schubert and Mendelssohn. For a number of years his literary activity overshadowed his works as a composer. He wrote a large number of fanciful essays and criticisms for the musical journal of which he was the editor. In doing this his chief aim was to rouse in musicians and music lovers an earnest enthusiasm for the highest ideals of musical art and scorn for all that is superficial and meretricious.

He was the first to draw general attention to the wonderful poetry of Schubert's songs and instrumental works ; but above all he never ceased to point to Bach's works as the deepest and richest mine of genuine musical thought and feeling, and to proclaim him as the master of masters His early compositions are so thoroughly romantic, and even fantastic, in character, they bear so unmistakably the imprint of the romantic literature of the time, that at first sight it may appear strange to associate their author's name with that of Bach. Yet, granted their essentially modern poetical character, they stand in their polyphonic structure in very close relation to Bach and his methods of expressing thought and feeling musically. Later in life, mainly influenced by Mendelssohn, as he himself often acknowledged, he began to feel the insufficiency of one-sided exclusive romanticism. And in the ripe productions of the middle period of his life, as a result of untiring study of the great classical masters, he gave us such works as *Paradise and Peri*, the *Symphonies*, the *Piano Quartets* and *Quintets*, the *String Quartets*, that wonderful *Faust* music, and last, the *Manfred* music. All of these combine in the happiest manner the spirit of romance with the most refined sense for the beauty of idea and the form of classicism—of which it has been our good fortune to see the highest and most powerful manifestation in the works of that great master Johannes Brahms.

PAUL DAVID

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FARMING IN SHAKESPEARE'S TIME

WHEN Shakespeare was born in 1564 English agriculture and the English land system had passed through one of those subversive periods which have marked its long and chequered history. Like almost all periods of revolutionary change in this country, it was prolonged and slow. The forces which set it in motion were generated by the Black Death at the middle of the fourteenth century—that 'watershed of economic history,' as it has been termed The peasants' revolts of the end of the fourteenth and the middle of the fifteenth century were stages in the march of events, for, though they appeared to fail at the time, their objects, so far as they were definite—the manumission of the serfs and the abolition of servile service—were ultimately attained. The immediate cause of the rising under Wat Tyler in 1381 was the imposition of a poll-tax, but the chief object of attack was the rolls of the manors in which were recorded the services exacted from each man. Stewards and lawyers, who were regarded as responsible for these documents, aroused the special animosity of the rebels. The address of Jack Cade to his followers (*Henry VI.*, Part II., iv., 2) might perhaps be more applicable, in its allusion to lawyers, to Wat Tyler seventy years earlier, but it expresses the general spirit of discontent and of expectation which commonly inspires revolutions Says Jack Cade to his followers:

> There shall be in England seven halfpenny loaves sold for a penny, the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops, and I will make it felony to drink small beer, all the realm shall be in common, and in Cheapside shall my palfry go to grass. . . There shall be no money.
>
> DICK: . Let's kill all the lawyers
>
> CADE: Nay, that I mean to do Is not this a lamentable thing, that of the skin of an innocent lamb should be made parchment? That parchment, being scribbled o'er, should undo a man?

The end of the Wars of the Roses and the accession of the Tudors marked the beginning of a new era in English history. Indeed, it was the opening of a new chapter in the history of mankind. The boundaries of the world were enlarged. America was discovered. the Cape of Good Hope was rounded, and the

passage to India found. The growth of English commerce led to the establishment of a wealthy mercantile class, and the balance of economic power began to shift from the country to the town The trade in wool and the manufacture of woollen goods increased greatly. The demand for wool reacted upon agriculture and was the main cause of the widespread wave of enclosure which swamped a considerable part of the countryside, especially in the eastern and midland counties.

The word 'enclosure' recurs very frequently in the history of agriculture from the latter part of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth. Whatever was its economic justification, it was inevitably accompanied in a greater or less degree by social disturbance. There can be no doubt that what are known as the Tudor enclosures were carried out arbitrarily and, indeed, ruthlessly. Large tracts of country were turned into sheep-runs, the arable common fields as well as the grass commons being included, and in some cases whole villages were abolished That the extent of the movement has been exaggerated may be granted, but that the injury caused was great is undeniable The indignant protests of men like Sir Thomas More and Latimer, and the fact that Acts of Parliament were passed to check the evils, afford ample evidence. It is easy to say that calculations based on returns collected by commissioners appointed to inquire into the facts show that less than 3 per cent of the land of the country was affected, but statistics were no solace to the poor folks who were turned out of their homes.

It was, however, the mercantile spirit, of which these enclosures were an evil manifestation, which gave the death-blow to feudalism and developed capitalist agriculture and individualist farming The practice of letting land on lease became common. Sometimes the land alone was leased, any customary services of tenants appertaining to it being included. In the sixteenth century the more general practice was to let on a stock and land lease, *i.e.*, the tenant hired not only the land, but also the stock on it, which he was under contract to maintain. In a stock and land lease of 1528 cited by Dr. Cunningham (*Growth of English Industry and Commerce*) the land and buildings and the flock of 360 sheep were let to William Cole, his wife and son, for the term of the life of the last survivor. The rent was 16 quarters of wheat, 22 quarters of barley, 4 loads of wood, and 6*l.*, the last-named payment being specified as the rent of the flock.

The evolution of the tenant farmer, which had been gradually proceeding for three or four centuries, was thus practically complete. In all essential particulars the economic position of the individual occupier of land working with his own capital and [illegible] defined and the

class which from that time to this has been characteristic of the English land system was established The terms 'farm' and 'farmer' then came into use The term 'farmer' appears to have been first applied to a person renting land in an Act of Henry VII., and both 'farm' and 'farmer' were used in the modern sense by Fitzherbert in his *Book of Husbandry* (1523). Both terms are frequently used by Shakespeare

Gremio, in *The Taming of the Shrew* (II, 1), says

> At my *farm*
> I have a hundred milch-kine to the pail,
> Six score fat oxen standing in my stalls

And in *Macbeth* (II, 3) the Porter says

> Here's a *farmer* that hanged himself on the expectation of plenty

The new leaseholders represented farming for profit as distinguished from the old farming for subsistence

In the sixteenth century the long series of books on agriculture and rural life, of which the work of Walter of Henley in the thirteenth century was the precursor, began with Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry* and *Book of Surveying*, both of which appeared in 1523 In 1557 appeared Thomas Tusser's *Hundredth good Pointes of Husbandrie*, expanded sixteen years later into *Five Hundredth good Pointes of Husbandrie* In 1577 Barnaby Googe translated and published in English a treatise entitled the *Foure Bookes of Husbandrie*, and Gervase Markham published several books on agriculture at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. We have thus fairly complete information about English farming in Elizabethan times

There had been little change in the methods of cultivating the soil since the thirteenth century. The three-course rotation was almost universal. It was obligatory in the common fields of manorial farming, and individual farmers were usually bound by the terms of their lease to follow it The rotation was (1) winter corn—wheat or rye, (2) spring corn—barley, oats, beans or peas, (3) bare fallow. Wheat and rye were frequently sown together, but authorities differed as to the advisability of the practice, Fitzherbert advocating it and Tusser condemning it Flax and hemp were cultivated, but both were objected to as exhausting the land, and leases commonly prohibited them, or limited them to a very small acreage

Fitzherbert describes the different forms of plough in various districts, and urges that, as it was too costly for a farmer to buy all his implements, he should learn to make them *as his fathers did*, which suggests that farmers were less resourceful and had more capital than in earlier times.

Fertilisers other than farmyard manure were little known and

less used. The benefits of lime and marl had long been understood, and Fitzherbert regrets the disappearance of marling. Gervase Markham, a little later, recommends a number of substances as fertilisers, including rags, horn shavings, soap ashes, malt dust, rotten fish and blood.

The same writer deals with the diseases and other enemies of corn crops, and declares that of all the pests to which they are subject none is worse than 'crowes or choughs' To deal with these he says · 'The onely best and safest meanes . . is to have ever some young boy with bow and arrows to follow the seedsman and harrows making a great noise and acclamation and shooting his arrows where he shall see these devourers alight.' He adds that if the boy, instead of his bow and arrows, 'doe use to shoot off a musket or harquebush, the report will appear more terrible to those enemies of corne' Then, as Puck says in *Midsummer Night's Dream* (III, 2):

> Russet-pated choughs, many in sort,
> Rising and cawing at the gun's report,
> Sever themselves, and madly sweep the sky.

The farmer's crops, however, were subject to more subtle enemies than rooks. Markham describes 'the malignant qualities which proceed from the influence of the heavens, or rather from the qualities of the planets or elements, which doe many dangerous hurts unto corne, as mainly the haile, the lightning, the thunder, the planet stroke or blasting.' The cures for these visitations which he suggests do, as he ingenuously admits, 'smell rather of conjuration, charme or exorcisme than of any probability of truth.' For example, to stick vine brambles in a field was a protection against hail, while as a lightning conductor a 'hedge tearde' (? hedgehog) was to be put in an earthen pot and buried But the 'most malignant qualitie which offendeth grain,' says this writer, 'is myst and fog, which bring naughty vapours drawne from the infected parts of the earth and falling upon the corne doe not only make grain leprous, but also, infecting the better earth, alter the kindly nourishment thereof, . . . quite turning sweetness into bitterness, fulnesse into emptiness, and goodnesse into badnesse.' It is evident that mildew and smut were prevalent, and that they were associated with foggy and muggy weather.

One of the very few new crops which had been introduced into farm practice was hops, which were brought over from Flanders at the end of the fifteenth century. It would appear that hops were grown somewhat extensively, probably in more parts of the country than at present. A special treatise on their cultivation was published in 1576, and both Markham and Tusser deal with

Much more progress had been made in horticulture than in agriculture, and gardening became in Elizabethan times a popular, and indeed fashionable, pursuit. Some of the fruits then recently introduced were peaches, cherries, apricots and walnuts. Apples, plums and pears were also cultivated, and among other 'garden crops' were cabbage, turnips, carrots, parsnips, radishes, kidney beans and French beans.

The potato was brought by Raleigh from Virginia about 1586, but for a long time was regarded as a luxury. That it was generally well known, even if not much eaten, by the end of the sixteenth century, is demonstrated by the allusion to it in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (V., 5), which was probably written in 1599. When Falstaff cried, 'Let the sky rain potatoes,' we may be sure that not only Queen Elizabeth, before whom the play was first acted, but all playgoing London, were familiar with them.

Shakespeare also provides evidence that strawberries were known. Says the Duke of Gloucester in *King Richard III.* (III., 4) to the Bishop of Ely:

> When I was last in Holborn
> I saw good strawberries in your garden there

We get some idea of the life of a farmer in Shakespeare's time by the directions for a day's work in midwinter set out by Markham. He is to rise at four, and, 'after giving thanks to God for his rest and the success of his labours,' he is to go to the stable or beast-house and fodder his cattle, cleansing their skins from all filth. He goes to breakfast at six, and at seven he starts ploughing. At two or three o'clock he unyokes and brings his cattle home, and having rubbed them down and fed them, he has dinner. He returns to his cattle and makes them all ready for the next day. At six o'clock he has supper, and afterwards 'he shall either mend shoes, beat and knock flax or hemp, pick or stamp apples or crabs for cider or verjuice, grind malt, pick candle rushes, or do some other husbandry office within doors until eight o'clock. Then he is to go again to his cattle, litter them and feed them. Then, giving thanks to God for benefits received, let him and the whole household go to rest till the next morning.'

The farming year began in September, when the farmer would plough the land in course for wheat and rye, and sow them either separately or together. When the seed was sown, furrow drains were drawn, this being the only mode of draining the land then generally known. At the end of the lands a deep ditch was made, being the only fence possible on the common fields against passing animals.

> **Dyke up such ends, as in harm do remain,**
> **For driving of cattle, or roving that way,**
> **Which being prevented ye hinder their prey**

On marshes or low-lying lands subject to floods banks were attended to and, if necessary, repaired. Now was the time to castrate rams and bulls and to sell the year's wool. Fruit was gathered, ' but not in the dew,' and if it was for keeping purposes it was to be gathered when the moon was on the wane. It should, however, not be plucked until ripe :

> Fruit gathered too timely will taste of the wood,
> Will shrink and be bitter, and seldom prove good

Bees were burnt out or suffocated with sulphur and the honey taken The keeping of bees was then almost universal, especially among the smaller farmers and cottagers. Hemp was plucked and retted either by soaking in pools or exposure to the dews on low-lying meadows. Wood for firing was collected, timber sawn, and hedges repaired. The ' shake ' or ' shack ' time, when cattle were admitted to the common fields, began as soon as the crops were harvested In October the land intended for spring corn was ploughed and the sowing of wheat and rye completed It was in many cases to be finished before ' Halloween Eve ' (October 31). Now was the time to set out and sow ' the seed of the bramble and haw,' though this was more for the ' several ' than the ' champion ' farmer. Sloes were gathered and made into verjuice for medicine, and were also boiled with powdered chalk as physic for cows Cider and perry were made, and all sheep which it was not intended to winter were sold. In November barley was malted, pigs killed, and bacon salted, but the careful husbandman killed pigs at intervals during the winter so that ' their offal for household the better will come ' Threshing went on also through the winter, mainly in weather when outdoor work was impracticable. Barley was best threshed as required to provide fresh straw for the cattle, which should if possible be eked out to Candlemas (February 2) so as to save the hay Wheat was best left unthreshed until March, as it kept better in the straw. The barn floor was cleared up by November. Beef was smoke-dried so as to get some change of diet from the bacon and pork which were the mainstay of the meat supply during the winter months. Beans and garlic were set on St. Edmond's Day (November 20). Headlands in the common fields, which were necessarily left until last, were now ploughed. In December work in the fields was generally suspended, and the farm tools and implements, including the yokes for the oxen, were overhauled and repaired. Tusser recommended the housing during the winter of such cattle as were ' feeble and old,' one reason being that it left more pasture for the sheep Cattle were fed with rye straw, wheat straw and peas, oat straw and barley, and last with hay

> . . . [illegible] the straw stover last ;

About Christmas-time it was the regular practice to bleed horses, a custom which lingered long after this period The proper day for this operation was St. Stephen's Day (December 26).

In the depth of winter the farmer would be practically isolated from the outer world by the impassability of the roads At no time perhaps were the public highways in a worse condition than during the sixteenth century The liability to repair rested upon the landowners, but it was commonly neglected, and proceedings in the Court Leet were ineffective. The repeated attempts by legislation to compel persons liable for the repair of the roads to fulfil their obligations are sufficient testimony to their neglect. During the reign of Mary (1553-59) six Acts of Parliament were passed dealing with highway repairs, and during the reign of Elizabeth (1559-1603) nineteen Around London, in the valley of the Thames, in Essex, and in the low-lying eastern counties and fenlands the roads were probably worse than in any part of the kingdom, and, owing to the absence of any system of drainage, they must have been flooded for weeks together It was not, indeed, until the reign of Charles II. (1660-85) that the introduction of turnpikes provided, on a new and more satisfactory basis, for the repair and maintenance of the high-roads The chapman, with his pack on his back or his pack-horse, might occasionally visit the farm and supply small necessaries, and perhaps also buy a little farm produce, and the farmer or one of his men might adventure on a stout horse to the market town, but otherwise there would be very little communication outside the farm or the parish. The provisioning of the household through the winter was therefore a serious matter, requiring care and forethought For this reason an early calf or lamb would be killed to eke out the stores and provide a change of diet

January was the time for mending and laying hedges and clearing out ditches and for pruning trees The trimmings of trees were given to cattle, and if sheep were short of food in consequence of snow Tusser recommended that mistletoe and ivy should be given them. The flock would seem to have had a poor time of it during the winter in those days Trees were to be lopped or pollarded, for the growth of timber was not popular either in the small enclosures or around the common fields A practice apparently prevailed of leaving one bough unlopped 'to cherish the sap.' If hops were cultivated poles were cut at this time Stock was a cause of anxiety. If cows were doing badly and getting thin bay salt was rubbed on the tongue, and a pint of verjuice administered. Pastures on which in-lamb ewes were lying were cleared of bushes and brambles, which were used to mend hedges Calves born between Christmas and Lent were given into the care of the housewife if it was intended to rear them, but if they fell within

three days after the new moon they were not reared. The calves were kept in a shed and suckled twice a day and after a little while some hay and water given They were weaned at the end of fifty days. If weather permitted the land was broken up for barley or oats.

In February dung was carted on the land, and the unthrifty practice was adopted of leaving it in heaps for a month before spreading and ploughing it in. Stubbles were ploughed up. To quote Tusser.

> Go plow in the stubble, for now is the season
> For sowing of vetches, of beans and of peason

By the custom of the manor stock had the right to range over the stubbles after harvest, and probably this led to the practice of delaying the ploughing of them until February. Only grey peas were sown in this month, white peas were not sown until St Gregory's Day (March 12). Both peas and beans however were sown in the wane of the moon, for 'who soweth them sooner, he soweth too soon.'

Oats and beans were sown in March and barley in March, April or May, earlier on heavy than on light land. The necessity for a fine tilth for barley was well understood Oats, barley and peas were harrowed in. During April wheat was rolled, fallow ploughed if the weather was favourable and meadows laid up for hay In Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, according to Tusser, the 'champion,' *i.e.* the open-field, farmer 'maketh his fallow in May.' The dairy from April until November required constant attention, and it was understood that the husbandman was responsible for the cows and his wife for all the rest. On her and on the dairymaid, if one was kept, milking, butter-making and cheese-making devolved. In May lambs were separated from their dams, and the ewes were milked from now until August. Tusser reckons the milk of five ewes to be equal to that of one cow If wheat or barley was thought to be growing too fast and rank it was eaten off by sheep, or even mown. Weeding the corn was probably much neglected, but the more diligent and careful farmers did it. The tools used were 'a weed-hook, a crotch and a glove,' the weed-hook being a form of hoe and the crotch a crooked two-clawed implement for extracting roots. Buckwheat, or 'brank' as it was then called, was sown after barley or wheat, and May was also the time for sowing flax and hemp. The second ploughing of the fallows, or 'twi-fallowing,' was finished if not already done, and the third ploughing, or 'thry-fallowing,' was done as other work permitted during June and July. During the summer months it seems to have been the custom in warm weather to allow a siesta

[1] Tusser says :

From May to mid-August an hour or two
Let Patch sleep a snatch, howsoever you do.

Mavor in his annotated edition of Tusser, in 1812, remarks that 'in Norfolk, we are told, the practice is not quite obsolete on churning days, when the mistress and maids get up early, and likewise among the ploughmen where two journeys a day are performed with their teams and an interval allowed for rest'

In June sheep were washed and shorn, and the first lot of fat cattle were sold The early meadows were mown in this month and haymaking finished in July The best hay was kept for horses and sheep, and any which was indifferently made was given to working oxen. Flax was plucked, buckwheat mown, and mustard seed gathered in July and August In July fat lambs were sent to the butcher In August harvest began with the reaping of wheat and rye and the mowing of barley and oats. The corn harvest was often let by the day or the 'great,' *i e*, by a fixed sum for the whole, a practice which still prevails After harvest it was the custom in some districts for the men to go round the parish crying 'Largess!' but this was, I believe, confined to the eastern counties, where it persisted until quite recent times It would seem that on enclosed farms wheat and rye were cut with the straw more or less in the modern fashion, but in the open fields the old practice of reaping the heads and leaving the straw to be mown later was still adopted In this month the second lot of fat cattle and sheep was sent to the butcher The summer 'great fruit,' plums, apples and pears, were gathered and summer cider and perry made. Manure was carted from the dove-cote and pigs sent to the woods for the early mast.

Harvest-home crowned the farming year and was the occasion for general rejoicing and village festivity When the corn was carried the poorer folk of the village had the privilege by long usage of gleaning all that might be left on the ground

Such a life appears strenuous and monotonous, but no doubt it had compensations. As Touchstone in *As You Like It* (III, 2) says of a shepherd's life, 'in respect of itself it is a good life,' and 'in respect it is in the fields it pleaseth me well.' Life in the open air gave bodily health, if not mental refreshment, while food was plentiful on the farm however short it might be elsewhere The farmer lived exclusively on the produce of his farm, and if his dietary was less varied than that of his successor at the present day it was generally ample. Tusser gives a description of the creature comforts of the farmhouse at Christmas

Good bed and good drink, and good fire in the hall,
Brawn, pudding and souse and good mustard withall,
Beef, mutton and pork, shred pies of the best,

> Pig, veal, goose and capon, and turkey well drest,
> As then in the country, is counted good cheer.

Shakespeare came of a farming stock and married a farmer's daughter, who brought him on marriage about 50 acres of land at Ashbies, some three miles from Stratford-on-Avon. There is no evidence that he ever occupied this land, though he may have done so. His father, John Shakespeare, was a dealer in all kinds of agricultural products—corn, wool, malt, skins and leather. He was a farmer's son, and it is probable that at one period of his chequered business career he had a farm. In any case, it appears certain that Shakespeare's boyhood and early manhood were spent in the heart of rural England and in close association with farmers and farming. That he was country-born and bred his plays and poems afford ample evidence. Whenever he touches country life there is a sureness of touch and subtlety of allusion that no study of books could engender, but which emanated from the intimate contact of an alert intelligence with Nature herself. As there is no bookishness in his descriptions, so there is no book-learning in his knowledge of country life Of scientific agriculture, of botany, of natural history, there was little exact knowledge, and Shakespeare had no more or less than the average countryman. A modern writer (Sir Walter Raleigh in *Shakespeare*—English Men of Letters Series) has noted the limitations of his observation of wild animals and his acceptance of popular beliefs as to their habits.

The well-known description of the bees in *Henry V.* (I., 2) would, no doubt, be regarded by a modern apiculturist as a poetic but unscientific elaboration:

> So work the honey-bees,
> Creatures that by a rule in nature teach
> The act of order to a peopled kingdom
> They have a king and officers of sorts,
> Where some, like magistrates, correct at home,
> Others, like merchants, venture trade abroad,
> Others, like soldiers, armed in their stings,
> Make boot upon the summer's velvet buds,
> Which pillage they with merry march bring home
> To the tent-royal of their emperor,
> Who, busied in his majesty, surveys
> The singing masons building roofs of gold,
> The civil citizens kneading up the honey,
> The poor mechanic porters crowding in
> Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate,
> The sad-eyed justice, with his surly hum,
> Delivering o'er to executors pale
> The lazy yawning drone.

The plays, such as *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, ... the action takes

place mainly or largely in rural scenes, are full of Nature. But allusions to rural life throughout all his works reveal the man who from his earliest childhood roamed the fields and woods of Warwickshire. It is not surprising that the spirit of Nature entered into that amazingly receptive and retentive mind, and we may well believe that the music of his verse owed something to his familiarity with the song of birds and the manifold sounds of the countryside,

> More tuneable than lark to shepherd's ear
> When wheat is green, when hawthorn buds appear
>
> *Midsummer Night's Dream* (I., 1)

Shakespeare's familiarity with farming practice and with farm stock is frequently apparent. We get a glimpse of the usual condition of the common fields in Cordelia's description of *King Lear* (IV., 4)

> He was met even now
> As mad as the vex'd sea, singing aloud,
> Crown'd with rank fumiter and furrow weeds,
> With burdocks, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flowers,
> Darnel, and all the idle weeds that grow
> In our sustaining corn

In *The Tempest* (IV., 1) we have a list of the principal farm crops in a description of the domain of Ceres

> Thy rich leas
> Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats and pease,
> Thy turfy mountains, where live the nibbling sheep,
> And flat meads thatch'd with stover, them to keep

Other farm crops mentioned elsewhere by Shakespeare, which did not fit into this verse, are beans and clover

In *Midsummer Night's Dream* (II., 1) Titania depicts the doleful result of a bad season, which is generally assumed to refer to the disastrous year 1594, when rain and flood ruined the harvest:

> The winds
> have sucked up from the sea
> Contagious fogs, which falling in the land
> Have every pelting river made so proud
> That they have overborne their continents,
> The ox hath therefore stretch'd his yoke in vain,
> The ploughman lost his sweat, and the green corn
> Hath rotted ere his youth attained a beard,
> The fold stands empty in the drowned field,
> And crows are fatted with the murrion flock,

and the old, but always new, lamentation that the seasons have changed is repeated:

> Hoary-headed frosts
> Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose,
> And on old Hiem's thin and icy crown
> An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds

> Is, as in mockery, set the spring, the summer,
> The chilling autumn, angry winter, change
> Their wonted liveries, and the mazed world,
> By their increase, now knows not which is which

Knowledge of live stock and their management is evinced in many passages.

> Scarce had the sun dried up the dewy morn,
> And scarce the herd gone to the hedge for shade
> (*Pass Pilgrim*, VI)

suggests observation of cattle in the fields.

> We shall feed like oxen at a stall,
> The better cherish'd, still the nearer death
> (*Henry IV* , Part I , V , 2)

suggests an acquaintance with the grazier's business.

To the shepherd's calling there are many realistic references. ' I had rather be a tick in a sheep than such a valiant ignorance,' says Thersites in *Troilus and Cressida* (III., 3), and Corin, examined by Touchstone in *As You Like It* (III., 2), shows an intimate knowledge of his business :

> We are still handling our ewes, and their fells, you know, are greasy
> [Our hands] are often tarred over with the surgery of our sheep

Allusions to the dairy are not very numerous. One of Puck's tricks (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, II., 1) is to

> Skim milk, and sometimes labour in the quern
> And bootless make the breathless housewife churn

And there are references to butter, curds and whey, cream and cheese. Bardolph's description of Slender as ' You Banbury cheese ! ' (*Merry Wives*, I , 1) records the fact that this was a famous product at that time, and was naturally familiar to a man bred in an adjoining county. A contemporary writer (Googe) states that the best cheese were ' the Chesshyre and the Shropshire,' and next the Banbury.

It would be easy to multiply quotations, and indeed one might almost construct a description of farming in Shakespeare's time from his works alone.

HENRY REW

MATTHEW ARNOLD AND SOME FRENCH POETS

MATTHEW ARNOLD has himself pointed out that his place as a poet amongst his English contemporaries lies between Tennyson and Browning. Possessing, he said, less poetical sentiment than Tennyson and less intellectual vigour than Browning, his work represented a fusion of the two, but it is hardly a full enough definition of a poetry so complex, and we must add the names of other writers whom we shall find in Germany and in France rather than in England, if by such means we are to get a true notion of the least insular of geniuses

No study of Matthew Arnold as man of letters has ever been undertaken without recalling the description of criticism and the kindred description of civilisation given in his prose

In his own day, for the sake of literature itself, he earnestly wished for an invigoration of the critical atmosphere, and looked indeed to it, for the substitute, to the 'nationally diffused life and thought' that made literary creation what it was in Periclean Athens or in Elizabethan England But the only criticism he admitted regards the nations of Europe as one intellectual and spiritual confederation possessed alike of the knowledge of antiquity and of one another

True civilisation, as he tells both in his letters and his essays, is a process by which one nation acquires from others qualities it naturally lacks For instance, by civilisation England will gain qualities of the open, clear mind and of the flexible intelligence rather, he says, from France than from Germany, and thus be enabled to throw off the hampering yoke of the 'Barbarians' and of the 'Philistines,' of the aristocracy and of the middle classes

Further, we cannot follow Arnold's life and work without realising that he is eminently the poet of ideas He has devoted himself to the 'Main line of modern development,' and is filled with a sense of an ultimate connexion between all a nation's characteristic ideas, poetical and other. It is moreover through their literature, as he has himself declared, that a people best expresses itself. Through this medium, therefore, the civilising process in England is to be carried on; and as for this

purpose, too, he sees Europe tending to become more and more one community, he endeavours by spreading ideas from France to make the tendency useful to his country.

He put his hand at the same time to the processes of literary criticism and of civilisation as by himself defined, and, though the body of the critical, political and theological essays belongs to the later part of his life, we shall find, even in the earlier volumes of poetry, a peculiar sensitiveness to cosmopolitan influences that seems to have been his by nature.

We must remember that English Romanticism belongs to the very day of the French Revolution and that immediately after it Coleridge, and especially Wordsworth, endured all the emotions of hope and disappointment the Revolution called forth as it was enacted, but they were emotions purified by distance, and they even admitted at the last, in Wordsworth's imagination, a solution to the deepest problems involved. Thus, behind all the English poetry which came after his were forces of reconciliation and healing

But, on the other hand, Romanticism in its most obvious sense had by 1830 reached a climax in Byron and an anti-climax in the poets that followed, in the early facile poetry of Tennyson himself Matthew Arnold found a task of reaction awaiting him The work he wished done was constructive, it is of the 'eternal trifler' [1] that he complains, the society for which the Revolution seemed to have wholly failed, the generation to whom neither the voice of Byron nor of Shelley, nor the sad tones of Obermann, the recluse, has taught any lesson. Feeling the complexity of civilised life, he also felt the need for a poetry adequate to it, just as he felt the need for a system of religion in the best sense modern. Till these things are, he is

> Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
> The other powerless to be born [1]

In France, on the contrary, the flower of Romanticism could hardly show until the country was more or less at peace. When it did, its only interpreters were men still under the spell of even physical suffering, impatient of the old way of life, already weary in the new, of imaginations strong and passionate but entirely introspective, interested in life as they could observe it in themselves alone. Behind them, when they turned to Nature, was, not Wordsworth, but Rousseau, not solution, but fallacy; when they turned to the literary past, there was neither Shakespeare nor Milton, as there had been for the English nineteenth century poets, but in the close distance Chateaubriand's great work stood to prove that in France, at least at that time, there was no imagina-

tive precedent which might serve They had inherited only the poetical sensitiveness of Rousseau and an unlimited power of suffering. Theirs was the time for the poets of feeling, and not, with one exception, for the poets of ideas

To some extent Arnold was poet both of feeling and of ideas His avowed friend amongst his poetic contemporaries was Senancour, the author of *Obermann*, one of the most characteristic pieces of self-revelation in prose of which Rousseau's *Confessions* was the first. Senancour wrote earlier than the 1830 poets, but his *Obermann*, like his *Rêveries*, belongs to their Romanticism as much as Chateaubriand's *René* In speaking of Arnold we must go back to *Obermann* rather than to *René*, because we know from the testimony of two of his poems and of his letters and essays that the work had a lasting influence over his youth It is just those qualities which distinguish it from *René* that attract the English poet. Senancour's life and contemplations had a secret character. The one is soon told : it is the story of a life taking refuge with Nature from a world uncongenial to it But his contemplations are unending.

He starts from the premise that the one real life for man is in himself, but that only whilst independent of circumstances, during the silence of the passions, can we study our true self

Obermann seeks a retreat amongst the Alps he used to watch in childhood from Lyons There Nature reconciles him with his fate :

> Near Coppet I saw the dawn, not uselessly beautiful as I had so often seen it, but sublimely beautiful and grand enough to draw down the veil of illusion over my discouraged eyes [2]

But Nature, imposing no lesson upon him, only serves to give still more beautiful expression to his own sorrow He loves the solitary silver birch, its hanging branches, its moving leaves , and its attitude speaks of the wilderness to him.[3]

All through Arnold's poetry, too, runs the thought that man's real life is in himself. The English poet is fond of regarding human existence as a stream—now the river of time down which we are being borne we know not whither, through the plain

> Bordered by cities and hoarse
> With a thousand cries [4]

now a buried stream in which we seem to be

> Eddying at large in blind uncertainty [5]

He is not preoccupied with Obermann's idea, for he has taken it as poetic hypothesis ; he is preoccupied with the difficulty we have in finding ourselves. Man is deprived of the knowledge of his own soul, of the knowledge of fate, of the knowledge of the

[2] *Obermann*, Letter II
[3] *Ibid.*, Letter XI
[4] *The Future.*
[5] *The Buried Life*

uls of those nearest him. The thought lends a peculiar ysticism to his love poetry and to the poetry which treats rectly of man's life The very earth tells of isolation. The tes of nightingales sound from shore to shore, but there comes him from their caverns a longing like despair, for once these ores were part of a single continent, and now between them ws

> The unplumb'd salt, estranging sea.[6]

the woman who inspires the poems to Marguerite Arnold writes

> Thou hast been, shalt be, art alone
> Or, if not quite alone, yet they
> Which touch thee are unmating things,
> Ocean and clouds and night and day,
> Lorn autumn and triumphant springs [7]

we wish to give the sadness of *The Forsaken Merman* a psychogical motive we may class it, too, with the poetry of isolation iich is Arnold's love poetry

These are disabilities many poets have known ; but in Matthew nold the sense of the mystery of human life must have proced paralysis had not he felt occasional insight granted—had not, returning in the most beautiful of analytic love poems contemplate the rarest of love emotions, remembered that he s once 'In another's eyes read clear,' had he not, amidst the erminable struggle of modern existence, learnt from Nature ience to await moments of inspiration, and from the 'Calm il of all things' a peaceful attitude, a philosophic serenity iancour is soothed, not taught, by Nature, and his pessimism s no such alleviations. Like Obermann, Arnold asks as the idition of self-knowledge freedom from the passions, but in the night of that freedom he finds relief from his melancholy. In hilosophic passage which we would perhaps wish shorter he es leave of an Iseult of Brittany, saddened but not changed m herself, nor entirely desperate. It is not suffering, but only furnace of the world and only the subduing fit of passion ich can

> . . change us wholly and make seem,
> All which we did before, shadow and dream.

The difference between the two poets is this, that Obermann ks escape from his despair in infinite illusion, the last resort of complete pessimist, whereas the English writer, whose sincerity omparable only to the imaginative integrity of Wordsworth, nds his poetic life on the moments in which he thinks to have a glimpse of truth itself. By taking thought he is able to ak free from the impotent melancholy of the French writer.

[6] 'To Marguerite' (continued).

This master of his youth confirmed Arnold, no doubt, in the personal interpretation of Nature. In the volume containing the first poem to Obermann Arnold tells us the turf, the hills, the stream, rocks, and the lonely sky to him

> Seem to bear rather than rejoice [8]

And nearly twenty years later in *Dover Beach*, during a mood of unlightened despondency, the sound of the sea bears for him an eternal note of sadness As he hears

> Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar
> Retreating to the breath
> Of the night wind, down the vast edges drear
> And naked shingles of the world,

he is reminded of a retreating sea of faith and human misery and human uncertainty.

But amongst the French writers of verse also there was one who seems to listen to Nature for the clearest echo of his own thoughts, and who gives to it the same subjective appreciation as Arnold. De Musset did not even know the country, de Vigny feared Nature; and the great Romantic Nature poet in England had found in Nature joy Arnold never found more than a lesson of calm, and he was too sincere to fancy it was given him to read another. Before we have done with the poet of feeling in Arnold it is with Lamartine rather than with any other writer that an analogy must be drawn.

All the best work of this poet is connected with influences of the scenery in which he was brought up or in which he had known the emotions of later life. Melancholy by temperament, he had tasted almost every sort of regret before he gave up literature for politics. At the beginning of his political career someone asked which was his seat at the Chamber of Deputies, and he replied, 'The ceiling.' Critics use the anecdote to point out Lamartine the idealist, unhappy and aloof from other men. Indeed, it was significant.

Idealism is the trait by which we recognise him, the sentiment of God and Nature is the substance of his poetry, and '*Sursum Corda*' might be inscribed on the cover Its appeal is to the faithful among poetic minds, and before the speculative modern spirit its emotion perishes.

His *Meditations* appeared as the first poetry of the new poetic age. They came after *Le Génie du Christianisme*, and their inspiration was drawn from the teachings of the Christian religion. They brought an atmosphere of gentle illusion to a society tired of the actual; and their popularity was greater than it can ever be again. Lamartine writes. 'We are nothing of ourselves but instruments

[8] *Resignation.*

for melody '[9]; and this defines his poetry. He does not want ideas. Ideas may, indeed, leave the poet in his pessimism, but yet they attach to it a meaning, and that meaning is like an element of reconciliation before which tears, sighs, and the passive beauty of sorrow are discarded. These facts must make him in most respects unlike Arnold. Yet as rural and elegiac poets we shall find their feelings similar. Night, the tempest, love, hatred, Byron, these are the themes of the Romantic of 1830, and Lamartine has done easy justice to them all. But his readers themselves, an elect amongst idealists, will place above the bulk of his verse, above the quasi-philosophical and dogmatic narrative compositions and above his reflections, those commonplaces of a noble mind, their exquisite Nature-setting, and the simple poetry where he will describe the valley he loved in childhood and youth, ploughing, the autumn landscape, and the feelings of sadness they call up.

His *Isolation* is different enough from Arnold's. He is mourning in it some 'single being,' 'ideal good,' 'the vague object of my desire', but it is the sentimental pretext for an expression of a September hillside crowned with dark woods, the still lake below, the evening star above, and the sound of the village church bell in the distance described in the voice of one who sees in the falling leaves the image of his own soul.

And this type of work develops into a still purer simplicity In such a poem as *La Vigne et la Maison* idealistic commonplaces are indeed the setting; but the actual, avowed subject here is the worn threshold of the old house, and the vine planted on a slope facing south, the shout coming up from the vine-press, and the sense of loss that these associations will evoke as he returns to them when all is changed.

Matthew Arnold's elegiac note is similar, when he mourns his sense of loss has, too, its local habitation. he gives us the same impression of long-standing familiarity with every feature of a landscape less domestic than Lamartine's, but equally real. It is as though their intimacy with the details of the country's aspect gives to these poets a promise of security. Both, indeed, have formulated this notion.

Thyrsis is dead, and the poet returns to the track by Childsworth's Farm to see the elm tree the two friends had known so well, and his sorrowing leads him to retrace the features of the Thames country they had visited together. The thought that they will visit it thus no more is continually with him. Only when as he is looking on the upland there appears to him again

Bare on its lonely ridge, the Tree! the Tree!

' - - lightened

Le Lac is a love elegy, but it is the same in spirit as *Thyrsis*, and looks for comfort to those things 'which time spares or even makes young once more'—in the lake, the rocks, caves, and dark forests. In *Le Vallon* Lamartine apostrophises his own soul whose 'Days are dark and brief like autumn days and slipping away like the shadows on the slopes of the hills' and bids it take refuge in Nature, for Nature when all else alters is the same And here Nature, we must remember, is represented by the well-known valley of his childhood

We associate such writers with special places Arnold with the 'Wet bird-haunted English lawn' of the South of England, Lamartine with the woods and hills and vines around Macon When they write of Switzerland or of the Gulf of Ischia they are eloquent enough, but they are less themselves

Arnold, then, like Senancour and like Lamartine, turned from an unquiet age to sympathetic Nature and found permanence there, and, like Lamartine, Arnold was most at peace when retracing the loved features of a country with which he was in closest intimacy The scholar-gipsy had turned from modern life, 'with its sick-hurry, its divided aims,' and is, again,

> Still nursing the unconquerable hope,
> Still clutching the inviolable shade,
> With a free, onward impulse brushing through
> By night, the silver'd branches of the glade

It is easy to see the difference between Lamartine and Arnold and sufficient to examine Arnold the poet of ideas to realise he must diverge from this poet of the sentiments, and, if he has much in common with Senancour, whom George Sand, Romantic herself, has called the very interpretation of the spirit of 1830, yet there is a further interpretation of it with which he has no sympathy. In Matthew Arnold's work a large place belongs to verse dictated by a melancholy that is literary in character *The New Syrens* is born of this emotion

Of conception as purely literary as any *Ars poetica*, the poem is unique in the passionate discontent which animates it It is the work of a young poet contemplating poetry in 1830 and later, of a critic coming after Homer, the literary Renaissance and literary revolution, of a student of modern life who has in his own day read the poetry of Wordsworth and, we may add, not of Meredith. He regrets the cruel Syrens 'With blown tresses, and with beckoning hands' and 'The charms Ulysses bore'; and he misses the

> Dragon wardered fountains
> Where the springs of knowledge are,

and he knows himself at the call of the modern Syrens, an exile

> From the watchers on the mountains,
> And the bright and morning star !

The young poet has seen the New Syrens at the sunrise on their lawns, and he has eloquent words to praise them :

> When your showering locks enwound you,
> And your heavenly eyes shone through,
> When the pine-trees yielded round you,
> And your brows were starr'd with dew,
> And immortal forms to meet you,
> Down the statued alleys came,
> And through golden horns to greet you,
> Blew such music as a God may frame

The æsthetic beauty of these lines and Arnold's mastery over its expression might have been all-sufficient to their author, they are like a memory in an artist's mind of some Grecian urn of perfect shape. But he was too much stirred to pause over them, and they are but part of a piece of complex thought and complex feeling suggestively restrained within a difficult metre. He sees poetry given over to feeling, thought banished, but to his mind

> . . The winged fleetness
> Of immortal feet is gone,

and in thought alone can he hope for emancipation from satiety and weakness, and of a return to the 'high seriousness' that is always to Arnold the first requisite of great poetry.

We are used to class Browning and Arnold in a school of intellectual poets, and these verses are in a sense its manifesto Whilst Arnold could feel with a Romantic like Obermann, and whilst his view of Nature and of life was often as individualistic as Senancour's, he bears no comparison with de Musset, even when their theme was the same. *The New Syrens* will explain this : Arnold wished to recreate poetry by means of thought, and, as much for this purpose as for the sake of the self-knowledge he counted so precious, he required, like Obermann, a calm of the passions. Musset is the bard of passion whom Arnold would be least likely to appreciate, and we know that, fine critic as he was, Arnold could entirely misjudge a poet uncongenial to him The two men suffered many of the same things in their poetic life—for instance, the sense of solitude, so characteristic of the group of writers to which Musset belongs. But Arnold transforms his suffering into poetry of a different kind. He was not gifted with the wealth of sensibility and emotion, which is sufficient unto itself, and the poetic conscience by which he was [illegible] not allow him to pause over the beauty of sensation.

essay: 'Even Victor Hugo's poetry leaves me cold. I am so unhappy as not to be able to admire Olympio.' He is astonished at Renan for taking Hugo seriously.

Sainte Beuve wrote of Arnold's talent that it 'Unites purity with passion.' The sensuous qualities of the English writer's style are so delicate that it is not possible they should be effective without the idea below, and the purity of his matter and style alike is owing largely to an intellectual scrupulousness he could have met with in but few contemporary verse-writers.

Later it was to comparatively obscure names amongst the French writers of the century that he was to devote essays. Maurice de Guérin (1811–1837) had for Arnold the attraction of a writer whose poems and letters display a delicacy of feeling fostered in seclusion from the society of the day, and Eugénie, sister to Maurice, was similarly gifted. In Amiel the English critic discovered something of the charm of Senancour.

The writings of these authors all, to some extent, react against the current ideals of the French Romantic school, though not in the direction of classicism. But Arnold was deeply acquainted with the earlier French literature; we find him reading it all his life, and in many respects it appears natural that the writer of *Mérope* should have most in common with the past of French poetry, with French classic literature as distinguished from romantic. He does not, however, care for French poetry as a whole, but only for French prose. He is so much prejudiced against the Alexandrine as a vehicle for poetry that he cannot do justice to its good qualities, and, humanist that he is, he looks rather to antiquity than to the French Augustan age for the 'Latin precision and clear reason,' for the lucidity and the good taste wanting, in his opinion, to English letters.

These qualities had in part left French poetry; but he found them in his commerce with the cultured society of Paris. They served to intensify in him the intellectual light his poetry has thrown upon the difficulties of the poet of his own time and ours. For French institutions he has an unbounded admiration, and in the conditions of the literary and intellectual life in France he profited by a stimulus his own country could offer neither to him nor to any other intellectual poet. How much he owed, as an essayist upon poetry, to the French critics is embodied in his own critical works.

There also, however, we shall find him eager for the emancipation from the egoism into which French imaginative literature seemed bound to fall. He considers that Guérin, in a passage from a letter he translates as follows, characterised the Romantic school and its prospects like a master:

. . That youthful literature which has put forth all its blossoms

prematurely and has left itself a helpless prey to the returning frost, stimulated as it has been by the burning sun of our century, by this atmosphere charged with a perilous heat, which has over-hastened every sort of development and will most likely reduce to a handful of grains the harvest of our age.

Matthew Arnold would have allowed that there is everlasting youth in all great poetry, but he sees better the immaturity than the youth in 'the Romantic school.' In France a day of emancipation for literature was to come later, and the means used has been called a return to naturalism. In England Matthew Arnold saw that the day was already at hand, and so he proceeded to hasten a revival of thought in poetry.

In Alfred de Vigny Arnold found the one French Romantic poet in whose poetry idea predominated over feeling: to him Guérin's judgment and the judgment contained in *The New Syrens* could not apply In a sonnet of no great merit [10] Arnold describes the poetic muse clothed in a robe of sackcloth. It ends with the lines—

> Such poet is your bride, the Muse! young, gay
> Radiant adorned outside, a hidden ground
> Of thought and of austerity within

The last phrase might have been written either of Vigny's poetry or of his own

Vigny and Arnold alone brought to bear on the special difficulties of the late Romantic poet reason as well as sensibility, and tried, as philosophical poets, to discover some principle in their melancholy But as a philosophic poet Arnold failed. No complete conception of life may be seen in his poetry; and he is not, in Wordsworth's fullest sense, a teacher. The reason may be in part that he was not deeply read in philosophy. If he had been, he might have found a philosophic explanation for the intellectual troubles that beset him. But the chief reason must be an inaptitude for philosophic ideas His poetry is indeed a criticism of life, but there is both analytic and synthetic criticism, and Arnold's almost always stops short at analysis. He has glimpses only of the larger vision which philosophy or poetry can give.

The two poets present alike that anomaly a subjective poetry, and that is to say a poetry akin to the utterance of the Romantics of 1830, yet essentially reticent in spirit. The melancholy of Vigny's poetry transcends the melancholy of his contemporaries, and it places him, apart from any of them, with the small groups of the great imaginative pessimists of all the ages. We cannot do better than take again the characteristic theme of isolation and suffering to see the similarity and the difference between the two

Vigny fell at first into the conventional style of the preceding period, but, when he had discovered his true bent, he became entirely original in thought and manner. He always generalised his imaginative and mental conclusions, and wrote, indeed, nothing which can have so special an application as the English poet's immediate criticism of their period. Isolation affects him first in its relation to the man of genius, to the elect:

> And Moses standing before God, spoke face to face with him in the dark cloud. He said unto the Lord: '. . . Am I then for ever to live powerful and alone? Oh! give me leave to sleep with the sleep of the earth. What have I done to thee that thou should'st have made me thine elect?' [11]

Jephtha [12] hears his daughter's voice amongst the voices of the virgins of Israel, and knows it is she that must die, the poets Gilbert, Chatterton and Chénier are marked out by their very genius for suffering [13]; and finally, in the poem called *Le Mont des Oliviers*, Vigny sees the whole of mankind labouring in solitude before an 'eternal silence of the Divinity,' and all he can do is to meet the vision with stoicism. In the eyes of the wounded wolf (*La Mort du Loup*) he reads an admonition to suffer and die and never speak.

Little remains that is positive in Vigny but his faith in poetry and in ideas. The poetic muse may in our day have come to be the 'Vestal whose fires are out,' yet it is she alone who is the beloved of all true thinkers [14]; and at the end of *La Bouteille à la Mer* the poet surely concentrates the whole meaning of his work into these words: 'The true God, the strong God, is the God of ideas.'

It would take too long to compare Arnold and Vigny under other aspects, and this is the most instructive. We have seen Arnold in connexion with the sense of personal isolation In *The Strayed Reveller* and in *Empedocles on Etna* he is treating, like Vigny, of the isolation of the poet and the prophet:

> These things, Ulysses,
> The wise bards also
> Behold and sing.
> But oh, what labour!
> O prince, what pain!

Such are the Reveller's words to Ulysses, but Empedocles, putting by his laurels, weary of the solitude in which their wearer must abide, as he leaps into the crater of Etna is prepared for a return to life's 'sad probation' in order that he may make a new attempt to be loyal:

> To our own only true deep-buried selves
> Being one with which we are one with the whole world

11 *Moïse*
12 *La Fille de Jephté.*
13 *Chatterton*
14 *La Maison du Berger*

And this recalls to us the positive assurance Arnold makes in the midst of his melancholy—that he sees a possibility for its solution in true self-knowledge. Moments of insight have been his ; to a few, to Homer and to Shakespeare, it has been granted safely to explore the whole life-stream. For these few there is ' happiness divine '

Vigny's novel *Stello* is as important in this context as his poetry, and it was published seventeen years before Arnold's first volume ; but his posthumous poems give the consummation of his profound pessimism, and these did not appear until Matthew Arnold had written all his verse. Even had Arnold known the group of *Les Destinées* as it appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* it could hardly have affected him The final position of the two poets is not the same. Arnold has seen less clearly, and he reached his conclusion, indeed, through the complicated influences to which a public career in the nineteenth century laid him open , but though he is of a melancholy temperament, and though his imagination was discouraged by contact with an unspiritual society, yet he has told us that he recognises a tendency for good in the ordering of the universe, and he has been able to attribute to the greatest men a ' happiness divine.' The vision of Obermann, the friend of his youth, returned to him towards the end of his poetic career, and as the vision departed he saw morning break.

Vigny's conclusion, on the other hand, is definitely pessimistic. His poetry is significantly barer of poetic charm than Arnold's. Had he never known the struggle of modern existence, nor the political events of the near past and of the present in his country, he would still be pessimistic, for it is by the very profundity of this sentiment that he is able to gather his ideas of life into an unity.

Arnold did not attain such an unity—he is ever seeking the stream of the buried life ; he is at the beginning of a new age of poetry and at the close of an old. Romantic with some English and some French Romantics, intellectual with de Vigny and the future of poetry, he points the way to those who follow, and a great literary responsibility seems to weigh upon him.

V. L. Romer.

BURIED TREASURE

In the third ode of the third book of Horace, one of the six great Alcaics on which the poet's fame most securely rests, there is a striking passage. Juno, addressing the Council of the Gods, declares the conditions of Rome's prosperity

> Dum longus inter saeviat Ilion
> Romamque pontus, qualibet exsules
> In parte regnanto beati,
> Dum Priami Paridisque busto
>
> Insultet armentum et catulos ferae
> Celent inultae, stet Capitolium
> Fulgens triumphatisque possit
> Roma ferox dare jura Medis
>
> Horrenda late nomen in ultimas
> Extendat oras, qua medius liquor
> Secernit Europen ab Afro,
> Qua tumidus rigat arva Nilus [1]

The exact purport of these stanzas has been the cause of considerable perplexity among commentators, and some of the more fatuous have been driven to suppose that when Horace says 'Troy' he really means the old Republican Constitution of Rome This is sheer nonsense There can be little doubt that the ode—opening as it does with a highly complimentary comparison between Augustus and Hercules, and closing with the modest 'quo musa tendis?'—is meant to be a covert warning to the President against the schemes of Eastern Empire he was supposed to be contemplating—schemes which included, among other

[1] ' 'Twixt Troy and Rome must rage the sea,
Where Paris and where Priam sleep,
Wild beasts to hide their whelps be free
And cattle leap

' Then shall the exiles 'neath their sway
Rule all the world and take due toll
From conquered Persia, while alway
The Capitol

' Shall stand and spread the name of Rome
To those far shores across the main,
Where from the South Nile's waters come
And flood the plain '

things, the foundation of a new city near the site of ancient Ilium. But it is not generally recognised that these ideas of Eastern Empire had already in the poet's lifetime brought disaster to the three greatest Romans of his day, and that in the next stanza there is an allusion to one of the most mysterious tragedies in ancient history:

> Aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm
> Quum terra celat, spernere fortior
> Quam cogere humanos in usus
> Omne sacrum rapiente dextra [2]

Editors complain, with some cause, of the obscurity of these lines. But the poet has his reasons. If I am not mistaken, he wishes to indicate—not too plainly—the chief lure which Fortune had dangled before the eyes of Crassus and Cæsar and Antony, a gambler's chance, such as the Greeks called '*Elpis*' the prospect, difficult but still possible, of laying hands upon the greatest store of hidden treasure that existed then, or, indeed (for it is still there), exists to-day.

We see so little gold now that we may soon begin to forget its vital importance in the history of civilisation. That from all other metals it should have been picked out by the Aryans and Semites as the magic source of life may appear irrational, but it is a fact, and, like many other facts, it takes the form of fable in the legend of Perseus, mythical ancestor of the Persian race, sprung from the golden rain that fell into the lap of his mother Danæ. Among all the early peoples, in India, Egypt and Babylonia, gold was a divine substance, and it was the possession of gold that gave their kings the immortality which was denied to the common folk. The two great monarchies of the Nile and the Euphrates both accepted this belief and scoured their world for the 'seed of heaven.' But while in Egypt the king had as much gold as possible buried with him, in order that after death he might attain divinity, in Mesopotamia the royal stores of gold apparently did their magic work in the ruler's lifetime and were left undisturbed at his decease. In times of peace, therefore, the treasure was continually growing in size, and by the middle of the sixth century B.C. it had already reached huge dimensions. When the Median Empire dropped, like an over-ripe plum, into Cyrus's hands, he secured as the result of his victory 30,000 lb. weight of gold bullion, as well as an immeasurable quantity of gold plate. His successor Cambyses added to this the spoils of Egypt, and under Darius, one of the greatest organisers the world has ever

[2] 'But let them dare despise the gold
Which still lies hid—and better so—
[illegible] mortal land to hold

seen, the treasure of the Persian kings began to assume really formidable proportions. All Western Asia, divided into twenty satrapies, was ransacked for gold, and contributions of bullion and gold dust, amounting to many millions in our money, were ruthlessly exacted every year. In the wild gorges of Altai and the Ural Mountains miners wrestled with pick and shovel against the griffins who were supposed to guard the shining veins, and sent the rough ore down by way of the Euxine to Susa. Where the rivers of Asia Minor run down in flood to the sea naked slaves stretched sheepskins, and held them taut against the tide so that they might catch in the fleeces the grains of golden sand borne down by the turbid tide Amid the deserts of Southern Arabia, Phœnician caravans painfully made their way through the burning wastes, struggling on to reach the mysterious realm of Ophir, whence in exchange for their dyed stuffs they brought back the gold which their master required of them. And in India—but here Herodotus must tell his own story.

There are other Indians [says the Halicarnassian] bordering on the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyica, settled northward of the other Indians, whose mode of life resembles that of the Bactrians They are the most warlike of the Indians, and these are they who are sent to procure the gold, for near this part is a desert by reason of the sand. In this desert then, and in the sand, there are ants in size somewhat less indeed than dogs, but larger than foxes These ants, forming their habitations underground, heap up the sand, as the ants in Greece do, and in the same manner, and they are very like them in shape. The sand that is heaped up is mixed with gold The Indians therefore go to the desert to get this sand, each man having three camels, on either side a male one harnessed to draw by the side, and a female in the middle, this last the man mounts himself, having taken care to yoke one that has been separated from her young as recently born as possible, for camels are not inferior to horses in swiftness, and are much better able to carry burdens.

The Indians then, adopting such a plan and such a method of harnessing, set out for the gold, having before calculated the time, so as to be engaged in their plunder during the hottest part of the day, for during the heat the ants hide themselves underground When the Indians arrive at the spot, having sacks with them, they fill these with the sand and return with all possible expedition For the ants, as the Persians say, immediately discovering them by the smell, pursue them, and they are equalled in swiftness by no other animal, so that if the Indians did not get the start of them while the ants were assembling, not a man of them could be saved. Now the male camels (for they are inferior in speed to the females) slacken their pace; but the females, mindful of the young they have left, do not slacken. Thus the Indians, as the Persians say, obtain the greatest part of their gold, and they have some small quantity more that is dug in the country.

This gold, it must be noticed, served a double purpose, and had for the Persians both an actual and a mystical value. Some of it was coined into darics, some was used for ornaments, such as the golden pomegranates on the spears of the king's bodyguard,

some was made up into the great golden plane tree and the spreading golden vine which stood in the royal council chamber. But most of it was left in the form of bullion, and was the most precious and most vital appanage of the Persian throne. Where the king went, there went also the chests and casks in which it was stored; for from them the king drew his mystic power, and if he was separated from them disasters, such as happened to Darius and Xerxes, might be expected to occur.

Such, then, was the royal treasure; and upon it in its material aspect the needy Greeks always looked with covetous eyes. Persia, as readers of Æschylus will remember, was for them the land of gold, and during the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., when the military strength of Persia was steadily on the decline, it was only their own mutual feuds, carefully stimulated by Persian doles, that prevented the Greeks from making an attack. When Philip of Macedon got possession of the gold mines at Thasos and Pangæum he used their revenue to build up a strong army and to secure the headship of Greece, so that on his death Alexander was at last in a position to take the offensive. Crossing over to Asia in 334 B.C., he won the cavalry skirmish of the Granicus, and followed this up with the more important victory of Issus. But in neither of these did he come into contact with the Grand Army of the Persian Empire: the final issue was decided in 331 B.C at the Battle of Arbela, fought near the site of ancient Nineveh in the plain where the Zab River runs down to the Tigris.

Arbela was a crushing and decisive victory, but, although the battle began in the morning of October 1, darkness had fallen before the result was assured, and in the night that followed Darius, with a considerable part of his baggage train and forces, got clear away to the east, and for rather more than half a year was left undisturbed in distant Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan. Alexander, for his part, went southwards, and for those six months the Persian king was awaiting, we may imagine with what alternations of hope and despair, a fresh attack.

At this point there are two assumptions to make and two explanations to give. The assumptions are these. First, it may be supposed that the Persian royal treasure, after the retreat from Arbela, was buried somewhere in the neighbourhood of Ecbatana, and, secondly, that a tradition of its existence and a rough idea of its locality persisted for many centuries. In favour of the first hypothesis we should remember that in those months of waiting, while he was still surrounded by faithful dependants, Darius had ample time to dispose of his gold, and it is hardly likely that he did not take advantage of the opportunity. Among [illegible] who had no safe deposit companies, to bury money

occasion when danger was not a matter of uncertainty, but could be clearly foreseen. We have no actual evidence of the manner in which the treasure was concealed, but we know definitely that when at last Alexander came northwards, and Darius fled from him into central Asia, he was only attended by a company of followers lightly equipped, and that when the fugitives were overtaken the corpse of the great king was the only prize that Alexander secured.

The second assumption follows from the first If the treasure was buried, a certain number, though not, perhaps, a large number, of people must have been concerned in the business, must have known the locality of the hiding place, and must have left behind them a tradition of its existence That this knowledge was kept carefully concealed from Alexander and from Seleucus, who after Alexander's death carved out for himself the kingdom of Syria, is only natural The treasure was the sacred inheritance of the Persian nation, and these Greek interlopers had no lot or part in it. Indeed, so far as possible, the Persians refused to acknowledge their existence, and the later historians of Iran coolly pass over the 550 years 320 B C —A D 226 as though they had never been. Darius, the last of the Achæmenids, is for them succeeded by Ardashir, the first of the Sassanids · the two foreign dynasties, the Greek Seleucids and the Parthian Arsacids, do not count.

But although the Greek and the Parthian oppressor were for good reasons kept in total ignorance, the Romans, who came to overthrow the Greeks and Parthians, were not quite in the same position. Rome's first contact with Asia was in 190 B C, when she defeated Antiochus the Great at Magnesia and exacted from him an indemnity of 15,000 talents The province of Asia—the district we call Asia Minor—was organised 133 B C, but it was not until the Third Mithridatic War (74—63 B C) that the Romans became acquainted with the hinterland that stretches back to the steppes of the central continent It is not unlikely that when Lucullus with his army appeared on the Euphrates he may have been regarded by the Persians as a liberator from foreign rule, and that some faint inkling of the Ecbatana treasure may have reached his ears. In any case, he was marching straight towards Arbela when he won the great victory of Tigranocerta (69 B C), and that he advanced no further was due to circumstances not under his control. Pompey, who succeeded Lucullus, was too unimaginative to concern himself with mysterious tales of hidden gold; but when the Army of the East returned to Rome 62 B.C., and the men began to talk, there was one person for whom their reports had an intense interest. Crassus was already the richest man of the day but it is only those who have money who really

value it ; and Crassus at once determined that the treasure of the Persian kings should, if possible, be his. Accordingly, when the three confederates divided up the world in 55 B.C., Pompey stayed in Italy, Cæsar in Gaul, and Crassus, taking with him such a force as he thought sufficient for his purpose, went off to Asia to see if he could not find there that which Lucullus had failed, and Pompey never tried, to discover. The story of his expedition is well known, and it may be noticed that from the very first it was dogged by evil omens. As he left Rome one of his political opponents, the tribune Ateius Capito, ran on ahead to the city gate, and, as Plutarch tells us :

> placed there a blazing brazier and when Crassus came up cast incense upon it and invoked curses which were dreadful and terrifying in themselves and were reinforced by sundry strange and dreadful gods whom he summoned and called by name The Romans say that these mysterious and ancient curses have such power that no one involved in them ever escapes

Again, as he stepped on board his galley at Brindisi an old man, selling figs from Caunus, came down the quay side calling his wares 'Cauneas,' a chance omen which, rightly interpreted, is equivalent to 'cave ne eas' = 'take care; don't go.' In Asia also there were sinister signs. For instance, one day, after he had successfully plundered a temple, his son stumbled and fell at the door, and Crassus himself fell over him. But to all this Crassus paid no heed. He had come for the gold, and he meant to have it. The Parthians taunted him, and said openly that he was only making war for his own private gain, his own officers advised the southern route to Ctesiphon and the lower Euphrates. But Crassus insisted on striking northwards to Armenia on the way to Ecbatana, and so came to his doom at Carrhæ. After the battle his head was cut off, and, according to one story, molten gold was poured down his throat to satisfy thus at last his avarice. Then by special messenger it was sent to the Parthian king, and, arriving just as a strolling troupe of Greek actors were performing before him Euripides' *Bacchæ*, it was used to take the place of the property head of Pentheus in that play.

Carrhæ was as near to Ecbatana as Crassus could get. The next adventurer was even less successful: he was never allowed to leave Italy. When Cæsar returned to Rome from Spain in 45 B.C. his position apparently was enviable enough. He had chased the Senatorial party round the Mediterranean; he had beaten their armies at Pharsalus, at Thapsus and at Munda, and he was now the undisputed head of the Roman State. But to be head of a bankrupt Government is a position of more responsibility than credit, and that Rome was perilously near bankruptcy [illegible] we know for a fact. War is a costly pastime, and civil

that it

is not to be wondered at if the financial position with which Cæsar had to deal was one of the greatest difficulty. As Ferrero says:

> Throughout Italy the distress had grown to appalling dimensions: a large part of the middle class and the proletariat had been driven almost to desperation by the continuance of the depression The distress was increased by the reduction that had been found necessary in the number of recipients of the corn dole there were thousands at Rome living in enforced idleness on the verge of starvation. An awful catastrophe seemed inevitable unless some new source of revenue could be discovered

Considering the crisis, and considering Cæsar's character, we can see that it was almost inevitable that he should turn to the East. There were, of course, in Italy rich men in plenty whose property might have been confiscated to fill the depleted coffers of the State. But to obtain their money it was necessary to kill the owners, and Cæsar shrank from the proscription lists whereby the triumvirs a few months after his death saved the situation He determined to try again where Crassus had failed, and in 45 B C. began his preparations for an Eastern campaign. Ostensibly it was to be a war against the Parthians to avenge Carrhæ, in reality, as all Rome knew, its main object was by hook or crook to lay hands upon enough treasure to put things right in Italy and establish Cæsar as autocrat of a solvent Empire. That the treasure was there and that Cæsar, the favourite of Fortune, would get it were both, I think, regarded as certainties, and those who did not wish to see the old republican constitution irretrievably destroyed had to take action at once. Cassius, who had been quæstor under Crassus and would have handled the treasure if his general had succeeded, made himself the centre of a plot to prevent Cæsar at any cost from starting. The conspirators caught Cæsar off his guard, and the ides of March saw the end of the second attempt.

The real inheritor of Cæsar's plans and his successor in Cleopatra's favours was not the cold-blooded Octavian, but the sanguine soldier of fortune Mark Antony, and as soon as Antony had definitely withdrawn from Italy, he in his turn prepared to bring the treasure land under his control The details of his Parthian wars—wars which began in 36 B C and occupied all the best of his energies for the next four years while Octavian was steadily consolidating his power in the West—may be omitted here; but a few sentences from Mommsen's account of the initial campaign deserve notice[3]:

> Still more surprising was the direction Antony chose. He might after he had reached the Tigris through northern Mesopotamia, nearly along the route which Alexander had traversed, have advanced down the river upon Ctesiphon and Selencia. But instead of this he preferred to go in a northern **direction at first towards Armenia**, and from that point, where he united

[3] *Provinces of Roman Empire*, vol ii p 28

> his whole military resources and reinforced himself in particular by the Armenian cavalry, to the tableland of Media Atropatene (Aderbijan). He may have thought that he should be able to push forward thence into the heart of the enemy's country and might regard the old Persian court residences of Ecbatana and Rhagæ as the goal of his march. But, if this was his plan, he acted without knowledge of the difficult ground and altogether underrated his opponents' powers of resistance, besides which the short time available for operations in this mountainous country and the late beginning of the campaign weighed heavily in the scale. As a skilled and experienced officer, such as Antonius was, could hardly deceive himself on such points, it is probable that special political considerations influenced the matter.

If you are mistaken in your estimate of a person's motives you are quite likely to be surprised at his actions, and Mommsen's astonishment may well be due to some such misapprehension. Like Crassus and Cæsar, Antony had roseate dreams of an Eastern Empire which Alexander, his son by Cleopatra, should inherit from him. But his immediate object was the treasure buried near Ecbatana, and it was Ecbatana he made his first goal. But he again, like the other two, never reached his destination. The defeat of a subordinate and the capture of his siege artillery compelled him to withdraw with a loss of some 20,000 men, and although in the next four years he made attempt after attempt—sixteen legions were concentrated in Armenia 33 B.C.—he never succeeded in getting even near his Eldorado. So when the final struggle for supremacy took place between himself and Octavian he was unprepared. Actium was really won, not on the day of the actual battle, but in the previous six months, when Agrippa was left in command of the sea. The connexion between the Persian treasure and Antony's death is not so obvious or spectacular as in the case of Crassus and Cæsar, but it is none the less true to say that the time he wasted in Asia 36-32 B.C. was the direct cause of his defeat at Actium 31 B.C.

Carrhæ, the ides of March, Actium: these are the grounds on which Horace based his warning; and never was warning better justified. But the ode is more than a warning. It is easy enough for a poet to make a character foretell what has already happened. To prophesy the future is more difficult. Yet this is what Horace has done in this ode, and a series of sinister coincidences after his death gives his words now a peculiar significance. He had scarcely been ten years in his grave when the first fulfilment came, and it was upon Augustus after all that the blow fell. The President himself, it is true, had never gone further than Syria and had left the Euphrates lands alone. For that he had his reward: he died in his bed. But he did not altogether escape the Eastern temptation, and, although he did not go himself, he

and in Armenia Gaius died. The circumstances of his death, caused, it is said, by a poisoned wound, are obscure; but the fact remains that it was owing to this expedition that Augustus lost his cherished hope of being succeeded by one of his own blood.

The second fulfilment occurred in the next reign, when a fate exactly similar to that of Gaius, and equally mysterious, befell Germanicus. Tiberius, like Augustus, sent his heir and adopted son to the Euphrates (A D 20), and, like Augustus, never saw him again. How Germanicus came to his untimely end and whether he was really poisoned by Piso are questions that cannot now be answered. In any case, he never returned.

It may be asked how it is that we have no mention in the literature of the Roman Empire of this Persian treasure. The answer is that we possess only a very small amount of what was then written There is a passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus which occurs just before our manuscript breaks off that deserves quotation in this connexion.

> Fortune soon afterwards made a dupe of Nero through his own credulity and the promises of Cæsellius Bassus, a Carthaginian by birth and a man of crazed imagination, who wrested a vision seen in the slumber of night into a confident expectation He sailed to Rome, and having purchased admission to the Emperor, he explained how he had discovered on his land a cave of immense depth, which contained a vast quantity of gold Phœnician Dido, as he sought to show by inference, after fleeing from Tyre and founding Carthage, had concealed these riches in the fear that a new people might be demoralised by a superabundance of money, or that the Numidian kings, already for other reasons hostile, might by lust of gold be provoked to war Nero, upon this, without sufficiently examining the credibility of the author of the story, or the matter itself, or sending persons through whom he might ascertain whether the intelligence was true, himself actually encouraged the report and despatched men to bring the spoil as if it were already acquired Nothing else at the time was the subject of the credulous gossip of the people and of the very different conversation of thinking persons Extravagance meanwhile increased, on the strength of a chimerical hope, and ancient wealth was wasted, as apparently the Emperor had lighted on treasures he might squander for many a year. He even gave away profusely from this source, and the expectation of riches was one of the causes of the poverty of the State Bassus indeed dug up his land and extensive plains in the neighbourhood, while he persisted that this or that was the place of the promised cave, and was followed not only by our soldiers but by the rustic population who were engaged to execute the work, till at last he threw off his infatuation, and expressing wonder that his dreams had never before been false, and that for the first time he was deluded, he escaped disgrace and danger by a voluntary death. (Tac, *Ann* XVI 1–3)

Unfortunately the *Annals* stop short with the events of A.D. 66, and we have not the help of Tacitus to enable us to understand the motives of the great Eastern expedition which Nero two years later undertook. His general Corbulo had for some time been preparing the ground and in 68 the Emperor made ready in

person to set out for Armenia at the head of his troops. His first destination at least we know for certain—it was the near neighbourhood of the treasure.

The great Oriental expedition [says Mommsen] for which Nero had already put the flower of the Western armies on the march was meant no doubt to push forward the imperial frontier in other directions; but his chief aim was the passes of the Caucasus above Tiflis.

The importance of these passes will be obvious from a glance at the map. To an army landing at Trebizond they offer an alternative route to Ecbatana, and by A.D. 68 Nero must have been getting desperate for money. Though Dido's treasure had proved a delusion, there was still a chance of lighting upon the treasure of Darius, if only one was master of the country and could explore at one's leisure. That chance of exploration Nero never obtained. The hand of fate once more intervened, and the repercussion of events in Gaul and Spain put a stop to the expedition as it was on the very eve of departure. Nero committed suicide—for no very good reason and in rather mysterious circumstances—and the treasure once more escaped.

It might be imagined that these untoward happenings would have discouraged even the pertinacious Romans from any further attempts. The Flavian emperors perhaps thought that discretion was the better part of valour; but Trajan was both an extremely determined man and also an inveterate gold-seeker. In his Dacian campaigns he had traversed the same ground which Darius in his Scythian expedition had ransacked for the precious metal. Neither monarch, it appears, was very successful, and one of Trajan's worst disappointments was, when he had diverted a river at enormous trouble, to find that the treasure said to be hidden in its bed was actually non-existent. His Parthian wars lasted for four years, A.D. 114-117, and in his first three campaigns, proceeding slowly and methodically, he drove the Parthians back eastwards and added three new provinces to the Roman Empire The autumn of 116 brought him to the mountains that separate Mesopotamia from the Caspian plains and Ecbatana, and he was preparing to resume his advance eastwards the next year when he suddenly sickened and died (August 8, 117).

With Trajan Roman interest in Mesopotamia ceased. His conquests were given up soon after his death, and Rome was compelled to stand on the defensive rather than seek new territory. Then in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. the forces of Turan, in Asia, began to gather against the forces of Iran: Scythians, Huns, Mongols, Turks, all came down southwards and westwards, ravaging and destroying as they went, and leaving few of the [illegible] to survive. So for many hundreds of years [illegible]

and the existence of an ancient civilisation here almost forgotten. Furthermore, during the dark ages all the more active spirits among the gold-seekers of Europe were busily engaged attempting to discover the philosopher's stone which could convert all the baser metals into the substance they desired. In the fifteenth century men, wearying of that fruitless search, turned to the exploration of distant lands, and in Africa and America sought to find the golden fruit of the Islands of the Hesperides. The Guinea Coast, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Peru served to satisfy the world's appetite until the nineteenth century discovered the virgin ores of California, Australia, the Transvaal, and the Yukon. To-day it is the turn of the archæologist The methods that Schliemann used at Troy and Mycenæ have borne fruit, and Sir Arthur Evans and Lord Carnarvon have revealed some of the treasures that lie buried in Crete and Egypt The time is ripe for an attempt at Ecbatana, and the way there to-day is comparatively easy. Baghdad is now a polite city with modern hotels, and will serve as a convenient resting place before the explorers push on to Hamadan. Once arrived at their destination they would survey the country, examine all the ancient maps they could find, and question the people to see if there is not some surviving tradition of buried treasure. Then with luck they might unearth the biggest store of gold that was ever collected in ancient times

F. A. WRIGHT.

THE GREEK ATHLETIC IDEAL

AFTER existing for more than 1100 years the Olympic games were abolished in A D 393, and from that date until the nineteenth century athletics in the Greek sense of the word may be said to have disappeared from the world. Various forms of hunting were practised by the rich nobles when they were not engaged in the sport of war, and in England, at least, during the eighteenth century horse-racing and prize-fighting became popular. But when in the nineteenth century interest in the problem of education awoke, and the public schools began to set their houses in order, the value of athletics in the form of organised games to occupy the leisure as well as to develop the physical powers of boys became apparent. The various forms of sport favoured in the schools were carried on at Oxford and Cambridge, and the pleasure and benefit derived from them gave an impulse to other games, which are more possible and suitable for grown men engaged in business with only a limited amount of leisure. But the form of modern sport or athletics bears the characteristic mark of its place of origin and is sharply distinguished from the Greek practice. The essence of school sport is the competitive spirit, and while athletics in the narrow sense of the term—that is, running and jumping—have maintained their place in schools and in the larger world, the real enthusiasm for sport has centred on 'team' athletics, such as cricket and football and rowing It is only in quite recent times that tennis and golf, where the greatest prizes fall to the 'single' player, have attained a popularity equal to that of any other game. Athletics, as the Greeks practised them, were essentially the field in which the individual could distinguish himself; there was little or no 'team' spirit, but the element of danger was not absent from them. Chariot-racing, especially with the four-horsed chariot, was very dangerous; wrestling was rough; boxing was severe; and the *pankration*, a mixture of wrestling and boxing, was even more severe from the freedom of its methods.

The various forms of modern athletics are, except on general [illegible] ordinary activities. Greek

was never far from the city State of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. and demanded fitness in all the adult male population, for travelling by land or sea, which required hardness and the ability to fight for one's life at any moment. It is perhaps their intimate connexion with the rest of life which has made it possible for them to be used as a theme for literature and art, while the modern athlete lives in so ephemeral a manner in the sporting columns of newspapers, in photographs, and in the trivial gossip of personal paragraphs. We have memorable descriptions in English prose of foxhunts and prize-fights and cricket matches, but modern sport lacks its inspired poet or sculptor to shed upon it 'the God-given splendour' which Pindar, for instance, felt was its due.

The different forms of literary art which the Greeks perfected during the period of their creative activity have remained as permanent types upon which all subsequent European literature has been moulded, not in the superficial sense of being simple imitations of the peculiar Greek texture of style, but in the adaptation and development of those grand forms to stir our emotions. The Romans, we are told, claimed satire for themselves, yet it is doubtful if satire has ever proved itself to be a great form of art in the manner of tragedy or epic poetry, doubtful if it belongs to great creative epochs and is not rather a product of those periods when, as Hegel quaintly observes, 'the owl of Minerva is already on the wing and with the twilight grey paints everything in grey.' But while European literature has drawn all its modes of expression from the Greeks, there are certain modes understood only by them, instruments on which they made no less perfect music than on those which we too can handle, whose secret has perished with their creators These forms survive to prove to us the surpassing richness and distinction of their genius The comedies of Aristophanes and the *Odes* of Pindar on athletic victories remain unique creations in the world of art

Pindar's life extends over the most triumphant period of Greek history Born at Thebes in the sixth century B C, he composed his first ode for a Thessalian noble before the battle of Marathon in 490. He was over forty when the freedom of Greece was finally won at Salamis and Platæa He lived to see the establishment of the Athenian Empire, the ruin of his beloved Ægina, and the frustration of the Athenian bid for land power by her defeat at Coronea in 447. His last ode is generally assigned to 446, when Athens, by means of her empire and wealth, was drawing to herself all the genius of Greece. The splendid buildings on the Acropolis had been designed and begun. Sophocles was the favourite master of Greek tragedy, and the last great phase of Greek

to which he belonged in way of life and ideal had already passed away when death came to him at Argos.

The victories which Pindar celebrates were obtained by athletes from all the important centres of Greek life in the fifth century B.C. There are the princes and rich nobles from Sicily and Cyrene and Thessaly, athletes from Magna Græcia, from Rhodes and Ægina, the mother of so many victors, from Thebes and Opus, from Corinth and Orchomenos, from Athens and Acharnæ and Argos. Sparta is the only important place from which Pindar apparently received no commission, for Sparta had ceased to send competitors to the great games as part of her general policy of aloofness from the rest of Greece. Thus, if we except Arcadia and the other small cities of the Peloponnese, the Epinikian odes afford excellent material for estimating the general feeling not only about athletic success, but about the larger issues of life in which bodily vigour was always an important advantage. It is unlikely that Pindar, though he looked on himself as an inspired poet and preacher, the exponent of the divine wisdom of Delphi, would utter sentiments or give advice which he knew to be contrary to the accepted ideas of his audience. As teacher he may criticise existing standards of conduct or protest against wrongful views about divine beings, but as a professional poet who was to some extent dependent materially upon his commissions he must fall in with the views of his patrons and audience, must speak a language in which they could recognise the qualities —refined, perhaps, and glorified—which they held to be desirable. Upon this common foundation Pindar has reared a structure which the Greeks whom he addresses would recognise as expressing most perfectly their own dimly-conceived and incomplete reflections upon the way of the world

We cannot doubt that Pindar enlarged immensely for them the significance of victory in the games. It is indeed the function of the great poet to widen as well as to deepen an individual experience and to draw into the one central light thoughts and acts which seem at a first view out of relationship with it and of small importance. That is all to the credit of the poet, fulfilling to his public the duty of teacher as he himself understood it according to the Greek tradition. He never regards victory as an isolated fact in the life of the individual; it becomes symbolic of the whole of life, and through the individual is woven into the fabric of the corporate life. At the same time he increases the field of illumination to include both the past and present, so that the victor sees the glory of his achievement in the games blend with the glory of heroic deeds, the glory of an Achilles or Peleus ... not for athletic success, but for a crown of honour and

The other great writers of the fifth century who deal with the contemporary life of Greece present it at a moment of crisis Herodotus narrates the culminating moments of the supreme struggle against the East, Thucydides the final agony of rival ambitions in the Peloponnesian war. Æschylus, who in time is closely contemporaneous with Pindar, debates little else in his drama except problems of theology and ethics reflected on the stage of a superhuman world. Pindar remains the poet of normal life and peace, aloof from the great struggles, aloof from the science and speculation of Ionia and Athens, interested in the actual living of life, in the establishment of an ideal that can be realised, in the clear limitation of human hopes and fears His thought is based upon the popular consciousness of Greece which found honest but incomplete expression in the earlier poets, Hesiod and Theognis. Beneath the magnificent vesture of his language his audience detected the sentiments of their own hearts, amplified and perfected, but never passing beyond their comprehension. In the hardest of all tasks Pindar rarely fails he is the singer of the average ideal of life, not over-intellectualised, as in the second half of the century at Athens, not over-burdened with military discipline, as at Sparta · fresh to receive impressions, and no less fresh and sensible in its judgment on them; accepting life as it actually comes with its joys and sorrows and free from all nervousness, whose forms we can still admire in the marbles from Ægina and in the few precious fragments from the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the inmost shrine of the Pan-Hellenic athlete, best of all in the torso of the Apollo—all the energy of his spare strong body gathered up into the service of the mind and flung into the gesture with which he dominates the struggle.

Pindar distinguishes three moments of importance for the competitor in the games: the time of training, the actual struggle, and the years after success. Interest in the modern athlete is largely concentrated on the first two aspects, and the adjustment of success with the rest of life is never considered. The wide sweep of Pindar's vision, belonging to the youth of Greece, as yet unconvinced by secular experience that man must be content with the 'broken arc' on earth, disdains to leave the athlete or the prince in the moment of success Beginning and end must be harmonised with the constant facts of all experience, and the three stages in the athlete's career are shown to be typical of the three great periods of life—youth, manhood and old age, each of them revealing only under trial its peculiar excellence 'It is trial that maketh manifest the prime of those virtues, in which anyone shall have proved himself pre-eminent, whether as a boy, a man among men, and thirdly as an elder among elders according

to the several portions of life, which we, the race of men, possess.'[1] And there is one more excellence without which neither the athlete nor the ordinary citizen can obtain the crown of success, the ability to recognise and to seize what is best in each passing occasion.

'Trial is the test of mortal man;[2] those who make no trial have an inglorious obscurity.'[3] Man's life, according to Pindar, draws all its glory from the varied forms of action, whether in the games or on behalf of his city in war or counsel; and counsel is especially the virtue and the service of the old. Trial, toil, and danger are words which occur continually through these odes and awake in the individual the spirit of adventurous daring and endurance. 'If there be any bliss among mortal men, it doth not reveal itself without toil.'[4] And in the effort to achieve success a man must spend freely both his physical powers and his money. A good trainer is necessary: 'It is foolish not to learn betimes.'[5] A trainer, however, cannot do everything, and Pindar regards the true athletic or sporting instinct as something hereditary No amount of professional lore and training can compensate for the absence of this spirit. 'That which cometh of Nature is ever best: but many men have striven to win fame by means of merit that cometh from mere training.'[6] This gift of Nature combines a natural aptitude for many forms of sport, which exists, for instance, in certain classes of English society, with the will to 'hold on' in an uphill fight and to endure, without losing cheerfulness or courage, the hard knocks which precede victory no less than defeat.

'The great adventure demands no coward soul,' cries Pelops in the first Olympian ode. 'Excellence without the love of adventure wins no honour either among men on land or on board hollow ships.'[7] So, too, the heroes long for the voyage of the *Argo*, refusing 'to nurse at home a life that is without adventure,' and in his contemporaries Pindar looks for a spirit which 'boldly essays all the exploits for noble deeds.'[8] It is toil which brings a man peace at the last. 'Out of labours undertaken with the aid of youth and right there cometh a gentle life at the approach of eld'[9] Goodness of breeding, a daring spirit tempered by wisdom, the will to spend and be spent, these are the essentials for success in the games and equally in the arena of the city State, and we can feel little surprise at Pindar's glorification of the games, for it springs from a sense of the immense importance

[1] N 3, 70 The translations, with a few exceptions, are taken from the very convenient edition of Pindar (text translation, etc) by Sir J. E. Sandys in Heinemann's 'Loeb' series

[2] O. 4, 17.
[3] I 4, 30.
[4] O 12, 28.
[5] O. 8, 60.
[6] O 9, 100
[7] O. 6, 9.
[8] P. 5, 116.
[9] N. 9, 44.

of the effort after victory to the character, so that the merely physical and perishable element in the victor's crown is transfigured by ethical values.

Pindar never attempts to describe the actual struggle for victory at Olympia or elsewhere He sang primarily for those who were familiar with the games, if not in all the splendour of the great gatherings at Delphi or Olympia, at all events as they were to be seen at many minor festivals throughout Greece; and he must have felt that such descriptions, even if they could be brought within the compass of his art, were superfluous His references to the various events are almost conventional · a few words to recall the rush of the chariots, a reference to some characteristic throw in wrestling, 'the cunning skill that swiftly shifts its balance, but never falls' [10], to the sweat upon limbs under a burning sun,[11] is all that he permits himself He seems to turn deliberately from the memory of blows and physical exhaustion to recall the more ideal aspect of the scene He recreates the atmosphere of the games, calling to mind the landscape of each place with touches of local colour vivid enough for those who knew each spot, the grassy meadows at Cirrha where the Pythian chariot races were held, the 'shady primeval mountains' near Nemea, the sunny hill of Cronos, and 'the grey-hued adornment of the olive spray' at Olympia He dwells with delight upon the beauty of those familiar scenes, most lovely when after sunset 'the moon with her car of gold had at eventide kindled the full orb of her light,' [12] and the evening banquet takes place amid the flashing of torches in the spot set apart for it by Heracles at Olympia, and 'in the joyous festival all the precinct rang with song like banquet music.' [13]

He brings back the proud moment of victory when 'all the friendly host raised a mighty cheer,' and with the characteristic Greek feeling for physical beauty recalls the impression produced by the mingled fairness and strength of some victorious athlete like the son of Archestratus 'whom I saw winning victory with the might of his hands—one who was fair to look upon and was graced with that bloom which, in olden days, by the blessing of Aphrodite, warded from Ganymede a ruthless fate' [14] The adjective by which Pindar expresses the form and strength of the athlete and its appreciation by the spectator means literally 'what is gazed at or admired' (θαητός) He uses it of anything which by its beauty can hold the eye spellbound; of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, of the morning star, of the limbs and of the human body seen at the games, so beautiful that the women,

[10] O 9, 91.
[11] N. 7, 73.
[12] O 3, 19
[13] O 10, 76
[14] O 10, 100.

'each, after their kind, have in silence prayed that they might have such a one for their dear husband or son.' [15] Not the straining of muscle and nerve, which would remain lively enough for a while in the memory, but the moments of beauty and glory are selected for the more lasting benediction of poetry, moments which may follow the victor into his old age and which may make the ode full of the spell of beauty for those who read it in after time.

'Very strong is he and fair of form, and he has excellence not at all inferior to his frame.' [16] Beauty of form is to be the visible sign of inward excellence (ἀρετή), that peculiar and comprehensive Greek word in which is contained for Pindar all the qualities desirable in man. It embraces courage and strength of will, the desire to achieve glory and to fulfil perfectly one's duty towards the gods and one's own city State The possessor of this excellence is, within the limitations of Greek morality, the perfect gentleman, the perfect warrior, who can weave together strength and daring and knowledge, so that when the occasion comes he is true to himself and can seize it with promptness first in the games and then in the larger arena of life 'Success is the crown of perfect glory.' [17] but victory in the games is an early event in life, is but the 'bright porch' of the building which is to be erected, and Pindar never lets his athlete depart without counsel and good wishes for the future.

It is impossible to read carefully through these triumphal odes without noticing the constant recurrence of the word 'grace,' either in direct appeal to the three Graces, or in words derived from their common appellation or from their individual names, Aglaia, Thalia, and Euphrosyne—the lovers and givers of splendour, of feasting with dance and song, of enjoyment. In one of his earlier odes Pindar sings their magic power in human life. 'By your aid all things pleasant and sweet are accomplished for mortals, if any man be skilled in song or fair to look upon or hath won renown. Yea, not even the gods order the dance or banquet without the aid of the holy Graces. They are the ministrants of all things in heaven.' In singing their praises Pindar is paying homage to the power of art which flowed in on the consciousness of the Greeks from all the incarnations of beauty in visible or audible form. The Graces enable man to view things for a moment in timeless manner, when his life becomes like that of the gods, free from all thought of disease and decay and death.

And so when the months of physical training have culminated in victory the arts are called upon to lay their spell also upon the

[15] P. 9, 98 [16] I 7, 22. [17] N. 1, 10.

victor and upon all those who are associated with his success. The spiritual delight of music and song and dance enhances still more the idealising interpretation of the poets' words. It is not in general sufficiently remembered that music, which includes for the Greeks song and dance, was, of all the arts, the one which pervaded most intimately their life, the one of which they had the most direct and frequent enjoyment. Painting and sculpture and architecture, though they were all in complete harmony with their consciousness, were not so much a part of their lives: such works of art faced them as admirable but independent and objective creations, in music they all could, and did, indulge in the natural joy of artistic creation, could join together in dance and song in a common unity of self-expression. The actual moment of this activity is felt as something positive and precious during which the cares and desires of life drop away. It is a definite good to be set against the uncertainty of the future and the disappointments of the past. Pindar never tires of insisting upon the wisdom of gathering what the present may offer Just as the athlete wisely applies his inborn qualities and good training at the right moment and seizes success, so the wise individual will himself employ and share with others the poet's art to appropriate and enjoy to the full a few more moments from the ceaseless progress of time. Victory in the games, numerous as they were, can fall only to a few fortunate individuals; the enjoyment of art can be seized on countless occasions. This enjoyment comes to men through the inspiration given to poets by the Graces.

Here again the difference between the Greek and the modern conception of athletics appears in its full extent. The intrusion of art into this sphere of life is the seal of seriousness upon what is otherwise idle play, and at the same time makes the seriousness delightful by its own power to charm. We have our photographs and caricatures of athletes and sporting events, and we admire in our own mute manner the harmonious display of skill and physical fairness in some champion, but we do not turn those achievements into a thing of lasting beauty, fresh from generation to generation, full not only with the strength and pride of health, but with a deeper significance drawn from the whole of life. In the days when the leaden breath of Rome hung over Greece and athletics were sunk in the morass of professionalism, St. Paul wondered that men should strive so hard for a corruptible crown. But Pindar always demands something more than the enjoyment of that fragile wreath of olive or wild celery; his mind is always fixed upon the most incorruptible thing that was possible in his day: 'Whatsoever one hath well said goeth forth with a voice that never dieth; and thus o'er the fruitful earth and athwart

the sea hath passed the light of noble deeds unquenchable for ever.'[18]

And just as he raises the athlete and his success above the temporary limitations of Olympia or Nemea into the wider life of Panhellenic sentiment, so he raises that life to its highest potency. His vision and flight is that of the eagle. 'The eagle swoopeth e'en beyond the sea'[19] He diffuses into the air by which the common life of Greece is sustained a tonic quality which passes with breathing into the blood and stirs the mind to a sudden comprehension of the splendid possibilities of that life. No other Greek poet except the author of the *Odyssey* has transferred into his work so much of the morning freshness of the seabreeze, so much of the brightness of midday, of the clear air through which birds pass, through which ships and islands and steep cliffs and sloping headlands can be seen. As the ship carries him or his song or the victor to Ægina or Sicily or Cyrene, it is met by the gleam of marble temples with their statues and ornaments of gold and bronze. The glory of light is never far from his mind, not only of the day 'child of the sun' in his own beautiful language, but of moonlight shining on a procession of victory or marriage: the brightness of wine and of gold, the brightness of the morning star, of flowers after the dulness of winter; all this light is only the physical or visible counterpart of the light shed on life by the Graces and the poet. The clear bright air and fulness of light felt so directly in these odes stimulates the whole body and mind, acting like wine upon the imagination to raise it to the heroic level The sap of life seems mounting everywhere just as the trees and vegetation of the earth grow under the benediction of the morning dew,[20] and the noblest and most incorruptible element in man responds to the precious influence.

A very slight acquaintance with Pindar's *Odes* will convince the reader that he is free from any narrow admiration of the athlete. The earliest odes are as free from it as the latest; in all of them he comes forward with perfect assurance as the inspired spokesman of Delphic wisdom, confidently bidding his victorious patrons to

> Grow old along with me,
> The best is yet to be,

and he would have the successful athlete advance with him to become the perfect citizen—warrior and counsellor—possessing the things of this world without being possessed by them, turning the bodily and mental training of the early years into a way of life in which the greatest happiness possible for a mortal may be enjoyed. Then only does he become the perfect athelete in the

[18] I 4 40 [19] N 5 21 [20] N 8. 40.

struggle of life. 'For any one man to win the prize of happiness complete is impossible. I cannot say to whom Fate hath professed this crowning boon as a sure possession. But to thee, Thearion, she giveth a fitting season of success.'[21] As Apollo at Delphi is the exponent of the will of almighty Zeus, so Pindar in his function of poet is the spokesman of Apollo and the wisdom of Delphi. His poetry is full of veneration for the god and his holy place, and through him we have the fullest insight into that gospel of life as it was understood and found acceptable by Greeks from all parts of the mainland or Mediterranean for once united at the festivals of the games.

There is one God, and Apollo is his prophet That is the beginning and the end of the Delphian or Pindaric theology. Pindar talks much of the other gods, but in his most serious and devout moments he calls upon God without any particular name He is firmly convinced of his omnipotence and omniscience 'God fulfilleth every purpose, even as he desireth, God that not only overtaketh the winged eagle, but also surpasseth the dolphin on the sea and bendeth many a proud mortal beneath his sway'[22] 'If any man hopeth to escape the eye of God, he is grievously wrong.'[23] Trust in God's will is a primary necessity of life, so that the good thing of the present may not be spoiled by anxiety about the future.

And the second great principle of the wisdom of Apollo, more important even than the other for its immediate practical value, is the precept which all visitors to Delphi saw inscribed upon the porch of Apollo's temple · 'Know thyself' God is unknown, and man, instead of making vain efforts to fathom his mind, had better turn his attention to himself Know thyself and life as it really is, confined within the limits of the actual, and do not let life pass away in vain hopes which do not recognise what is possible. It is the gospel of mortality, free as yet from the consciousness that life is fundamentally insufficient, instinct with the certainty that something can be made of life, not disillusioned, though aware that toil and sorrow come upon all men, and untouched by any belief that in some other world the balance of things may be redressed.

'Learn from me the nature of life'—that is the burden of Pindar's poetry—life which only endures for a limited number of years, exposed through all its course to sickness and sorrow, to toil and weariness with old age as its end, if a man pass unscathed through all its dangers: a life of effort with hunger and insecurity constantly at the door Hopes lawful and unlawful, good and bad, dance perpetually before men's eyes, leading by easy stages

[21] N. 7, 55. [22] P 2, 49 [23] O 1, 64

to delusion and doom. Yet there are times and occasions of delight, most of all in the years of youth and manhood, but without any security of duration, so that the prosperous may fear to fall and the miserable may hope to rise, and the one certainty in life is the uncertainty of fortune.

How salutary for the athlete is Pindar's habitual reference of each success to the wider experience of life! How necessary where such honour was paid to the victor in the games that he might be tempted in the pride of youth and strength and beauty to think himself to be as one of the glorious gods, who know neither old age nor toil nor disease! He invests this general knowledge of life with all the splendour of language and imagination of which he is capable and gives it a concrete application in the hour of victory. 'But know thou that for all these things . . .' The warning words come again and again in solemn cadence in almost every ode—it may be to some great Sicilian prince or to the simple athlete from Ægina or Thebes 'Seek not, my soul, the life of the immortals, but enjoy to the full the resources that are within thy reach.' 'Changeful are the breezes of the winds that blow on high The bliss of man does not proceed unimpared for long, whene'er it followeth them in its full weight and measure.' [24] 'If any man who hath riches excelleth others in beauty of form and is wont to display prowess by his courage in the games, let him remember that the limbs he is robing are mortal, and that, in the end of all, he will be clad in a vesture of clay.' [25]

Yet while on the one hand the athlete can see in the clearest manner the limitations of life and the veering currents of human circumstance, on the other hand Pindar bids him rise above helpless insignificance—first, in the faith that whatever happens is the dispensation of Zeus who gives both 'this and that' and guideth the fate of men that he loveth; secondly, in the knowledge that action, of which this success was but the beginning, is the real life of man and can shed upon him something of the glory with which the heroes of the past are invested. The mythical narrative of some heroes' prowess, so conspicuous a feature in almost every ode, and possessing for the Greeks the power that the Bible has for Christians, is brought in to reinforce the truths of the preacher. A victory at Olympia or Delphi is not anything final: it is only the prelude to the more 'swelling theme' of fine actions fulfilled through the whole span of life. And the type of such a life in Pindar's mind is that of Heracles, whose toilsome and beneficent deeds, mingled with those of the Æginetan heroes Eacus, Peleus and Achilles, enter so continually with the force of

[24] P 3, 61 and 104

[25] N. 11, 13.

religious influence into the message of these *Odes*. But the heroism of Heracles has its reward. It is not the self-denying heroism of mute service, satisfied with having done its duty. He 'has allotted to him, as his choicest prize, peace that would endure for ever in the homes of bliss,' and man too, bearing in mind the sundering gulf between himself and heaven, may hope to win, with God's grace, delight and happiness from his efforts and to transform the passing delight of success in the games into a more abiding satisfaction, the realisation of the ideal of that wider 'athletic' life in which all strive, not for a crown of leaves as in the days of their youth, but for the crowning of their maturity.

'Our limbs are fettered by unfortunate hope,' sings Pindar in the last Nemean ode 'Hope,' he says, in a fragment 'chiefly ruleth the changing heart of man' In the obscurity of life it is Hope which prompts man to act, and does not let him remain paralysed by his knowledge of the uncertainty of the future. 'We embark upon bold endeavours, yearning after many exploits.' [26] There is the essential character of the Greek, and it is to the training of that character that Pindar addresses himself Man's hopes and his actions must be concentrated on certain ends which are possible of achievement and may satisfy his desire for what is fair and noble. 'Youth, by reason of his high hopes, flieth lightly on the wings of his manly exploits' [27] 'May the gods inspire my love for things fair, while in the bloom of life, I am eager only for that which is within my power' [28] 'The brazen heaven he cannot climb.' [29] Vague and romantic desire is to be put away and every purpose and nerve devoted to the accomplishment of something here and now 'Whatever each man striveth for, if he win it, he must hold it as his near and dear delight' [30] Such delight may be short-lived or it may be lasting, but it is the highest man can expect, remembering his mortality 'For every one of all mortal men the brightest boon is the blessing that ever cometh day by day.' [31]

And what is the heart's desire? Something that at first sight may seem material enough and yet can expand by the inspiration of Pindar's interpretation to include the delight of art and corporate action. 'Two things alone, linked with the fair flower of wealth cherish the most delectable bloom of life even comfort and a fair name.' [32] And more briefly at the end of the first Pythian 'The first of prizes is comfort, the second is a fair reputation If a man lights upon and keeps those two things, he has received the highest crown.' That is the ideal of an age when misfortune

[26] N 11, 44
[27] P 8, 90
[28] P. 11, 51.
[29] P 10, 27
[30] P 10 61
[31] O 1, 99
[32] I 5, 12

and want were constantly at the door and daily bread and bodily security were not always certain. 'Every man strains himself to the task of keeping importunate hunger from his belly.'[33] It is at least a hope that is realisable, and it is not selfish, for a fair reputation can only be won by sharing one's good things with others and thus averting the dangers of envy and falsehood, those two darling sins of the Greek city State. But comfort and a good name are not enough. Pindar protests against the materialism of his own ideal by insisting on the necessity of winning, where it is possible, a further 'luxurious glory' through art; he dwells on the supreme happiness of those whose actions abide for ever commemorated by the poet's skill In the midst of this transitory and uncertain world the poet can establish an unmoved centre of calm where for the moment all else is forgotten in the spell of poetry and the eternity of fame 'promised by the ever-living poet.' '*The light of noble deeds unquenchable for ever.*'[34] Such actions attain an ideal or spiritual value as examples for other ages. It is the privilege of princes and of the rich that they most of all can command this immortality, and Pindar, writing primarily for such men, urges them to live up to the measure of this ideal But he does not lose from sight the mass of men who do not possess distinction of position. They can all share in the 'good work which is done for the common weal.'[35] Every act has its unique value. The individual and his city are 'lit up with countless distinctions by reason of deeds of prowess'[36] What, after all, are those myths which form the heart of so many odes except narratives of splendid action? Pindar may have been influenced in choosing the myth by the circumstances of the victory which he celebrates, but the full purpose of his choice is not thus narrowly limited. From these myths the consecration of the heroic world falls upon the actual world of men, joining them all together into a 'Church militant.' In that heroic world he finds the 'lust of action' with which the athlete in life as well as in the games should be filled. How intense is the life of those heroes! Without pause the narrative sweeps along, action following upon action with the swiftness of thought. And, 'though his heart cleaveth fast unto the theme of Heracles,' Pindar sings the noblest form of his ideal in the scene where Pollux 'made no long debate' when he was given the chance of surrendering the fulness of his immortality to redeem from death his mortal brother Castor.[37]

G. M. SARGEAUNT.

[33] I. 1, 49 [34] I 4, 42. [35] P 9, 93 [36] N. 10, 2 [37] N. 10.

NOW—AND THEN

VERILY there is nothing new under the sun With patient iteration Clio renews her lessons, teaching, or seeking to teach, successive ages what shall be the future by pointing to the past. But, like Cassandra, she is never believed. Those other, earlier generations—they were foolish, uninstructed, they quarrelled, they did not trust their leaders, or they chose the wrong ones; they presumed beyond their strength, and the high gods brought them crashing down. But we—'we are earth's best' Never before have there been the like of us!

But stay, is it so? Is it really so?

We were reminded not long ago that Pericles had conceived a League of Nations True, it was to be a League of Hellenic Nations, more prone perhaps than Europe to internecine war, if more capable of union by virtue of a common tongue, and the purpose of the League was 'that they might henceforward pass to and fro and trade securely and be at peace among themselves' But nothing came of it The villain of the piece—the Brazil of yesterday—was Sparta, who 'crossed the design underhand and baffled it.' Perhaps, after all, her action was not unnatural, for the League would have existed for the greater glory of Athens But Jealousy, the green-eyed, still besets human nature

We need not be surprised if Hellas presents such a parallel to our most modern movement The fifth century B C bristles with such parallels It was astonishingly modern When later the bottom fell out of the ancient world, Europe had to begin life afresh at the foot of the ladder, and it is only of late that it has climbed back again to the intellectual eminence of that illustrious age. We have far more in common with it than we have with any of the three-and-twenty centuries that part us from it It, too, was driven by the

> Spirit yearning in desire
> To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
> Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

What could be newer than a new American city of the West? Yet Thurii, that Pericles planned and Herodotus settled in, was

laid out in rectangular blocks with due regard for convenience and health; and education was compulsory and free; while, side by side, Hellenes of all races were to be taught to live in amity together.

Our youngest intellectuals would fain be Communists. It was Plato who taught them—Plato before years had tempered his idealism. Let a laughing Aristophanes state their case through Praxagora, his Woman in Parliament:

> The rule which I dare to enact and declare
> Is that all shall be equal, and equally share
> All wealth and enjoyments, nor longer endure
> That one should be rich, and another be poor

And again,

> All women and men will be common and free,
> No marriage or other restraint there will be.
> . . . . .
> All youths will in common be sons of the old.

And let Aristotle reply:

> Communistic legislation may have a specious appearance of benevolence; men readily listen to it, and are easily induced to believe that in some wonderful manner everybody will become everybody's friend, especially when someone is heard denouncing the evils now existing in states, suits about contracts, convictions for perjury, flatteries of rich men and the like, which are said to arise out of the possession of private property. These evils, however, are due to a very different cause—the wickedness of human nature. Indeed, we see that there is much more quarrelling among those who have all things in common (*Politics*, II, 5)

And, indeed, we have not yet heard that quarrelling has ceased in Russia or that the millennium is in sight.

Revolution is in the air. A perilous adventure! The risks are known. Thucydides records for us the common phenomena of a Reign of Terror. France in the eighteenth century, Russia in the twentieth, have but re-enacted the horrors of Corcyra—spying, treachery, private malice, perjured witnesses, biassed judges, organised butchery.

> For seven days the Corcyræans were engaged in butchering those of their fellow-citizens whom they regarded as their enemies, and although the crime imputed was that of attempting to put down the democracy, some were slain also for private hatred, others by their debtors because of the moneys owed to them Death thus raged in every shape; and, as usually happens at such times, there was no length to which violence did not go: sons were killed by their fathers, and suppliants dragged from the altar or slain upon it
>
> The sufferings which revolution entailed upon the cities [adds Thucydides] were many and terrible, such as have occurred, and always will occur as long as the nature of mankind remains the same, though in a severer or milder form, and varying in their symptoms, according to the variety of the particular cases. (Thucydides, III., 81, 82.)

Will even a League of Nations make war impossible? No League can suddenly change human nature Will the new democracy, even when led by Labour, never wish to fight? The Peloponnesian war saw in the Athenian democracy the most resolute, unprincipled, and merciless of war parties The unemployed, the men upon the dole—for the juror's fee in Athens was the dole—staked all their hopes on victory Peace could not do anything for them, war might An Athenian empire would mean more business in the law-courts, higher fees for the thousands of jurymen, cheaper bread, free seats at the theatre Therefore fight on till Sparta is crushed, though all Hellas tumble to ruin with her! No compromise! no hint of it, on peril of your life! There Kleon the demagogue and Demosthenes the soldier were at one. Under other names they may be at one again And their coalition may be as disastrous as that which plunged Athens into the Sicilian expedition, when

> the idea of the common people and the soldiery was to earn wages at the moment, and make conquests that would supply a never-ending fund of pay for the future. (Thucydides, VI, 24)

Disaster still waits upon the hasty actions of an ill-informed electorate. The Athenians resolved upon the expedition against Sicily, 'most of them being ignorant of its size and of the number of its inhabitants,' and the consequence was ruin

Perhaps the admission of women to the electorate may prove a more potent reinforcement of the League than all the councils and reasonings of men Their nature shrinks from war Let the dramatist express their point of view through a woman's lips:

The Woman

We are the people who feel it the keenliest,
Doubly on us the affliction is cast,
Where are the sons that we sent to your battlefields?

A Magistrate

Silence! A truce to the ills that are past!

The Woman

Then in the glory and grace of our womanhood,
All in the May and the morning of life,
Lo, we are sitting forlorn and disconsolate,
What has a soldier to do with a wife?
We might endure it, but ah for the younger ones!
Still in their maiden apartments they stay,
Waiting the husband that never approaches them,
Watching the years that are gliding away.

A Magistrate.

Men, I suppose, have their youth everlastingly.

The Woman.

Nay, but it isn't the same with a man:

> **Grey though he be when he comes from the battlefield,**
> **Still if he wishes to marry he can.**
> **Brief is the spring and the flower of our womanhood:**
> **Once let it slip, and it comes not again;**
> **Sit as we may with our spells and our auguries,**
> **Never a husband will marry us then.**

How poignantly appropriate still! Yet the dramatist is Aristophanes, the woman his Lysistrata (' disbander of armies '). A women's Government, she says, would soon end the interminable war.

Thucydides, it has been said, ' is almost more modern than ourselves '; and the period of history with which he deals ' is only ancient in the sense that the events related happened a long while ago; in all other respects it is more modern than the history of our own countrymen in the Middle Ages.' Indeed, the Middle Ages, almost 2000 years later, looked back to him and his illustrious contemporaries as masters of knowledge and wisdom whom a degenerate age could never hope to rival. The mediæval authors did not aspire to be original. They were proud if they might be ' conduit pipes for the wisdom of the ages,' for

> Out of oldè bookès, in good feith,
> Cometh al this newè science that men lere

Strong meat, some of it—too strong for poor mediæval priest-ridden Christendom, that could never let the quest for truth, elusive truth, range freely!

No less modern than Thucydides was Euripides, so ' astonishingly like ourselves,' ' too modern for our fathers fully to understand, as he was too modern for his contemporaries,' whom he continually offended because, like a true master, he would not be tied by an inherited convention. What a shocking lapse from the great tradition to

> put things on the stage that came from daily life and business
> (Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 959)

to make your beggars dress like beggars, your women feel and think and speak like real women, to present problem plays to Athens—as if Athens went to the theatre to vex its mind with problems! Of course it did not: nothing so unorthodox! There were few prizes, in consequence, for Euripides, and at the end there was exile, self-imposed. Rivals were preferred to him, who are now forgotten. But contemporary opinion seldom recognises the prophet. It is the rarest marvel if it will let a Bernard Shaw, as a caterer to its amusement, subtly laugh a fortune out of those who would ban him if he insisted that they should understand.

The nineteenth century A.D., no less than the fifth B.C., declared that Euripides hated women, because he would not

idealise them, as the convention of his day, like the convention of our yesterday, required. The suffragists knew better; knew that he understood. Who for more than 2000 years had understood so well? So they turned to him for burning words in which to voice their plea in the days before the war—words such as Medea uttered when Jason deserted her, the moody barbarian wedded with the left hand, for a young Greek princess.

> Oh,
> Of all things upon earth that bleed and grow,
> A herb most bruised is woman We must pay
> Our store of gold, hoarded for that one day,
> To buy us some man's love; and lo, they bring
> A master of our flesh! There comes the sting
> Of the whole shame.

'Know you what it is to be a child?' wrote Francis Thompson; and at the end of a catalogue of the child's characteristics he says: 'It is to know not yet that you are under sentence of life, nor petition that it be commuted into death.' Rupert Brooke, too, played with the same fancy Who would suspect that words like these could be an echo floating down to us through two millennia? Yet listen to the authentic voice, the voice of Euripides, as Professor Murray has interpreted it for us:

> Who knoweth if the thing that we call death
> Be life, and our life dying? who knoweth,
> Save only that all we beneath the sun
> Are sick and suffering, and those foregone
> Not sick, nor troubled with evil any more?
>
> (*Phrixus*, fr. 833)

Till he was well advanced in middle age Euripides was an ardent democrat. Freedom of speech was his ideal. Without it there can be no democratic government. The laws of Athens protected it, protected the weak, protected all minorities; so

> Weak men cast back the lie
> On prosperous calumny, the poorer sort,
> If justice back their plea, confound the strong,
> And freedom in our Parliament proclaims,
> 'Who can depose wise counsel for the State?'
> Then he that will, sits silent; he that will,
> Speaks and wins glory. Can equality
> Go further?
>
> (*The Suppliant Women*, 433—441: Murray)

And again,

> Nor yet to gold
> Give we high seats, but in one honour hold
> The poor man and the rich
>
> (*Ibid.*, 407, 408.)

Long before he died, however, Euripides had lost patience with democracy. He had suffered the profound disillusionment that hitherto has almost always overtaken the democratic idealist. The herd do not really believe in free speech, but only in freedom to speak what they want to hear. The Bolshevist, the Communist, have no other use for it.

In the eyes of Aristophanes the teaching—the earlier teaching —of Euripides had done infinite harm. He had—

> taught the crews of the pick of the ships
> To answer back pat to their officer's nose ! How unlike my old sailor of yore,
> With no thought in his head but to guzzle his brose and sing as he bent at the oar !
>
> . . . .
>
> But our new man just sails where it happens to blow, and argues, and rows no more !
>
> (*The Frogs*, 1070 ff : Murray)

Which is very much what was said of Kerensky and his fellow-idealists when the discipline of the Russian armies collapsed on the outbreak of the Revolution in 1917.

> Our city through him is filled to the brim
> With monkeys who chatter to every one's whim,

said Aristophanes. A Russian satirist could have found no apter words.

It was the war which taught Euripides that democracy can be the most tyrannical and pitiless of masters. He had passed through every phase of thought about war that could inspire a poet's verse. When it began, and he was nearly fifty years of age, he was a 'patriot.' How beautiful was Athens ! How fair the world would be if she were queen, and Pericles her minister ! But a long war degrades ; it 'proves a rough master,' said Thucydides, 'that brings most men's characters to a level with their fortunes.' The workers, the unemployed—they were the war party, ruthless, grasping, sanguine, men of active intellect, but limited information. And it was thus that they salved their easy consciences : 'By a necessary law of their nature men rule where they can' ; and again, 'Right, as the world goes, is only a question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must' (Thucydides, V., 105 and 89). Let the Melians, so stupidly obstinate in their determination to preserve the neutrality of their tiny island, be overrun and massacred to teach the peril of thwarting Athens. And then sail ho ! for Sicily, surely a rich prey and an easy. We rub our eyes. How strangely familiar ! Only we thought the names had been different.

If those were the articles of a 'patriot's' faith, Euripides could be a patriot no longer. He would denounce the sin.

How are ye blind,
Ye treaders down of cities, ye that cast
Temples to desolation, and lay waste
Tombs, the untrodden sanctuaries where lie
The ancient dead, yourselves so soon to die
(*The Trojan Women*, 95-98. Murray)

Surely common-sense pointed the same way

Would ye be wise, ye cities, fly from war!
(*Ibid*, 400)

And again,

Oh, it were well
The death men shout for could stand visible
Above the urns! Then never Greece had reeled
Blood-mad to ruin o'er many a stricken field
Great Heaven, set both out plain, and all can tell
The false word from the true, and ill from well,
And how much peace is better
(*The Suppliant Women*, 484—488)

But when the war fever is on men, they will not think, and they will not let other people think, at any rate, they will not let them speak their thoughts. We have lived through days not very different. And Athens could parallel, in part, our 'Little Englanders' with her 'Little Athenians,' only they were aristocrats, pro-Spartans, who wanted to live in peace on their country estates, which constant invasion ruined, and had no use for a navy or an island empire which challenged the rest of Hellas.

Now as then, there is very little vision We look neither back nor forward. There is only one generation that has always been right through the millennia, the generation then in its prime, 'our own' 'We,' and only 'we,' know just how things should be done We forget how our fathers were certain that the apex had been reached always some thirty years earlier, how in their eyes the decline began when they handed on the task to us, and how it irked us in the pride of our strength to hear that nothing had gone right since they were in the pride of theirs. We forget, and tell our sons that they are ruining the country. We dread that vision of a better world that waits just beyond the mountains for the adventurous—a vision which in our own youth made such an urgent appeal to us. Deep-seated always in man's nature are the contradictory principles of progress and reaction, as inevitable as the ebb and flow of tides. We do not understand the motives

that inspire our acts; and, of course, we are unconscious of their perennial domination. We are not yet of those for whom Thucydides wrote, 'inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future, which in the course of human things must resemble, if it does not reflect, it.'

H. W. HOUSEHOLD.

CORRESPONDENCE

'THE MYTHS OF WAR'

To the Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SIR,—In concluding the above-named article, published in your April issue, I summarised my arguments with, amongst others, the following broad generalisation, ' remembering the enormous benefits obtained by slandering the enemy . we are justified in regarding with keen suspicion all allegations of deliberate, organised and complicated atrocities, against whomsoever they may be made '

Mr. Edward Anderson in last month's issue quoted this isolated sentence, and objected to it on the grounds that its ' apparent intention . . . is to acquit the Germans of their ghastly savagery in the Great War '

But to treat an allegation with suspicion does not mean to dismiss it off-hand as false without further inquiry My submission obviously means that the correct attitude towards this subject is one of suspended judgment until proof ' To regard with suspicion ' does not necessarily mean ' to acquit ' All that it implies is that investigation and proof are necessary before acceptance

Referring to the Belgian atrocities M Anderson claims that these ' outrages were amply proved by the various committees which were appointed to inquire into the facts on the spot ' To begin with, this is not accurate. The scenes of these alleged outrages were at the time in enemy occupation, so that inquiry on the spot was impossible As he frankly admits, these committees were appointed by the British, French and Belgian Governments The war has been over for nearly eight years, and therefore there can be no harm now in admitting a doubt whether Governments directing a great war can be regarded as fair and impartial judges of the conduct of the enemy with whom they are waging a life and death struggle Is the middle of a great war a time in which calm and reasoned judgments are likely to be formed ? We are told above that ' the outrages were proved *by the various committees* ' But in a trial it is not for the judge to prove the case against the accused That is the task for the witnesses for the prosecution. Undoubtedly the Bryce Report came to ' a definite conclusion ' But is this at all surprising in a case where the *rôles* of prosecutor and of judge were filled by the same persons ? A committee of Sinn Feiners on the burning of Cork, or a committee of Swarajists on the Amritsar fray, or a committee of Druses on General Sarrail's rule in Syria would, no doubt, all come to equally definite but perhaps not more convincing conclusions.

Mr Anderson claims that the allegations accepted as true in the Bryce Report have never been refuted One of the main points of my article was that such allegations never can be refuted. Similar allegations have been made against every army which has fought on foreign soil during the last fifty years, and although most are forgotten, and let us hope forgiven, I doubt if any have been positively disproved. Whether the allegations

against the Germans in Belgium have been proved or not must be left to the judgment of future historians The value of the Bryce Report to them would be increased a thousandfold if it were only certain that its framers started by regarding these allegations 'with keen suspicion,' but were reluctantly forced by the evidence before them to come to the conclusions they did It is just this doubt whether the passions of war time did not prevent these charges, so damaging to the enemy, from being investigated with due suspicion that causes the Bryce Report to be regarded now more as a once potent instrument of propaganda than as a document valuable to historians.

That isolated and spontaneous outrages took place in Belgium in 1914 may be safely assumed without reference to the findings of the Bryce Report, since such happenings seem more or less inevitable in an affair of this nature and of this magnitude But the allegations that there took place deliberate and organised atrocities, planned and countenanced by the Government and military authorities, should be regarded with suspicion until proved to the satisfaction of persons other than those who made these allegations.

F. J P. VEALE.

Ramsgate.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 & 12, *Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C. 2.*

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

XIX- -XX

A MONTHLY REVIEW

FOUNDED BY JAMES KNOWLES

VOL. XCIX

JANUARY—JUNE 1926

LONDON
CONSTABLE & COMPANY LIMITED 10 & 12 ORANGE STREET
LEICESTER SQUARE W.C. 2

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The titles of articles are printed in italics

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE WHITEFRIARS PRESS, LTD, LONDON AND TONBRIDGE.